



W. G. B. 1810

A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

EDITED BY

ROBERT CHAMBERS,

ONE OF THE EDITORS OF 'CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL.'

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

DIVISION VI.
LESLEY—RAMSAY.

BLACKIE AND SON:
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND LONDON.

MDCCCLIV.



FRANCESCO SERRAVALLO

1812 - 1880

FRANCESCO SERRAVALLO



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

Engraved by J. G. Kneller, 1726.

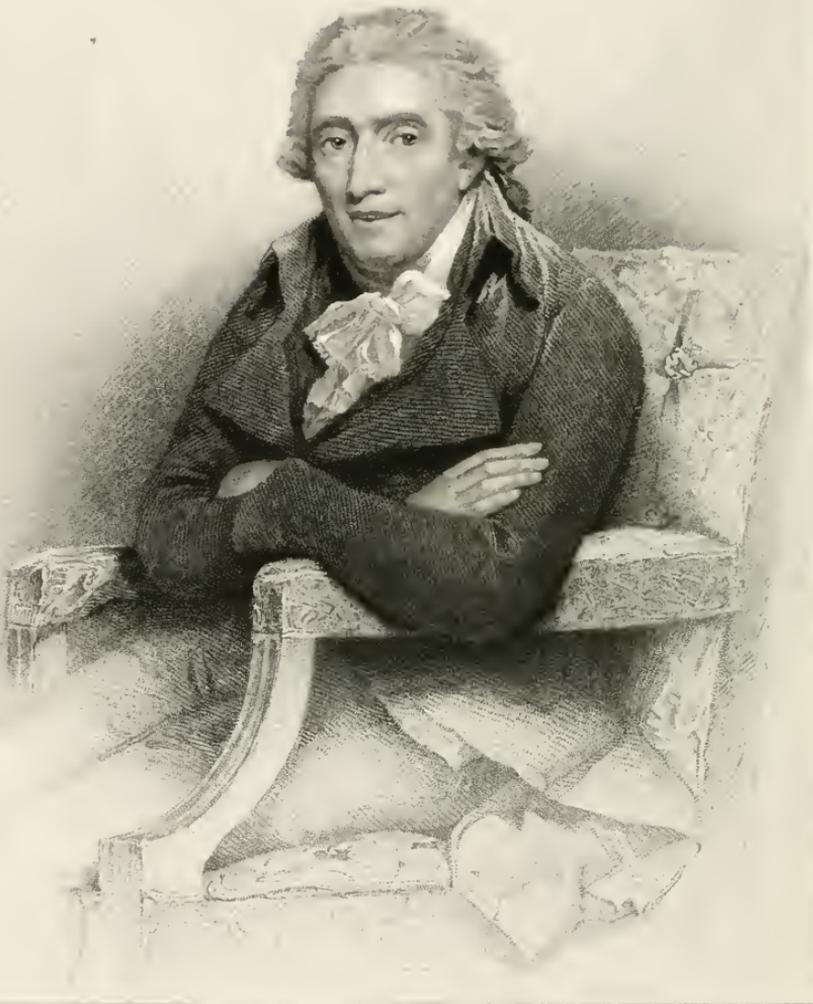
Published by J. G. Kneller, 1726.



JOHN CAMPBELL.

Lord of Argyll.

Engraved by J. G. Kneller.



W. Howland

THE WOLF IN THE SHEEP'S CLOTHING.

THE WOLF IN THE SHEEP'S CLOTHING.



ДЖОН БЕНКИНС.

ПОСЛЕДНИЙ ЧАСТЬ ОТ МАР.



JOHN GIBSON
Author of "The History of the
City of London"
London: Published by G. & C. Hanway, 1801.



JOHN HARLOW.

OF MIDDLESEX.

ESQ. OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

ESQ. OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

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discover that certain bulls prohibited the reception of newly converted heretics. The ingenuity of his friend, Ange, attempted to relieve him from this dilemma. It was represented that there was a rational distinction betwixt heretics in a catholic country, and the children of Huguenots, who had no means of knowing the true faith. The distinction, however, was not satisfactory to the general of the order, and Lesley formed the bold design of bursting into the papal presence, and enforcing his request. When the youth lifted up his adoring eyes, to look at the countenance of the vicegerent of God, the whole chamber beamed with a dazzling light, more luminous than the sun, the brighter rays of light being there accumulated to form a tiara for the majesty of the sacred head. A phenomenon which we are confidentially assured by the biographer, always attends the pontifical presence, although it is not often visible to the naked eye. By the intervention of the pope, he was received into the order, and became a capuchin, and assuming the ecclesiastical name of Archangel, he preached with edification. Twenty years had elapsed since his departure from Scotland, when his mother, hearing that he had disgraced his family by joining a fraternity of beggars, at first (according to the charitable presumption of the archbishop), wished to assassinate him, but preferred the more humane alternative of sending her second son, the baron of Torry, to convert him. It would be tedious to tell how the brothers met, and how the reverse of what was expected took place, by the baron joining the true faith, and both forming a project for the conversion of their mother, and the other inhabitants of Scotland. The baron was the first to return to Scotland, and accident soon revealed the change in his faith; in the mean time Lesley was chosen capuchin preacher at the court of Mary of Medicis, queen regent of France, and on the institution of the college *de propaganda fide*, by Gregory XV., he was appointed papal emissary to Scotland, to procure the restoration of that lost land to the true faith, at the same time accepting the additional situation of interpreter to the Spanish ambassador in England. Lesley, or as his biographer at this period commonly terms him, Archangel, wrote a letter to his mother, which with much discretion he delivered himself. He was received with considerable cold politeness, and entertained in the castle; where, however, he could not eat his dinner in peace from being compelled to sit beside a heretic clergyman, who pocketed 300 crowns annually for teaching the doctrines of damnation, to whom, says his author, whenever he turned his eyes, he thought the banquet assumed the aspect of a funeral meal. Archangel kept his secret about six days, when a remark which he made connected with a change in the establishment, proved him not to be a stranger, and he was compelled to make himself known. The rejoicings at this event can scarcely be described in words. The old lady received *thousands* of visits of congratulation, the fame of the event reached even to Aberdeen (about twenty-five miles), fires of rejoicing were lighted up on the *castle* of Monymusk,⁴ and the inhabitants of the *town*⁵ discharged culverins and let off sky-rockets. He commenced a vigorous discharge of the duties of his mission; he led the people to an adjoining mountain, where he had not been preaching half a quarter of an hour, when the people shuddered, changed colour, and knelt at his feet,—he converted 4000 to the true faith in eight months. He now naturally turned his eyes towards the salvation of his mother, to which he was resolved to make his way through the heretical priest. The reverend gentleman at first declined any discussion, but he was at length compelled to come to issue. He was asked what was the denomination of his peculiar faith, and with much simplicity an-

⁴ The castle of Monymusk is a neat old Flemish building, which would make a rather diminutive modern mansion.

⁵ The hamlet of Monymusk contains about 50 inhabitants.

swered, it was the church of Geneva. Archangel then asked if the church of Geneva was ever mentioned in Scripture? this was a home thrust to the minister, who had seen no more in Scripture about the church of Geneva, than about the stipend of Monymusk. Like a prudent man, however, he promised to produce what was wanted if he could get time; but after repeated delays, having failed, Archangel triumphantly pointed to the epistle to the Romans as a proof of the existence of his church; the heretic was dismissed for incapability and error, and his mistress's faith ceded to the victor. The conversion of the mother was followed by that of the other members of the family, and the whole establishment of the castle. A splendid chapel was fitted up for the celebration of the rites of the Roman catholic church, and the object of the mission made rapid progress for two years, at the end of which period, one of king James's edicts against Roman catholics compelled Archangel to retire to England, and there prosecute his mission in secrecy, having been compelled to leave his books and papers as a prey to the enemy. His mother's goods were confiscated, and she was reduced to the utmost misery by protestant persecution. In these circumstances her son resolved to visit her, and dressing himself as an itinerant vender of herbs, passed through the *streets* of Monymusk, vociferating 'Buy my greens:' he obtained an interview with his mother, who was reduced to the necessity of being compelled to purchase some of his commodity, and a scene ensued, which our limits will not permit us to describe. Being interrupted in his visit by the protestant 'inquisitors,' he was compelled to return to England, whence he was summoned to Italy to attend the head of his order, on the ground of some alleged malversation, the cause of which is not very lucidly explained. The plague raged in Italy during his journey, and he for some time occupied himself in attending the sick at Cremona. He was then appointed guardian of the convent of Mount George in the diocese of Fermo. Here he became acquainted with the archbishop who has so lucidly written his memoirs, and through a mutual miracle a second mission to Britain was concocted between them. Archangel set out accompanied by another Scottish capuchin called Epiphanes; their vessel was overtaken by a violent storm, and after a few amiable discussions about tossing overboard some useless hands, in order to lighten her, she was wrecked, the two capuchins being miraculously saved, along with some passengers, among whom were two English gentlemen whom Archangel converted by the following comfortable argument: '*We hold that you cannot be saved, you admit that we may; judge, then, which is the safest religion.*'⁶ He after this met a young Scotsman, who gave him the pleasing intelligence, that, notwithstanding the persecutions suffered by the true faith in Scotland, one influential family in the neighbourhood of the *large* town of Monymusk had been spared, the influence of the king of France having procured the restoration of their estates, and permission to exercise their religion. This gentleman turned out to be his younger brother, Edward, from whom he learned also the sad intelligence, that their mother had fallen into a fever, and died, from the dread that her son had been drowned in his voyage. After this, many adventures happened to Archangel, among which, some too curious remarks made by him on the fortifications of Newport caused his apprehension as a spy. His zeal not decreasing, he wore out the patience of the monarch, and becoming again amenable to the laws against papists, was commanded to quit the kingdom. On his journey southward, he made many miraculous conversions, and particularly on the persons of noblemen in the neighbourhood of the city of Torfecan (Torphichen.) While near the borders of England, his exertions produced a fever, of which he died, and a

⁶ A favourite argument with Roman catholics, to which Jeremy Taylor made a well known and unanswerable answer.

Jesuit in the neighbourhood performed over him the last offices of charity. So terminate the adventures of Le Capuchin Ecossois, of which we are sorry we are compelled to omit many choice portions.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Clogher, was born at Balquhain, in the north of Scotland, after the middle of the sixteenth century. He was of an ancient and highly respectable family. The earlier part of his education he received at Aberdeen, the latter part at Oxford. He afterwards travelled into Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, and acquired such a proficiency in the languages of all these countries, excepting the last, that he spoke them with the fluency of a native. In the Latin language he particularly excelled, and was so familiar with it, that it was said of him in Spain, when he resided there, *Solus Lesleius Latine loquitur*. He remained on this occasion twenty-two years abroad, and, during that time was present at the siege of Rochelle. He also accompanied the duke of Buckingham on the expedition to the isle of Rhee.

Leslie stood high in favour with Charles I., and was by that monarch admitted a member of his privy council. In 1633 he was appointed to the bishopric of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he built a handsome palace. This building he afterwards held out against Cromwell, adopting the loyal alternative of enduring a siege rather than submit to the usurper.

On the death of his royal patron he went abroad, where he remained till after the restoration. He then returned to England, and in 1661 was translated to the see of Clogher. Here he remained till his death, which took place in 1671, when he was upwards of one hundred years of age. He was then the oldest bishop in the world, having filled that dignified station for fifty years.

LESLIE, CHARLES, a celebrated non-juring divine, was the second son of the bishop of Clogher. He was born in the year 1650. He commenced his education at Inniskillen, Ireland, and was admitted a fellow-commoner in Trinity college, Dublin, in 1664. Here he continued till he commenced master of arts, and during this period acted as tutor to Mr Michael Ward, afterwards bishop of Derry. After the death of his father, in 1671, he came over to England, and entered himself in the temple at London, and for some years studied the law. Finding this an uncongenial pursuit he relinquished it, and applied to divinity. In 1680 he was admitted into holy orders, and in 1687 became chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor, and also acted as a justice of the peace. Soon after his appointment he distinguished himself in a public religious controversy, with Patrick Tyrrel, a Roman catholic, who had been appointed to the see of Clogher. The disputation was numerously attended by persons of the persuasions of both the champions, and each assigned the victory to the defender of his own faith; but it is beyond doubt, that Leslie had greatly the advantage of his antagonist. He afterwards held another public disputation with two eminent popish divines in the church of Tynan, diocese of Armagh. The controversy was maintained in the presence of a large assembly, composed, as in the former case, of persons of both religions; and here again the talents of Leslie brought him off triumphantly. He was now become exceedingly popular in the country for his theological acquirements, and a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which procured him equal celebrity for his political knowledge, and for his intrepidity of character. A Roman catholic high sheriff having been appointed for the county of Monaghan, the gentlemen of the county, in great alarm at this indication of catholic ascendancy, hastened to wait upon him for his advice, as to how they should act with regard to the newly appointed officer, whose religion disqualified him, by law, for the situation. Mr Leslie told them, that it would be equally illegal in them to permit the sheriff to act, and in him to attempt it; that though appointed by the authority of the crown, he, being of

the Roman catholic persuasion, could not have taken the oaths necessary to qualify him for the office, and that therefore his nomination was illegal. This doctrine he afterwards held at the quarter sessions, where the case came to be decided, and so effectually did he urge his objections, and that in the presence of the sheriff himself, that the bench unanimously agreed to commit the pretended officer for his intrusion. Mr Leslie thus placed himself in conspicuous opposition to the dominant party, and openly declared that he no longer considered James as the defender of the faith.

Notwithstanding, however, of his hostility to the papists, he continued a staunch supporter of the exiled family at the revolution in 1688, and refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary. The consequence of this fidelity was the loss of all his preferments.

When Ireland became disturbed in 1689, Mr Leslie removed with his family to England, where he employed himself in writing political pamphlets to serve the cause which he had embraced; but, though opposed to the existing government he continued a zealous and active supporter of the church of England. About this time he entered into a controversy with the quakers, which is said to have arisen from the circumstance of his lodging with a family of that persuasion. This family he converted. The first of the several treatises which he wrote against the quakers is entitled, "The Snake in the Grass." It appeared in 1696, and soon ran into a second edition. It was answered by George Whithead in a pamphlet entitled, "An Antidote to the Snake in the Grass." In his second edition Mr Leslie noticed this answer; but he was again assailed in a production called, "Satan dissolved from his Disguises of Light," which also appeared in 1696. To this, and several other attacks, Mr Leslie replied at great length in "A Defence of a book entitled the Snake in the Grass." This again provoked a host of answers, amongst which was one by the quakers, entitled "A Switch for the Snake." To this Mr Leslie again replied in "A Second Defence, or the third and last part of the Snake in the Grass."

The most celebrated works of Mr Leslie, though these just enumerated discovered singular ability, were those which he wrote against the deists. The first of these was published, in 1697, in a letter to a friend, and was entitled "A Short and easy Method with the Deists." The friend alluded to in the title was a *tady*, though the work bears that it was a gentleman. Having been thrown accidentally into the company of infidels, she applied to Mr Leslie for "some short topic of reason, without running to authorities and the intricate mazes of learning." The treatise was effectual, and Mr Leslie, although it was not his original intention, was prevailed upon to publish it. This work he enlarged considerably in a second edition. No answer appeared to the Short and Easy Method till 1710, when it was replied to in a treatise entitled "A detection of the true meaning and wicked designs of a book entitled," &c. Mr Leslie replied to this attack in "The Truth of Christianity Demonstrated," to which was prefixed, "A Vindication of the Short Method with the Deists." These works against deism produced a powerful effect, and amongst others the conversion of a person of the name of Gildon, who had acquired considerable celebrity as a member of that persuasion. This man not only professed himself convinced of his errors, and publicly retracted them, but wrote a book against the opinions which he had formerly entertained, entitled "The Deist's Manual, or a rational Inquiry into the Christian Religion."

Encouraged by the success of his attack on deism, Mr Leslie, in 1699, produced his "Short Method with the Jews," a work which was first suggested by a similar circumstance with that which had given rise to his Short Method with the Deists. An eminent Jew had been converted by his reasoning, and had inti-

mated his intention of publicly owning his conviction. The convert, however, died during Mr Leslie's absence, without exhibiting the recantation which he had proposed.

The next controversy in which Mr Leslie was engaged, was with the Socinians. It began in 1694. In 1697 he published the first of the six dialogues, entitled "The Socinian Controversy Discussed." This was answered in a short tract, entitled "Remarks on Mr Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy." Mr Leslie replied, and was again answered by his opponent in "A Vindication of the Remarks." Mr Leslie now published "A Reply to the Vindication," and with this ended the first part of the controversy.

His principal works against the papists were, "The True Nature of the Catholic Church, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux's letter to Mr Nelson," printed in 1703; "The Case Stated between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, published in 1713; and "Of Private Judgment and Authority in Matters of Faith." These works are said to have made several converts from popery.

Although thus earnestly and laboriously employed in the cause of religion, Mr Leslie did not neglect the interests, so far as any efforts of his could serve them, of the exiled family. He wrote several political tracts during this period, and made several journeys to Bar le Duc to visit the Pretender, who was then residing there. These journeys, however, and his political treatises, especially one, entitled "The Good Old Cause," published in 1710, gave such offence to the ruling party, that it is said a warrant for his apprehension was actually issued against him. However this may be, he found it necessary to quit the kingdom in 1713, when he proceeded to Bar le Duc, and took up his residence by invitation with the Pretender, who procured a room to be fitted up for him in his own house. While here, Mr Leslie was permitted to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the church of England, and it is even said, that the Pretender had promised to listen to his arguments concerning his religion, and that Mr Leslie had in vain endeavoured his conversion. This, however, is contradicted by lord Bolingbroke, who asserts, that he not only refused to listen to Mr Leslie, but forbade all discussion on religious matters. Notwithstanding of this, however, and of several other subjects of dissatisfaction with the chevalier, whose conduct towards him does not appear to have been altogether adjusted to his deserts, Mr Leslie continued to remain with him, and in 1716 accompanied him into Italy, after his unsuccessful attempt upon England. Here he remained till 1721, when he found his situation so exceedingly disagreeable, that he determined on returning to his native country. This he accomplished, but died in the following year, on the 13th April, in his own house, at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

The list of Mr Leslie's works, political and theological, is exceedingly voluminous. The theological works in seven volumes were printed in 1832 at the Oxford university press.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Ross, and distinguished for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of queen Mary, was born in 1526, being the son of Gavin Leslie, an eminent lawyer, descended from the barons of Balquhain, one of the most respectable branches of the ancient family of Leslie. He received his education at the university of Aberdeen, and in 1547 was made canon of the cathedral church of that diocese. He subsequently pursued his studies in the universities of Toulouse, Poitiers, and Paris, at which last place he took the degree of doctor of laws. In 1554 he was ordered home by the queen regent, and made official and vicar-general of the diocese of Aberdeen. In the turmoil of the Reformation, which soon after commenced, Leslie became a noted champion of the

Romish faith, and appeared on that side in the famous disputation at Edinburgh in 1560. When it was resolved to bring over the young queen from France to assume the government of her native country, Leslie was the chief deputy sent to her by the catholics to gain her exclusive favour for that party; but though he had the dexterity to arrive before the protestant deputation, he was not successful. Leslie, however, returned to Scotland in the queen's company, and was appointed by her a privy councillor and one of the senators of the college of justice. In 1564 the abbey of Lindores was conferred upon him, and he was soon after promoted to the bishopric of Ross; offices catholic in form, but which now referred to little more than certain temporalities to which they conferred a title. Leslie was one of the sixteen commissioners appointed in this reign to revise the Scottish laws, and it was chiefly owing to his care that the volume of the acts of parliament, usually called the Black Acts, from its being printed in the old English character, was given to the world in the year 1566.

The name of the bishop of Ross derives its chief lustre from the steadfastness and zeal with which he adhered to the fortunes of his royal mistress, after they had experienced the remarkable reverse which is well known to have befallen them. When Mary had become an almost hopeless captive in England, this amiable prelate, at the hazard of all his temporal enjoyments, continued to adhere to her, and to exert himself in her behalf, with a fidelity which would have adorned any cause. He was one of her commissioners at the conference of York in 1568; on which occasion he defended her with a strength of reasoning, which is allowed to have produced a great impression, though it did not decide the argument in her favour. He afterwards appeared as her ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, to complain of the injustice done to her; and if the English princess had not been a party interested in the detention of his mistress, his solicitations could have hardly failed of effect. When he found that entreaties and appeals to justice were of no avail, he contrived means for the escape of the queen, and planned the project for her marriage to the duke of Norfolk, which ended in the execution of that unfortunate nobleman. Leslie was examined in reference to this plot, and notwithstanding his privileges as an ambassador, which he vainly pleaded, was committed prisoner, first to the isle of Ely, and afterwards to the tower of London. It appears to have been during this confinement, that he wrote the historical work by which his name is now chiefly known. In 1573 he was liberated from prison, but only to be banished from England. He then employed himself for two years in soliciting the interference of the continental princes in behalf of his mistress, but without obtaining for her any active assistance. Even with the pope, whom he requested to use his influence with these princes, he met with no better success. While at Rome, he published his history in Latin, under the title of "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum." This appeared in 1578: next year, having removed to France, he was made suffragan and vicar-general of the archbishopric of Rouen, in Normandy, and while visiting the diocese, was apprehended and thrown into prison, and obliged to pay three thousand pistoles, to prevent his being given up to Elizabeth. During the remainder of the reign of Henry III., he lived unmolested; but on the accession of the protestant Henry IV., who was the strict ally of Elizabeth, he fell again into trouble. In the course of his visitation of the diocese in 1590, he was once more thrown into prison, and forced to purchase his freedom at the same expense as before. In 1593 he was made bishop of Constance, but being now apparently tired of life, which for many years had presented only disappointments and vexations, he soon after retired into a monastery at Gurtenburg, about two miles from Brussels, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He died, May 31st, 1596, and lies buried

in the monastery, under a monument erected to his memory by his nephew and heir, John Leslie.

Bishop Leslie is generally allowed the praise of great learning and of high diplomatic abilities, though it is almost as generally regretted, that he did not turn them to a better use. His fidelity to a declining cause is also allowed, even by its enemies, to have been a sentiment as free from the dross of worldly or selfish views as the motives of a line of public conduct ever are. The isolation of a catholic church dignitary in society seems favourable to the development of such sentiments; and there are not many cases in which the principle is observed to have been more powerful than in the history of this Scottish prelate. His tongue, his pen, the travel of his body, his temporal fortune, were all devoted with the most generous unreserve to the cause which he thought that of justice and true religion; and what more can any man do, to show the superiority of his nature to the meaner passions?

The works of bishop Leslie are as follow: 1. Defence of the honour of Mary Queen of Scotland; with a declaration of her right, title, and interest to the crown of England; Liege, 1571, 8vo, which was immediately suppressed. 2. *Afflicti Animi Consolationes et Tranquilli Animi Conservatio*; Paris, 1574. 3. *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*: Romæ, 1578, 4to. 4. A Treatise showing that the Regiment of Women is conformable to the law of God and Nature. 5. *De Titulo et Jure Mariæ Scotorum Reginae, quo Angliæ Successionem Jure sibi vindicat*; Rheims, 1580, 4to. 6. The History of Scotland, from the death of James I. in 1436, to the year 1561; Edinburgh, 1830, 4to.

The volume last mentioned was printed from a manuscript in the possession of the earl of Leven and Melville. It is in the Scottish tongue, and forms the original of the three latter books of the Latin history, which differs from it in no respect except in being a little more ample. It appears to have been composed in the vernacular tongue, in order that it might be of use to his captive mistress, who, it is to be presumed, was not so good a Latinist as her cousin Elizabeth. The reason of his presenting her with only this detachment of the history of her country, was, that the preceding part was already to be had in Bellenden's version of Boeæce. That work stops at the death of James I., and it would naturally occur to bishop Leslie, that a continuation to his own time was a desideratum, both to the people and to her whom he maintained to be their sovereign. He finished his work in March, 1570, and presented the unfortunate queen with the manuscript in 1571; but it never saw the light till the date above mentioned, when one hundred copies were printed for the Bannatyne Club, with fifty additional for sale to the public. The style of the work, though it could not fail to sound rudely in the ears of a modern Englishman, is highly elegant and dignified, forming a wonderful improvement upon the rude simplicity of Bellenden. The worthy bishop informs us, that he stops at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, because the transactions subsequent to that period contain much that he does not think would reflect honour upon his country: there could be few whose words were more worth listening to, respecting that important and greatly controverted part of our history.

The volume alluded to contains a portrait of Leslie, representing him as a grave and venerable man, with an aquiline nose, a small beard, and a very lofty and capacious forehead. As a specimen of the Scottish which a learned prelate would then write, and a queen peruse, we may quote the bishop's character of James V.

“ Their was gryt dule and meane maid for him throw all the partis of his realme, because he was a nobill prince, and travaillet mekill all his dayis for manitening of his subjectis in peace, justice, and quietnes. He was a man of

personage and stature convenient, albeit michtie and strong theirwith; of countenance amiable and lufely, specially in his communication; his eyes graye and sharp of sight, that quhomsoever he did ones see and marke, he wald perfytlly knawe in all tymes thairefter; of witt in all things quick and prompt, of a princely stomacke and heich courage in greit perillis, doubtful affairis and materis of weichtie importance; he had in a maner a divine foresicht, for in sic thingis as he went about to doo, he did them advisedlye, and with grit deliberacion, to the intent that amangis all men his witt and prudence might be noted and regardit, and alsfarre excell and pas all uthers in estait and dignitie. Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, effabill, curteous; and so farr abhorrit pride and arrogance, that he was ever sharpe and quick to thame quhilke were spotted or nottit with that crime. He was alsua a good and suir justiciar, be the quhilke one thing he allurit to him the hartis of all the people, because they lived quietlie and in rest, out of all oppressioun and molestacioun of the nobilitie and riche persones; and to this severyte of his wes jointit and annexit a certane merciful pitye, quhilke he did oftymes shaw to sic as had offendit, taking rather composicions of money nor menis lyvis. * * * * This gude and modest prince did not devoure and consume the riches of his cuntry, for by his heich pollicye marvellouslie riched his realme and himselfe, both with gold and silver, all kinds of riche substance, quhairof he left greyt stoir and quantitie in all his palices at his departing. And so this king, living all his tyne in the favour of fortune, in heich honour, riches, and glorye, and for his nobill actis and prudent pollyces, worthy to be registrat in the buike of fame, gaif up and randerit his spreit into the hands of Allmichty God, quhair I doubt not bot he hes suir fruition of the joye that is preparit for these as sell sitt on the richt hand of our Salveour."

LESLIE, (SIR) JOHN, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and distinguished by his valuable writings and discoveries, was born at the kirk-town of Largo, in Fife, on the 16th of April, 1766. His father, Robert Leslie, by profession a joiner and cabinet-maker, and originally from the neighbourhood of St Andrews, was a much respected and worthy man, and seems, in point of education and general attainments, to have been superior to the majority of persons in his station at that period. The mother of Sir John Leslie was Anne Carstairs, a native of Largo. When very young, he was sent to a woman's school in the village, but remained only a short time there. Afterwards he was placed under a Mr Thomson at Lundin Mill, with whom he learned to write; and lastly he went to Leven school, and began to learn Latin; but being a weakly boy, and unable to walk so far, he was obliged after about six weeks to give up attendance. As these were the only schools he attended before going to college, it is evident that his elementary acquirements must have been exceedingly imperfect. He received, however, while at home, some lessons in mathematics from his elder brother Alexander, and soon began to show a surprising aptitude for that branch of science. His manners at this period of life were remarkably reserved and shy. He seemed bent on devoting himself entirely to study, and read with peculiar avidity all the books that came within his reach, on mathematics and natural philosophy. To Latin he took a strong dislike, and could not be induced to resume the study of it till after his first year at college.

His extraordinary proficiency in geometrical exercises, joined to a consideration of the unfavourable circumstances under which he had acquired it, brought him at an early period under the notice of professors Robison and Stewart, of the university of Edinburgh, who were much impressed by the extraordinary powers which he displayed. It was at length resolved by his parents, that he should

be sent to the university of St Andrews, in order to fit himself for a learned profession, and he was accordingly entered there, as a student of mathematics, in 1779. At the first distribution of prizes, he attracted some attention by his proficiency, which was the means of introducing him to the patronage of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. Being now destined for the church, he went through the regular routine of instructions for that purpose. After attending for six sessions at St Andrews, he removed to Edinburgh, in company with another youth,—destined like himself to obtain a high niche in the temple of fame, and to be honoured, at the same moment with himself, more than forty years after, with a royal favour expressive of his equal merit,—James (afterwards Sir James) Ivory. At St Andrews he had also formed an acquaintance with Dr William Thomson, the continuator of Watson's Life of Philip II., and latterly a professed author of no small note in London. At the university of Edinburgh Mr Leslie studied three years, during which time he was introduced to Dr Adam Smith, and employed by that eminent man in assisting the studies of his nephew, afterwards lord Reston. He now gave up his intention of adopting the clerical profession, which he found to be in a great measure incompatible with the strong bent which his mind had taken towards physical studies.

In 1788, he went to Virginia, as tutor to two young college friends, Messrs Randolph; and after spending more than a year in America, returned to Edinburgh. In January 1790, he proceeded to London, carrying with him some recommendatory letters from Dr Smith; he has been heard to mention, that one of the most pressing injunctions with which he was honoured by that illustrious philosopher, was to be sure, if the person to whom he was to present himself was an author, to read his book before approaching him, so as to be able to speak of it, if there should be a fit opportunity. His first intention was to deliver lectures on natural philosophy; but being disappointed in his views, he found it expedient to commence writing for periodical works, as the readiest means of obtaining subsistence. For obtaining employment of this kind, he was mainly indebted to his friend Dr William Thomson, who engaged him upon the notes of a new edition of the Bible, which he was then publishing in numbers. About three months after his arrival in London, he made an agreement with Mr Murray, the bookseller, to translate Buffon's Natural History of Birds, which was published in 1793, in nine octavo volumes. The sum he received for it laid the foundation of that pecuniary independence which, unlike many other men of genius, his prudent habits fortunately enabled him early to attain. The preface to this work, which was published anonymously, is characterised by all the peculiarities of his later style; but it also bespeaks a mind of great native vigour and lofty conceptions, strongly touched with admiration for the sublime and the grand in nature and science. During the progress of the translation, he fulfilled an engagement with the Messrs Wedgewood of Etruria in Staffordshire, to superintend their studies; he left them in 1792. In 1794, Mr Leslie spent a short time in Holland; and, in 1796, he made the tour of Germany and Switzerland with Mr Thomas Wedgewood, whose early death he ever lamented as a loss to science and his country. About this period, he stood candidate for a chair at St Andrews, and subsequently, for that of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but without success. The fortunate candidate on the latter occasion was Dr James Brown of St Andrews, with whom Mr Leslie to the end of his life maintained a constant intimacy. In 1799, he travelled through Norway and Sweden, in company with Mr Robert Gordon, whose friendship he had acquired at St Andrews college.

At what period Mr Leslie first struck into that brilliant field of inquiry where he became so conspicuous for his masterly experiments and striking discoveries

regarding radiant heat, and the connexion between light and heat, we are unable to say. But his Differential Thermometer—one of the most beautiful and delicate instruments that inductive genius ever contrived as a help to experimental inquiry, and which rewarded its author by its happy ministry to the success of some of his finest experiments—must have been invented before the year 1800, as it was described in Nicholson's Philosophical Journal some time during that year. The results of those fine inquiries, in which he was so much aided by this exquisite instrument, were published to the world in 1804, in his celebrated "Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat."¹ The experimental devices and remarkable discoveries which distinguish this publication, far more than atone for its great defects of method, its very questionable theories, and its transgressions against that simplicity of style which its aspiring author rather spurned than was unable to exemplify; but which must be allowed to be a quality peculiarly indispensable to the communication of scientific knowledge. The work was honoured, in the following year, by the unanimous adjudication to its author, by the council of the Royal Society, of the Rumford Medals, appropriated to reward discoveries in that province, whose nature and limits he had so much illustrated and extended.

Mr Leslie thus distinguished himself by his acquirements, when, early in 1805, in consequence of the translation of professor Playfair from the chair of mathematics to that of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the former became vacant, and the subject of this memoir appeared as a candidate for the situation. It might have been expected that, where the qualifications of the individual were so decidedly above all rivalry, there could have been no hesitation in his native country to confer upon him the honour which he sought. Such there might not have been, if what is called the moderate party in the Scottish church, had not been inspired by a jealousy of his liberal principles in politics, accompanied by a desire of advancing one of their own number, to oppose his election. The person brought forward as the rival candidate was Dr Thomas Macknight, one of the ministers of the city, and son of the venerable commentator on the Epistles,—a gentleman highly qualified, no doubt, not only for this, but for almost any other chair in the university; but who, nevertheless, could not be matched against an individual so distinguished for the benefits he had conferred on science as Mr Leslie; and who was moreover liable to the disqualifying consideration that he was already engaged in an office which, to be well done, requires the whole man, while Mr Leslie stood in the light of a most useful member of society in a great measure unprovided for.

The electors in this case were the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh, and to them Mr Leslie was recommended not only by fame, but by the warmest testimonials from Sir Joseph Banks, Mr Dempster of Dunnichen, Dr Hutton of Woolwich, Baron Masseres, and Dr Maskelyne. In the supposition that these men were disposed to discharge their trust with fidelity, they could have no hesitation in preferring Mr Leslie; and it is to be related to their credit, that they had no such hesitation. On learning the bent of their resolution, the ministers of Edinburgh held various private meetings, as if to indicate the more pointedly that they had a peculiar interest of their own in the matter; and it was resolved to oppose Mr Leslie's election on the grounds of what they deemed an infidel note in his essay on heat; employing for this purpose a clause in the fundamental charter of the college, directing the magistrates to take the advice of the Edinburgh clergy in the election of professors.

¹ Previous to this period, Mr Leslie, when not otherwise or elsewhere engaged, used to live with his brothers at Largo; and there were the experiments for his essay on heat carried on, and the book written.

The note alluded to was one in reference to the unphilosophical theories which once attempted to explain the phenomena of gravitation by means of invisible æthers. Mr Leslie, in treating this point, found it convenient to refer to Mr Hume's theory of cause and effect, in which, as is well known, he makes use of certain generally received doctrines to invalidate the argument for the existence of the Deity. In making the reference, it did not seem to Mr Leslie to be necessary that he should condemn the ultimate use made of these doctrines by Mr Hume, since he was only engaged in a physical examination. His note, therefore, stands as follows: "Mr Hume is the first, so far as I know, who has treated of causation in a truly philosophic manner. His Essay on Necessary Connexion seems a model of clear and accurate reasoning. But it was only wanted to dispel the cloud of mystery which had so long darkened that important subject. The unsophisticated sentiments of mankind are in perfect unison with the deductions of logic, and imply at bottom nothing more in the relation of cause and effect, than a constant invariable sequence." From these words, however, it was evident, in the opinion of his clerical opponents, "that Mr Leslie, having, with Mr Hume, denied all such necessary connexion between cause and effect, as implies an operating principle in the cause, has, of course, laid a foundation for rejecting all argument that is derived from the works of God, to prove either his being or attributes."

When Mr Leslie was informed of the grounds on which the Edinburgh ministers rested their opposition, he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr Hunter, professor of divinity, and one of the few clergymen of the city who were not opposed to him, laying before him some explanations of the note, to which he begged him to call the attention of his brethren. These explanations were chiefly what are stated above, and are thus followed up: "I have the fullest conviction that my ideas on the question to which the note refers, would appear to coincide, in every essential respect, with those of the most enlightened adversaries of Mr Hume's philosophy. But, limited as I am to a few moments of time, I can only disavow (which I do with the greatest sincerity and solemnity,) every inference which the ingenuity of my opponents may be pleased to draw from the partial view I have taken of the general doctrine, to the prejudice of those evidences on which the truths of religion are founded. If I live to publish another edition of my work, I pledge myself to show in an additional paragraph, how grossly and injuriously I have been treated on this occasion. * * It is painful to be called on, after the habits of intimacy in which I have lived with the most exemplary characters in both parts of the island, to repel a direct charge of atheism; but whatever may be the effect of such calumnies on the minds of strangers, it affords me much consolation to think, that they will be heard with contempt and indignation by those who know the real state of my sentiments, and particularly by such as are acquainted with the strictness of those religious principles in which I had the happiness to be educated from my earliest years."

This letter was laid before the ministers at a meeting held by them on the 12th of March (1805); but being, to use their own phrase, by no means satisfied with it, they appointed a committee, consisting of Dr Grieve, Mr David Black, Mr David Dickson, and Dr Inglis, to proceed to the town-council and protest against the election of Mr Leslie. As the council was to be that day engaged in the election, the committee went accordingly to their chamber, and presented a protest which had been prepared, in which, besides stating the grand objection of the note and their inferences from it as to Mr Leslie's religious principles, they stated that, "in the event of his being elected, notwithstanding this representation, they reserved to themselves full power of questioning the validity of such election, and of employing whatever means may, to them, be found compe-

tent for preventing Mr Leslie's induction into the office of professor; with full power, in the event of his induction, to prosecute for his ejection from said office in any competent court, civil or ecclesiastical." Immediately after this paper was given in and its bearers had left the hall, the council elected Mr Leslie.

At the meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh on the 27th, the committee of the city clergy gave in a representation stating these transactions, along with a copy of their protest, and requested the reverend court to take such steps in the matter as they might judge proper. It was here determined by vote to carry the affair before the synod; a step formally necessary for bringing it under the decision of the highest national church court, the general assembly.

At the meeting of this court, on the 22nd of May, the case of Mr Leslie came before it in the shape of a complaint by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff and other members of the synod, against the reference of the case to the general assembly. It was thus apparent that the leaders of the more zealously pious party of the church had taken the part of Mr Leslie against their accustomed opponents. The interest which the public could not have failed to entertain respecting the question, even if confined to its native merits, was excited to an uncommon degree by this complication of the phenomenon. The case, nevertheless, furnished only an unusually striking example of what must always be the result of a party system in any deliberative body. It happened to be convenient for the "moderate" party on this particular occasion, to show an anxious desire for the purity of faith and doctrine; and for this purpose they raked up a negative title in the Edinburgh clergy to be consulted in the exercise of the town-council patronage, which had not been acted upon for twenty-six years, during which time several of the very men now prosecuting had been elected to chairs in the university without regard to it. It was equally convenient for the evangelical party, though adverse to all their usual principles, to regard the suspected infidelity of Mr Leslie with a lenient and apologetic spirit, in order that they might be in their usual position regarding their opponents, and because they hoped to gain a triumph for themselves in the non-success of a prosecution, which they could easily see rested upon no valid grounds, and could hardly, in the face of public opinion, be carried to its utmost extent, even though a majority of servile votes could have been obtained for the purpose.

In the course of the long debate which followed the introduction of the case, some very strong testimonies were brought forward in favour of Mr Leslie's moral and religious character. A letter from the minister of Largo testified that, during the two past years, while Mr Leslie resided in the parish, he had paid a becoming respect to religion, and that, if great abilities highly improved, an unstained moral character, and a tender discharge of every filial duty, recommend to confidence and esteem, these belonged to him. Another letter, from the clergyman of the neighbouring parish, after remarking that insinuations of the kind disseminated respecting Mr Leslie, yielded but a contemptible support to any cause, stated the following particulars: "I have lived in habits of intimacy with Mr Leslie for some time past; I have had an opportunity of knowing his religious and political sentiments; I have been furnished, in short, with satisfactory evidence of his attachment to our ecclesiastical and civil establishment. His father officiated long as a worthy elder of our church: his son was once a student of divinity; and though he has not prosecuted his theological studies, having been much engaged in other literary pursuits, I never heard that he had ceased to respect the doctrines or discipline of the church of Scotland. On the contrary, the leading doctrines of Christianity he regards with reverence."

There was also read a letter from Mr Leslie to a friend, of date, February

22nd, 1805, in which he thus expressed himself: "It was my lot to receive a most virtuous and religious education, in the bosom of a family eminently distinguished by its exemplary lives; and the impressions of my early years, no distance of time, or change of circumstances can ever efface. If my mind is more enlarged by culture, I have likewise learned to see more deeply the importance of those truths which bind men together in society, and which, visiting their inmost recesses, appal the guilty and hold forth comfort to the wretched. I have ever been a sincere lover of peace, of decency, and good order. My time has been almost wholly spent in abstract researches, and the study of the sublime operations of nature. The questions, so much agitated of late, served with me only to amuse a few leisure moments; and even at that eventful period, when the minds of men, and particularly of young men, were so violently inflamed, I escaped in a great measure the contagion. I sighed, indeed, for the improvement of our species; but the slightest appearance of tumult, or popular violence, was most abhorrent to my temper. I never had the remotest connexion with any party or political association whatever. In the spirit of mildness, I endeavoured to think and act for myself. My sentiments of loyalty had been confirmed by what I had seen during a short stay in America, where I witnessed the disgusting and pernicious influence assumed by an ignorant, licentious, and dissolute rabble. * * It is our native island that presents the truly cheering picture of equal laws mildly administered, and holds up a body of religious institutions at once rational, decent, and impressive. I venerate the great principles of our Christian faith, and am solicitous to mark, by my external behaviour, that respect which I cherish. Raising my affections above this little spot of earth, *the restless scene of intrigue, and strife, and malice*, I look forward with joy and expectation to that better country beyond the grave."

Among the most powerful speakers on the side of Mr Leslie was Sir Henry Moncrieff, who observed that the question expressly and simply referred to a civil right of the Edinburgh ministers. This right, he showed, had never been before exercised in the election of a professor of mathematics, and in all probability would be confined by a court of law to the professorships existing at the institution of the university, of which that of mathematics was not one. The right, however, if right it was, had in reality been exercised: the clergy had gone to the council and given their advice, and, though it had not been followed, still it had been received. Sir Henry also commented in strong terms upon the fact, that the whole of this prosecution, threatening so much to Mr Leslie, had been conducted in such a way as to allow him no possibility of appearing in his own defence. "It is a circumstance," further continued this nervous orator, "which I cannot help mentioning, that the ministers of Edinburgh, in their zeal to find any sort of heresy in Mr Leslie's note, have unfortunately announced a doctrine in opposition to that which they would fix on him, which is capable of an interpretation more hostile to religion than any thing that they have imputed to his book. In asserting 'such a *necessary connexion* between cause and effect as implies an *operating principle* in the cause,' they express a doctrine of which I can scarcely mention the pernicious tendency. If the necessity is applied to the first cause, it is not far from blasphemy. If it is restricted (as I suppose it was meant to be) to the second cause, it is substantially the doctrine of materialism, and leads directly to atheism. [Here Mr Ritchie interrupted the speaker, to remind him that he had qualified the expression, and restricted his meaning to a *conditional* or *contingent* necessity.] True, sir, he did so. He did the very thing which he will not allow Mr Leslie to do. He gives an explanation for himself and his friends, when he perceives the consequences of the original expressions they had employed. He qualifies the necessity they

asserted, by the term 'conditional,' by which he means to restrict it, and he expects that we are to take his explanation without a murmur; although, when Mr Leslie would confine the assertion in his note to 'objects of physical examination,' he obstinately fixes him down to his original expressions, and rejects the limitation as utterly inadmissible. Unfortunately, sir, the doctrine of the ministers of Edinburgh, with regard to such a necessary connexion between cause and effect as implies an operating principle in the cause, stands in its original state in the protest which they gave to the town-council. It is recorded in the council books; and there it *must* remain in all future times, without any explanation whatever, be its tendency or its heresy ever so mischievous.

"The use," he continued with exquisite sarcasm, "which may be made of incautious expressions, may be as forcibly illustrated from the protest of the ministers of Edinburgh, as from the note of Mr Leslie. But there is this material distinction between the two cases: Mr Leslie, at least, understood the precise meaning of his assertions, as far as they related to the subject of which he was writing; but my reverend brethren enunciated their dogma in perfect innocence and simplicity, completely unconscious of its true import and tendency!"

Near midnight, on the second day of the debate, it was determined by 96 against 84 to dismiss this vexatious case without further notice. On the vote being announced, a shout of applause—an unwonted sound in the general assembly—burst from the crowd assembled in the galleries.

Mr Leslie entered without further opposition upon the duties of his chair, and upon a course of experimental discovery by which he was to confer lustre upon the university. Through the assistance of one of his ingenious contrivances—his hygrometer—he arrived in 1810 at the discovery of that singularly beautiful process of artificial congelation, which enabled him to convert water and mercury into ice. "We happened," says a brother professor, "to witness the consummation of the discovery—at least, of the performance of one of the first successful repetitions of the process by which it was effected; and we shall never forget the joy and elation which beamed on the face of the discoverer, as, with his characteristic good nature, he patiently explained the steps by which he had been led to it."

In 1809 Mr Leslie published his *Elements of Geometry*, which immediately became a class-book, and has since gone through four editions. He also published, in 1813, an "Account of Experiments and Instruments depending on the relation of Air to Heat and Moisture." In 1817 he produced his "Philosophy of Arithmetic, exhibiting a Progressive view of the Theory and Progress of Calculation," a small octavo; and, in 1821, his "Geometrical Analysis, and Geometry of Curve Lines, being volume second of a Course of Mathematics, and designed as an Introduction to the study of Natural Philosophy."² In 1822 he published "Elements of Natural Philosophy," for the use of his class—reprinted in 1829—and of which only one volume appeared. "Rudiments of Geometry," a small octavo, published, 1828, and designed for popular use, was his last separate work. Besides these separate works, he wrote many admirable articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, three profound treatises in *Nicholson's Philosophical Journal*, a few in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, and several very valuable articles on different branches of physics in the *Supple-*

² The *Elements of Geometry* included Trigonometry and Geometrical Analysis in one volume, for the three first editions; and the curve lines of the second order was a small separate work. In the fourth edition of the *Geometry*, 1820, one volume included *Geometry and Trigonometry*, and the second, published some time after, consisted of *Geometrical Analysis*, including the curves of the second order, formerly published with the addition of the higher curves.

ment to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1819, on the death of professor Playfair, whose promotion had formerly made room for him in the chair of mathematics, he was elevated to the professorship of natural philosophy, by which his powers were of course brought into a far wider field of display and of usefulness, than they had been for the preceding fourteen years. Among the preliminary treatises of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1830, he wrote a "Discourse on the History of Mathematical and Physical Science, during the eighteenth century," which may be described as one of the most agreeable and masterly of all his compositions.

The income enjoyed by Mr Leslie was for many years so much above his necessities, that he was able, by careful management, to realise a fortune not far short of ten thousand pounds. Part of this he expended, in his latter years, upon the purchase and decoration of a mansion called Coates near his native village, where he spent all the intervals allowed by his college duties. Early in the year 1832, at the recommendation of the lord chancellor (Brougham), he was invested with a knighthood of the Guelphic order, at the same time that Messrs Herschel, C. Bell, Ivory, Brewster, South, and Harris Nicolas, received a similar honour. Sir John Leslie was not destined long to enjoy the well-merited honour. In the end of October, while superintending some of the improvements about his much-loved place, he incautiously exposed himself to wet, the consequence of which was a severe cold. Among the various foibles which protruded themselves through the better powers and habitudes of his mind, was a contempt for medicine, and an unwillingness to think that he could be seriously ill. He accordingly neglected his ailment, and was speedily seized with erysipelas in one of his legs; a disorder at that time raging in Scotland with all the symptoms and effects of a malignant epidemic. On Wednesday, October 31st, he again exposed himself in his grounds, and from that day, the malady advanced very rapidly. On the evening of Saturday, November 3d, he breathed his last.

The scientific and personal character of Sir John Leslie has been sketched with so bold and free a pencil by Mr Macvey Napier, his brother in both academic and literary labours, that we make no apology for presenting it to the reader, in lieu of any thing of our own:

"It would be impossible, we think, for any intelligent and well-constituted mind, to review the labours of this distinguished man, without a strong feeling of admiration for his inventive genius and vigorous powers, and of respect for that extensive knowledge which his active curiosity, his various reading, and his happy memory had enabled him to attain. Some few of his contemporaries in the same walks of science, may have excelled him in profundity of understanding, in philosophical caution, and in logical accuracy; but we doubt if any surpassed him, whilst he must be allowed to have surpassed many, in that creative faculty—one of the highest and rarest of nature's gifts—which leads, and is necessary to discovery, though not all-sufficient of itself for the formation of safe conclusions; or in that subtilty and reach of discernment which seizes the finest and least obvious relations among the objects of science—which elicits the hidden secrets of nature, and ministers to new combinations of her powers. There were some flaws, it must be allowed, in the mind of this memorable person. He strangely undervalued some branches of philosophical inquiry of high importance in the circle of human knowledge. His credulity in matters of ordinary life was, to say the least of it, as conspicuous as his tendency to scepticism in science. It has been profoundly remarked by Mr Dugald Stewart, that 'though the mathematician may be prevented, in his own pursuits, from going far astray, by the absurdities to which his errors lead him, he is seldom apt to

he revolted by absurd conclusions in other matters. 'Thus, even in physics,' he adds, 'mathematicians have been led to acquiesce in conclusions which appear ludicrous to men of different habits.' Something of the same kind was observable in the mind of this distinguished mathematician, for such also he was. He was apt, too, to run into some startling hypothesis, from an unwarrantable application of mathematical principles to subjects altogether foreign to them; as when he finds an analogy between circulating decimals, and the lengthened cycles of the seasons. In all his writings, with the exception, perhaps, of his last considerable performance, the discourse prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, even in the sober field of pure mathematics, there is a constant straining after 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' and a love of abstract, and figurative, and novel modes of expression, which has exposed them to just criticism, by impartial judges, and to some puny fault-finding, by others, more willing to carp at defects than to point out the merits which redeem them. But when even severe criticism has said its worst, it must be allowed, that genius has struck its captivating impress, deep and wide over all his works. His more airy speculations may be thrown aside or condemned; but his exquisite instruments, and his original and beautiful experimental combinations, will ever attest the fruitfulness of his mind, and continue to act as helps to farther discovery. We have already alluded to the extent and excursiveness of his reading. It is rare, indeed, to find a man of so much invention, and who himself valued the inventive above all the other powers, possessing so vast a store of learned and curious information. His reading extended to every nook and corner, however obscure, that books have touched upon. He was a lover, too, and that in no ordinary degree, of what is commonly called anecdote. Though he did not shine in mixed society, and was latterly unfitted by a considerable degree of deafness for enjoying it, his conversation, when seated with one or two, was highly entertaining. It had no wit, little repartee, and no fine turns of any kind, but it had a strongly-original and racy cast, and was replete with striking remarks and curious information.

"He had faults, no doubt, as all 'of woman born' have: he had prejudices, of which it would have been better to be rid; he was not over charitable in his views of human virtue; and he was not quite so ready, on all occasions, to do that justice to kindred merit as was to be expected in so ardent a worshipper of genius. But his faults were far more than compensated by his many good qualities—by his constant equanimity, his cheerfulness, his simplicity of character, almost infantine, his straightforwardness, his perfect freedom from affectation, and, above all, his unconquerable good nature.³ He was, indeed, one of the most placable of human beings; and if, as has been thought, he generally had a steady eye, in his worldly course, to his own interest, it cannot be denied that he was, notwithstanding, a warm and good friend, and a relation on whose affectionate assistance a firm reliance could ever be placed.

"There is one other matter which, in justice to the illustrious dead, we cannot pass over in silence; we mean the permanent service rendered to the class of Natural Philosophy by the late Sir John Leslie in the collection of by far the

³ The person of Sir John Leslie was, in later life, far from gainly. He was short and corpulent with a florid face, and somewhat unsightly projection of the front teeth, and tottered considerably in walking. He was, moreover, very slovenly in his mode of dressing—a peculiarity the more curious, as it was accompanied by no inconsiderable share of *self-respect*, and an anxiety to be thought young and engaging. The mixture of great intellectual powers with the humbler weaknesses of human nature, can seldom have been more strikingly exemplified than in his case; though it is evident that, as his weaknesses were very much those to which unmarried men in advanced life are supposed to be most peculiarly liable, they might have probably been obviated in a great measure, if he had happened to spend his life in the more fortunate condition of matrimony.

finest and most complete set of apparatus in the kingdom. Augustus boasted that he found Rome built of brick, and left it a city of palaces and temples constructed of marble. Without any exaggeration, something analogous may be predicated of Sir John Leslie in regard to the apparatus of this class. He found it a collection of antiquated and obsolete rubbish; he left it the most complete and perfect of its kind in this kingdom; and if it had pleased God to spare him a few years longer, it would, beyond all doubt, have been rendered the first in Europe or the world. The renovation which he effected was, indeed, most radically complete. The whole of the old trash was thrown aside, and its place supplied by new instruments, constructed on the most improved principles by the most celebrated artists, both in this country and on the continent; while its absolute amount was increased tenfold, and adapted, in the happiest manner, to the present advanced state of science. His perseverance and enthusiasm in this respect were indeed boundless; and as his predecessors were not experimentalists, in the same sense in which he was, and had made little or no effort to accommodate the apparatus to the progress of science, or even to repair the wear and tear of time, he had the whole to create, in the same way as if the class had only been founded when he was first promoted to the chair. By his own continued and admirably-directed efforts, aided by the liberality of the patrons, who generously made him several grants in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart; and also by very considerable pecuniary sacrifices upon his own part, for which he has never as yet got the credit that is so justly due to him; he at length succeeded in furnishing the apparatus-room in the manner in which it may now be seen by any one who chooses to visit it, and thus conferred upon the university a benefit for which it ought to be for ever grateful to his memory. This may sound strange in the ears of those who have been accustomed to hear it said, as it has often been, most falsely, that Sir John Leslie was a bad experimenter. The truth is, that of all his great and varied gifts, none was more remarkable than the delicacy and success with which he performed the most difficult experiments, excepting perhaps his intuitive sagacity in instantly detecting the cause of an accidental failure; and it is a known fact, that, after he had discovered and communicated to the world his celebrated process of artificial congelation, particularly as applied to the freezing of mercury, some of the first men of science in London failed of performing it, till the discoverer himself, happening to be on the spot personally, showed them wherein consisted the fault of their manipulation, and at once performed the experiment which had previously baffled all their efforts. It is equally well known to those who were acquainted with him, that the most elegant in form as well as the most delicate in operation of the beautiful instruments invented by himself, were constructed by his own hand, and that this, to him most agreeable employment, constituted the recreation of his leisure hours. The apparatus-room, indeed, contains many specimens of his workmanship in this line, and they are of such a description as would not do any discredit to the most practised and skilful artist. To his immediate successor his acquisitions and his labours will, therefore, be of incalculable importance; but the merit which really belongs to him can only be duly estimated by those who know what he found, when he became professor of natural philosophy, and can compare it with the treasures which he has left behind him."⁴

⁴ Some further particulars respecting his various talents and acquirements may be gathered from the following notice, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant*, and seems to be the production of one qualified in more ways than one to speak upon the subject:—"Sir John Leslie has been for many years known in this country, and over all Europe, as one of the most eminent characters of the age. As a mathematician and philosopher; as a profound and accomplished scholar; as a proficient in general literature, and in history and many other

LEYDEN, JOHN, a man of singularly varied genius and accomplishment, was born on the 8th of September, 1775, at Denholm, a village on the banks of the Teviot, in the parish of Cavers and county of Roxburgh. His parents were John Leyden and Isabella Scott, who had three sons and two daughters younger than himself. His ancestors in both lines had been farmers on the estate of Cavers for several generations; but his father, though skilful in rural affairs, declined to engage on his own account in the same occupation, thinking even the fortunate pursuit of gain a poor compensation for the anxiety that attends it. About a year after the birth of their first child, he removed to Henlawshiel on the farm of Nether Tofts, which was then occupied by Andrew Blythe, his wife's uncle, whom he first served as shepherd, and subsequently as overseer, his master having had the misfortune to lose his sight. The cottage in which the family resided was of an humble construction; its internal accommodations were equally simple; but it was situated at the foot of the majestic hill of Ruberslaw, and there, among the "dun heathy slopes and valleys green," did Leyden imbibe that enthusiasm and manliness of character which afterwards displayed

branches of knowledge, he had few rivals. But it was for mathematical science and its kindred studies, that he discovered, at a very early period, a decided predilection; and it is in the successful illustration of scientific truth and of all the complicated phenomena of physics, that his great reputation has been acquired. In these pursuits he was eminently qualified to excel by the great original powers of his mind, which were further stimulated by an ardent enthusiasm, and an early desire of distinction among the illustrious names of his day. Along with a profound knowledge of his subject, he possessed great inventive powers, which not only enabled him to sound the depths of science, but to expound its important problems with a simplicity and elegance rarely equalled. In making his way through the intricacies of physical research, his severe judgment guided him in the right path; and hence his demonstrations always afford a striking and beautiful display of pure reason, without any tendency to that spirit of metaphysical subtlety which occasionally perplexes the speculations of Laplace, Legendre, with others of the continental philosophers; and it is worthy of remark that, along with the penetrating force of his judgment, he carried into those studies that taste and fancy—that predilection for the beautiful, which may be recognised in all his speculations, whether in literature or in science. His taste in geometry was founded on the purest models of Grecian philosophy; he delighted to expound to his pupils the simplicity and elegance of the demonstrations by the great masters of antiquity; he commended them to their imitation, and expatiated on the subject in a manner well fitted to inspire a kindred enthusiasm; so that we might have fancied that he was dilating, not on the merits of a mathematical problem, but on some of those beautiful forms and classic models of ancient art which have been the wonder of all succeeding times. Nor was this admiration of ancient geometry a mere pedantic or barren speculation. The great philosopher of whom we are speaking carried his principles into practice, and applied the abstract properties of figures with the happiest success to experimental philosophy; many branches of which he greatly extended by his discoveries; and in all of them he developed the most original views, which may yet be traced to important results. The range of his studies was amazingly extensive; and he had accumulated vast stores of knowledge, especially on scientific subjects. He was deeply versed in the history of science, which he had traced from its earliest dawnings in the times of Greece and Rome, through all the subsequent vicissitudes which it experienced during the dark ages of barbarism, till it was revived by the Arabians in the east, and was afterwards improved and perfected by the more brilliant discoveries of modern times. We speak literally when we say, that we doubt if there is a single publication relating to this subject, either in the ancient or the modern languages, which he had not diligently perused; and his knowledge, minute and accurate on every point, and, once acquired, never forgotten, overflowed in his conversation and in his writings. The date of any great discovery was familiar to him; he could give anecdotes or biographical sketches of all the great promoters of science in every age; and the prodigality of his information was not more surprising than the ease with which he preserved its disposition and arrangement, under certain great leading principles, which were the land-marks of his mind, by which the store of facts which he had been treasuring up for years was reduced into order, and each distributed into its proper place in the great system of which it formed a part. For the truth of this remark we may refer to the 'History of the Barometer,' in the Edinburgh Review, and to his papers on Meteorology, and other subjects in the Encyclopædia Britannica, to his continuation of Playfair's Introductory Discourses prefixed to that work, as well as to many of his other productions, which display the great extent of his researches. On other subjects, also, not connected with his peculiar studies, his information was minute and extensive. He was deeply read in Scottish history and antiquities; and on all modern questions of politics or political economy, he had his own original ideas, which he was always ready to express and expound in a fair and temperate strain."

themselves so strongly in his domestic affections, in his love of country, and in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge.

With the inmates of his father's house dwelt intelligence, cheerful content, and piety; and, in this scene of the domestic virtues, Leyden was taught to read by his grandmother, under whom he soon acquired a familiar acquaintance with the events recorded in the sacred volume, the historical passages in the Old Testament having first attracted his attention. There is no circumstance from which we should so readily entertain good hopes of the future conduct of a boy, as that of his having been imbued with his earliest letters by so venerable an instructress; for it argues not only an attentive care to make him spell and pronounce words correctly, but an anxious discharge of the parental duties on the part of the family from whom he is sprung, which cannot fail to produce the best effects on the heart of the young pupil—an effect how different from that which other fathers are doomed to witness, who, as soon as their children's age admits of their removal, despatch them to distant schools to be brought up as well as taught by strangers, and think they have done all that can reasonably be expected from them when they disburse the sums necessary for the maintenance of their offspring! It was considered the highest praise of a Roman matron of rank that “she staid at home and span,” *domum mansit, lanam fecit*; but by far more honourable is the epitaph which might with truth be engraved on the tombstones of many Scottish women of the humblest rank—“she taught her grandchildren to read.” The moral worth which such a system of affectionate training keeps alive in the land cannot be too highly estimated; and, as if to prove its advantage, such men as Leyden now and then emerge from useful obscurity, and make the beauty of their home-bred virtues conspicuous to all the world.

Leyden's taste for reading, once kindled, spread like the *moorburn* on his native heaths, first over the books in his father's possession, and then to the shelves of the neighbours. Some popular works on Scottish history supplied the inspiring recital of the deeds of Wallace and Bruce, which, beyond their immediate benefit, have continued as examples through succeeding ages to cherish sentiments of independence in every generous bosom. Among the other productions with which he was greatly delighted, have been enumerated the poems of Sir David Lindsay, *Paradise Lost*, Chapman's translation of Homer, and the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. An odd volume of the last-named work he obtained, when he was about eleven years old, by a resolute perseverance of solicitation quite commensurate with the ardour of his subsequent literary career. He had received from a companion some account of its contents, and been told that the treasure belonged to a blacksmith's apprentice who resided at some miles' distance from his father's house. The very next morning, Leyden waded through the snow in the hope of being allowed to peruse a part of the volume in the owner's presence—for he had no title to expect a loan of it in any other way; and that he might have leisure to do so, he set out betimes. On reaching the smithy, learning that the lad had gone from home to do some work, he proceeded to the place, and, having preferred his request, met with a refusal. But he was not to be so dismissed, and continuing beside the lad the whole day, he either succeeded in gaining his good graces, or prevailed by the mere force of pertinacity, so that he got the book as a present, and returned home by sunset, “exhausted by hunger and fatigue,” says Sir Walter Scott, “but in triumphant possession of a treasure for which he would have subjected himself to yet greater privations.”

At nine years of age Leyden had been sent to the parish school of Kirktown, where, to writing and arithmetic, he added a little knowledge of Latin gran-

mar. He continued here three years, with the interval of two very long vacations, in consequence of the death of one teacher and the removal of another. At these times he assumed the plaid, and looked after his father's flock when his assistance was needed. His parents now clearly perceived that the bent of their son's mind was for learning, and he was accordingly placed under the charge of Mr Duncan, a Cameronian minister at Denholm, who instructed a few pupils,—he could not usually draw together more than five or six,—in Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anecdote which took place at this time: Denholm being about three miles from his home, which was rather too long a walk, his father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common prejudice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his schoolfellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would at first have declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he informed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his possession a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue*."

After he had enjoyed the advantage of Mr Duncan's instructions for two years, it was judged that he was qualified for college; and in November, 1790, his father accompanied him half-way to Edinburgh, with a horse which they rode alternately; he performed the rest of the journey on foot. His views being directed to the church, he began the usual course of study by attending the Greek and Latin classes; in the preparations for which he was assiduous, allotting a stated portion of time daily to the tasks of each professor, and employing the remaining hours in desultory reading, from which, having the command of the college library, he was not deterred, like some young men, by any difficulty of determining which books it would be most proper and advantageous for him to read first. His public appearances threatened at the outset to draw down upon him some degree of ridicule; but professor Dalzell used to describe with some humour, the astonishment and amusement excited in his class when John Leyden first stood up to recite his Greek exercise. The rustic yet undaunted manner, the humble dress, the high harsh tone of his voice, joined to the broad provincial accent of Teviotdale, discomposed on this first occasion the gravity of the professor, and totally routed that of the students. But it was soon perceived that these uncouth attributes were joined to qualities which commanded respect and admiration. The rapid progress of the young rustic attracted the approbation and countenance of the professor, who was ever prompt to distinguish and encourage merit; and to those among the students who did not admit literary proficiency as a shelter for the ridicule due since the days of Juvenal to the scholar's worn coat and unfashionable demeanour, Leyden was in no respect averse from showing strong reasons adapted to their comprehension, and affecting their personal safety, for keeping their mirth within decent bounds.¹

The Greek language was long his favourite study, and, considering his opportunities, he became much more intimately acquainted with its best authors than is usual in Scotland, even among those who make some pretensions to literature. The Latin he understood thoroughly; and it is perhaps the best proof

¹ The ensuing part of the present article is borrowed with very slight alterations from a memoir of Dr Leyden, in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811—evidently, from its "careless inimitable graces;" the composition of Sir Walter Scott.

of his classical attainments, that at a later period, to use his own expression, "he passed muster pretty well when introduced to Dr Parr."

Leyden was now at the fountain-head of knowledge, and availed himself of former privations by quaffing it in large draughts. He not only attended all the lectures usually connected with the study of theology, but several others, particularly some of the medical classes,—a circumstance which afterwards proved important to his outset in life, although at the time it could only be ascribed to his restless and impatient pursuit after science of every description. Admission to these lectures was easy from the liberality of the professors, who throw their classes gratuitously open to young men educated for the church, a privilege of which Leyden availed himself to the utmost extent. There were indeed few branches of study in which he did not make some progress. Besides the learned languages, he acquired French, Spanish, Italian, and German, was familiar with the ancient Icelandic, and studied Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.

But though he soon became particularly distinguished by his talents as a linguist, few departments of science altogether escaped his notice. He investigated moral philosophy with the ardour common to all youths of talent who studied ethics under the auspices of professor Dugald Stewart, with whose personal notice he was honoured. He became a respectable mathematician, and was at least superficially acquainted with natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, botany, and mineralogy. These various sciences he acquired in different degrees, and at different times, during his residence at college. They were the fruit of no very regular plan of study: whatever subject interested his mind at the time attracted his principal attention till time and industry had overcome the difficulties which it presented, and was then exchanged for another pursuit. It seemed frequently to be Leyden's object to learn just so much of a particular science as should enable him to resume it at any future period; and to those who objected to the miscellaneous, or occasionally the superficial nature of his studies, he used to answer with his favourite interjection, "Dash it, man, never mind: if you have the scaffolding ready, you can run up the masonry when you please." But this mode of study, however successful with John Leyden, cannot be safely recommended to a student of less retentive memory and robust application. With him, however, at least while he remained in Britain, it seemed a matter of little consequence for what length of time he resigned any particular branch of study; for when either some motive or mere caprice induced him to resume it, he could with little difficulty re-unite all the broken associations, and begin where he left off months or years before, without having lost an inch of ground during the interval.

The vacations which our student spent at home were employed in arranging, methodizing, and enlarging the information which he had acquired during his winter's attendance at college. His father's cottage affording him little opportunity for quiet and seclusion, he was obliged to look out for accommodations abroad, and some of his places of retreat were sufficiently extraordinary. In a wild recess, in the dean or glen which gives name to the village of Denholm, he contrived a sort of furnace for the purpose of such chemical experiments as it was adequate to performing. But his chief place of retirement was the small parish church, a gloomy and ancient building, generally believed in the neighbourhood to be haunted. To this chosen place of study, usually locked during week-days, Leyden made entrance by means of a window, read there for many hours in the day, and deposited his books and specimens in a retired pew. It was a well chosen spot of seclusion, for the kirk, (excepting during divine service) is rather a place of terror to the Scottish rustic, and that of Cavers was rendered more so by many a tale of ghosts and witchcraft,

of which it was the supposed scene; and to which Leyden, partly to indulge his humour, and partly to secure his retirement, contrived to make some modern additions. The nature of his abstruse studies, some specimens of natural history, as toads and adders, left exposed in their spirit vials, and one or two practical jests played off upon the more curious of the peasantry, rendered his gloomy haunt not only venerated by the wise, but feared by the simple, of the parish, who began to account this abstracted student, like the gifted person described by Wordsworth, as possessing

———Waking empire wide as dreams,
 An ample sovereignty of eye and ear;
 Rich are his walks with supernatural cheer;
 The region of his inner spirit teems
 With vital sounds, and monitory gleams
 Of high astonishment and pleasing fear.

This was a distinction which, as we have already hinted, he was indeed not unwilling to affect, and to which, so far as the visions existing in the high fancy of the poet can supply those ascribed to the actual ghost-seer, he had indeed no slight pretensions.

Books as well as retirement were necessary to the progress of Leyden's studies, and not always attainable. But his research collected from every quarter such as were accessible by loan, and he subjected himself to the utmost privations to purchase those that were not otherwise to be procured. The reputation also of his prosperous career of learning obtained him occasional access to the library of Mr Douglas of Cavers; an excellent old collection, in which he met, for the first time, many of those works of the middle ages which he studied with so much research and success. A Froissart in particular, translated by lord Berners, captivated his attention with all those tales "to savage virtue dear," which coincided with his taste for chivalry, and with the models on which it had been formed; and tales of the Black Prince, of the valiant Chandos, and of Geoffrey Tete-Noir, now rivalled the legends of Johnnie Armstrong, Walter the Devil, and the Black Douglas.

In the country, Leyden's society was naturally considerably restricted, but while at college it began to extend itself among such of his fellow students as were distinguished for proficiency in learning. Among these we may number the celebrated author of the Pleasures of Hope; the Rev. Alexander Murray united with Leyden in the kindred pursuit of oriental learning, and whose lamp, like that of his friend, was extinguished at the moment when it was placed in the most conspicuous elevation; William Erskine, author of a poetical epistle from St Kilda, with whom Leyden renewed his friendship in India; the ingenious Dr Thomas Brown, distinguished for his early proficiency in the science of moral philosophy, of which he was afterwards professor in the Edinburgh college; the Rev. Robert Lundie, minister of Kelso, and several other young men of talent, who at that time pursued their studies in the university of Edinburgh.

In the year 1796, the recommendation of professor Dalzell procured Leyden the situation of private tutor to the sons of Mr Campbell of Fairfield, a situation which he retained for two or three years. During the winter of 1798, he attended the two young gentlemen to their studies at the college of St Andrews. Here he had the advantage of the acquaintance of professor Hunter, an admirable classical scholar, and to whose kind instructions he professed much obligation. The secluded situation also of St Andrews, the monastic life of the students, the fragments of antiquity with which that once metropolitan town is surrounded, and

the libraries of its colleges, gave him additional opportunity and impulse to pursue his favourite plans of study.

About the time he resided at St Andrews, the renown of Mungo Park, and Leyden's enthusiastic attachment to all researches connected with oriental learning, turned his thoughts towards the history of Africa, in which he found much to enchant an imagination which loved to dwell upon the grand, the marvellous, the romantic, and even the horrible, and which was rather fired than appalled by the picture of personal danger and severe privation. Africa indeed had peculiar charms for Leyden. He delighted to read of hosts, whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams; of kings and soldiers, who judged of the numberless number of their soldiers by marching them over the trunk of a cedar, and only deemed their strength sufficient to take the field when such myriads had passed as to reduce the solid timber to impalpable dust: the royal halls also of Dahomey, built of skulls and cross-bones, and moistened with the daily blood of new victims of tyranny, all, in short, that presented strange, wild, and romantic views of human nature, and which furnished new and unheard-of facts in the history of man, had great fascination for his ardent imagination. And about this time he used to come into company, quite full of these extraordinary stories, garnished faithfully with the unpronounceable names of the despots and tribes of Africa, which any one at a distance would have taken for the exorcism of a conjurer. The fruit of his researches he gave to the public in a small volume, entitled, "An Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the close of the 18th century," crown 8vo, 1799. It is written on the plan of Raynal's celebrated work, and, as it contains a clear and lively abridgment of the information afforded by travellers whose works are of rare occurrence, it was favourably received by the public.

On Leyden's return to Edinburgh from St Andrews, he resided with his pupils in the family of Mr Campbell, where he was treated with that respect and kindness which every careful father will pay to him whose lessons he expects his children to receive with attention and advantage. His hours, excepting those of tuition, were at his own uncontrolled disposal, and such of his friends as chose to visit him at Mr Campbell's, were sure of a hospitable reception. This class began now to extend itself among persons of an older standing than his contemporaries, and embraced several who had been placed by fortune, or had risen by exertions, to that fixed station in society, to which his college intimates were as yet only looking forwards. His acquaintance with Mr Richard Heber was the chief means of connecting him with several families of the former description, and it originated in the following circumstances.

John Leyden's feelings were naturally poetical, and he was early led to express them in the language of poetry. Before he visited St Andrews, and while residing there, he had composed both fragments and complete pieces of poetry in almost every style and stanza which our language affords, from an unfinished tragedy on the fate of the Darien settlement, to songs, ballads, and comic tales. Many of these essays afterwards found their way to the press through the medium of the Edinburgh Magazine, at that time under the management or the patronage of Dr Robert Anderson, editor of the British poets, with whom Leyden was on terms of intimacy. In this periodical miscellany appeared from time to time poetical translations from the Greek Anthology, from the Norse, from the Hebrew, from the Arabic, from the Syriac, from the Persian, and so forth, with many original pieces, indicating more genius than taste, and an extent of learning of most unusual dimensions. These were subscribed J. L. About this time also Mr Archibald Constable was opening business chiefly as a

retailer of curious and ancient books, a department in which he possessed extensive knowledge; Mr Richard Heber, the extent of whose invaluable library is generally known, was, in the winter of 1799-1800, residing in Edinburgh, and a frequenter of course of Mr Constable's shop. In these researches he formed an acquaintance with Leyden, who examined as an amateur the shelves which Mr Heber ransacked as a purchaser, and the latter discovered with pleasure the unknown author of the poems which have been already alluded to. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and was cemented by mutual advantage. Mr Heber had found an associate as ardent as himself in the pursuit of classical knowledge, and who would willingly sit up night after night to collate editions, and to note various readings; and Leyden, besides the advantage and instruction which he derived from Mr Heber's society, enjoyed that of being introduced, by his powerful recommendation, to the literary gentlemen of Edinburgh, with whom he lived in intimacy. Among these may be reckoned the late lord Woodhouselee, Mr Henry Mackenzie, the distinguished author of the *Man of Feeling*, and the Reverend Mr Sidney Smith, then residing in Edinburgh, from all of whom Leyden received flattering attention, and many important testimonies of the interest which they took in his success. By the same introduction he became intimate in the family of Mr Walter Scott, where a congenial taste for ballad, romance, and border antiquities, as well as a sincere admiration of Leyden's high talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent heart, secured him a welcome reception. And by degrees his society extended itself still more widely, and comprehended almost every one who was distinguished for taste or talents in Edinburgh.

The manners of Leyden, when he first entered into company, were very peculiar; nor indeed were they at any time much modified during his continuing in Europe; and here, perhaps, as properly as elsewhere, we may endeavour to give some idea of his personal appearance and habits in society. In his complexion the clear red upon the cheek indicated a hectic propensity, but with his brown hair, lively dark eyes, and well-proportioned features, gave an acute and interesting turn of expression to his whole countenance. He was of middle stature, of a frame rather thin than strong, but muscular and active, and well fitted for all those athletic exertions in which he delighted to be accounted a master. For he was no less anxious to be esteemed a man eminent for learning and literary talent, than to be held a fearless player at single-stick, a formidable boxer, and a distinguished adept at leaping, running, walking, climbing, and all exercises which depend on animal spirits and muscular exertion. Feats of this nature he used to detail with such liveliness as sometimes led his audience to charge him with exaggeration; but, unlike the athletic in *Æsop's* apologue, he was always ready to attempt the repetition of his great leap at Rhodes, were it at the peril of breaking his neck on the spot. And certainly in many cases his spirit and energy carried him through enterprises which his friends considered as most rashly undertaken. An instance occurred on board of ship in India, where two gentlemen, by way of *quizzing* Leyden's pretensions to agility, offered him a bet of twenty gold mols that he could not go aloft. Our bard instantly betook himself to the shrouds, and, at all the risk incident to a landsman who first attempts such an ascent, successfully scaled the main-top. There it was intended to subject him to an unusual practical sea joke, by *seizing him up*, *i. e.* tying him, till he should redeem himself by paying a fine. But the spirit of Leyden dictated desperate resistance, and, finding he was likely to be overpowered, he flung himself from the top, and, seizing a rope, precipitated himself on deck by letting it slide rapidly through his grasp. In this operation he lost the skin of both hands, but of course won his wager. But when he ob-

served his friends look grave at the expensive turn which their jest had taken, he tore and flung into the sea the order for the money which they had given him, and contented himself with the triumph which his spirit and agility had gained. And this little anecdote may illustrate his character in more respects than one.

In society, John Leyden's first appearance had something that revolted the fastidious and alarmed the delicate. He was a bold and uncompromising disputant, and neither subdued his tone, nor mollified the form of his argument, out of deference to the rank, age, or even sex of those with whom he was maintaining it. His voice, which was naturally loud and harsh, was on such occasions exaggerated into what he himself used to call his *saw-tones*, which were not very pleasant to the ear of strangers. His manner was animated, his movements abrupt, and the gestures with which he enforced his arguments rather forcible than elegant; so that, altogether, his first appearance was somewhat appalling to persons of low animal spirits, or shy and reserved habits, as well as to all who expected much reverence in society on account of the adventitious circumstances of rank or station. Besides, his spirits were generally at top-flood, and entirely occupied with what had last arrested his attention, and thus his own feats, or his own studies, were his topic more frequently than is consistent with the order of good society, in which every person has a right to expect his share of conversation. He was indeed too much bent on attaining personal distinction in society to choose nicely the mode of acquiring it. For example, in the course of a large evening party, crowded with fashionable people, to many of whom Leyden was an absolute stranger, silence being imposed for the purpose of a song, one of his friends with great astonishment, and some horror, heard Leyden, who could not sing a note, scream forth a verse or two of some border ditty, with all the dissonance of an Indian war-whoop. In their way home, he ventured to remonstrate with his friend on this extraordinary exhibition, to which his defence was, "Dash it, man, they would have thought I was *afraid* to sing before them." In short, his egotism, his bold assumption in society, his affectation of neglecting many of its forms as trifles beneath his notice—circumstances which often excited against his first appearance an undue and disproportionate prejudice—were entirely founded upon the resolution to support his independence in society, and to assert that character formed between the lettered scholar, and the wild rude borderer, the counter part as it were of Anacharsis, the philosophic Scythian, which, from his infancy, he was ambitious of maintaining. His humble origin was with him rather a subject of honest pride than of false shame, and he was internally not unwilling that his department should to a certain degree partake of the simplicity of the ranks from which he had raised himself by his talents, to bear a share in the first society.

Having thus marked strongly the defects of his manner, and the prejudice which they sometimes excited, we crave credit from the public, while we record the real virtues and merits by which they were atoned a thousand fold. Leyden's apparent harshness of address covered a fund of real affection to his friends, and kindness to all with whom he mingled, unwearied in their service, and watchful to oblige them. To gratify the slightest wish of a friend, he would engage at once in the most toilsome and difficult researches, and when perhaps that friend had forgotten that he even intimated such a wish, Leyden came to pour down before him the fullest information on the subject which had excited his attention. And his temper was in reality, and notwithstanding an affectation of roughness, as gentle as it was generous. No one felt more deeply for the distress of those he loved. No one exhibited more disinterested pleasure in their success. In dispute, he never lost temper, and if he despised the outworks of

ceremony, he never trespassed upon the essentials of good breeding, and was himself the first to feel hurt and distressed if he conceived that he had, by any rash or hasty expression, injured the feelings of the most inconsiderable member of the company. In all the rough play of his argument too, he was strictly good-humoured, and was the first to laugh if, as must happen occasionally to those who talk much, and upon every subject, some disputant of less extensive but more accurate information, contrived to arrest him in his very pitch of pride, by a home fact or incontrovertible argument. And, when his high and independent spirit, his firm and steady principles of religion and virtue, his constant good humour, the extent and variety of his erudition, and the liveliness of his conversation, were considered, they must have been fastidious indeed who were not reconciled to the foibles or peculiarities of his tone and manner.

Many of those whose genius has raised them to distinction, have fallen into the fatal error of regarding their wit and talents as an excuse for the unlimited indulgence of their passions, and their biographers have too frequently to record the acts of extravagance, and habits of immorality, which disgraced and shortened their lives. From such crimes and follies John Leyden stood free and stainless. He was deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, of which he was at all times a ready and ardent asserter, and his faith was attested by the purity of morals which is its best earthly evidence. To the pleasures of the table he was totally indifferent, never exceeded the bounds of temperance in wine, though frequently in society where there was temptation to do so, and seemed hardly to enjoy any refreshment excepting tea, of which he sometimes drank very large quantities.³ When he was travelling or studying, his temperance became severe abstinence, and he often passed an entire day without any other food than a morsel of bread. To sleep he was equally indifferent, and when, during the latter part of his residence in Edinburgh, he frequently spent the day in company, he used, upon retiring home, to pursue his studies till a late hour in the morning, and satisfy himself with a very brief portion of repose. It was the opinion of his friends, that his strict temperance alone could have enabled him to follow so hard a course of reading as he enjoined himself. His pecuniary resources were necessarily much limited; but he knew that independence, and the title of maintaining a free and uncontrolled demeanour in society can only be attained by avoiding pecuniary embarrassments, and he managed his funds with such severe economy, that he seemed always at ease upon his very narrow income. We have only another trait to add to his character as a member of society. With all his bluntness and peculiarity, and under disadvantages of birth and fortune, Leyden's reception among females of rank and elegance was favourable in a distinguished degree. Whether it is that the tact of the fair sex is finer than ours, or that they more readily pardon peculiarity in favour of originality, or that an uncommon address and manner is in itself a recommendation to their favour, or that they are not so readily offended as the male sex by a display of superior learning; in short, whatever were the cause, it is certain that Leyden was a favourite among those whose favour all are ambitious to attain. Among the ladies of distinction who honoured him with their regard, it is sufficient to notice the late duchess of Gordon and lady Charlotte Campbell (now Bury), who were then leaders of the fashionable society of Edinburgh. It is time to return to trace the brief events of his life.

In 1800, Leyden was ordained a preacher of the gospel, and entered upon the functions then conferred upon him, by preaching in several of the churches

³ A lady whose house he frequented, mentioned to a friend of the editor that she had filled him out eighteen cups in one evening.

in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. His style of pulpit oratory was marked with the same merits and faults which distinguish his poetry. His style was more striking than eloquent, and his voice and gesture more violent than elegant; but his discourses were marked with strong traits of original genius, and although he pleaded an internal feeling of disappointment at being unequal to attain his own ideas of excellence as a preacher, it was impossible to listen to him without being convinced of his uncommon extent of learning, knowledge of ethics, and sincere zeal for the interest of religion.

The autumn of the same year was employed in a tour to the Highlands and Hebrides, in which Leyden accompanied two young foreigners who had studied at Edinburgh the preceding winter. In this tour he visited all the remarkable places of that interesting part of his native country, and, diverging from the common and more commodious route, visited what are called the *rough bounds* of the Highlands, and investigated the decaying traditions of Celtic manners and story which are yet preserved in the wild districts of Moidart and Knoidart. The journal which he made on this occasion was a curious monument of his zeal and industry in these researches, and contained much valuable information on the subject of Highland manners and tradition, which is now probably lost to the public. It is remarkable, that after long and painful research in quest of original passages of the poems of Ossian, he adopted an opinion more favourable to their authenticity than has lately prevailed in the literary world. But the confessed infidelity of Macpherson must always excite the strongest suspicion on this subject. Leyden composed, with his usual facility, several detached poems upon Highland traditions, all of which have probably perished, excepting a ballad, founded upon the romantic legend respecting MacPhail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Correvrecken, inscribed to lady Charlotte Campbell, and published in the third volume of the *Border Minstrelsy*, which appeared at the distance of about a twelvemonth after the first two volumes. The opening of this ballad exhibits a power of harmonious numbers which has seldom been excelled in English poetry. Nor were these legendary effusions the only fruit of his journey; for, in his passage through Aberdeen, Leyden so far gained the friendship of the venerable professor Beattie, that he obtained his permission to make a transcript from the only existing copy of the interesting poem entitled *Albania*. This work, which is a panegyric on Scotland in nervous blank verse, written by an anonymous author in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leyden afterwards republished along with Wilson's "*Clyde*," under the title of "*Scottish Descriptive Poems*," 12mo, 1802.

In 1801, when Mr Lewis published his *Tales of Wonder*, Leyden was a contributor to that collection, and furnished the ballad called the *Elf-king*; and in the following year, he employed himself earnestly in the congenial task of procuring materials for the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the first publication of Walter Scott. In this labour, he was equally interested by friendship for the editor, and by his own patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish borders, and both may be judged of from the following circumstance. An interesting fragment had been obtained of an ancient historical ballad, but the remainder, to the great disturbance of the editor and his coadjutor, was not to be recovered. Two days afterwards, while Mr Scott was sitting with some company after dinner, a sound was heard at a distance like that of the whistling of a tempest through the torn rigging of the vessel which scuds before it. The sounds increased as they approached more near, and Leyden (to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him,) burst into the room, chanting the desiderated ballad with the most enthusiastic gesture, and all the energy of the saw-tones of his voice already commemorated. It turned out, that

he had walked between forty and fifty miles and back again, for the sole purpose of visiting an old person who possessed this precious remnant of antiquity. His antiquarian researches and poetic talents were also liberally exerted for the support of this undertaking. To the former, the reader owes in a great measure the Dissertation on Fairy Superstition, which, although arranged and digested by Mr Scott, abounds with instances of such curious reading as Leyden alone had read, and was originally compiled by him; and to the latter the spirited ballads entitled Lord Soulis and the Cout of Keeldar.

Leyden's next publication was "The Complaynt of Scotland, a new edition of an ancient and singularly rare tract bearing that title, written by an uncertain author, about the year 1548." This curious work was published by Mr Constable in the year 1801. As the tract was itself of a diffuse and comprehensive nature, touching upon many unconnected topics, both of public policy and private life, as well as treating of the learning, the poetry, the music, and the arts of that early period, it gave Leyden an opportunity of pouring forth such a profusion of antiquarian knowledge in the preliminary dissertation, notes, and glossary, as one would have thought could hardly have been accumulated during so short a life, dedicated too to so many and varied studies. The intimate acquaintance which he has displayed with Scottish antiquities of every kind, from manuscript histories and rare chronicles, down to the tradition of the peasant, and the rhymes even of the nursery, evince an extent of research, power of arrangement, and facility of recollection, which has never been equalled in this department.

Meanwhile other pursuits were not abandoned in the study of Scottish antiquities. The Edinburgh Magazine was united in 1802 with the old Scots Magazine, and was now put under the management of Leyden by Mr Constable the publisher. To this publication, during the period of his management, which was about five or six months, he contributed several occasional pieces of prose and poetry, in all of which he was successful, excepting in those where humour was required, which, notwithstanding his unvaried hilarity of temper, Leyden did not possess. He was also, during this year, engaged with his "Scenes of Infancy," a poem which was afterwards published on the eve of his leaving Britain; and in which he has interwoven his own early feelings and recollections with the description and traditional history of his native vale of Teviot.

The friends of Leyden began now to be anxious for his present settlement in life. He had been for two years in orders, and there was every reason to hope that he might soon obtain a church, through the numerous friends and powerful interest which he now possessed. More than one nobleman of high rank expressed a wish to serve him, should any church in their gift become vacant; and, from the recommendation of other friends to those possessed of political interest, he was almost assured of being provided for, by a crown presentation, on some early opportunity. But his eager desire of travelling, and of extending the bounds of literary and geographical knowledge, had become, as he expressed himself to an intimate friend, "his thought by day and his dream by night, and the discoveries of Mungo Park haunted his very slumbers." When the risk was objected to him, he used to answer in a phrase of Ossian, "Dark Cuchullin will be renowned or dead;" and it became hopeless to think that this eager and aspiring spirit could be confined within the narrow sphere, and limited to the humble, though useful duties of a country clergyman. It was therefore now the wish of his friends to turn this irresistible thirst for discovery, into some channel which might at once gratify the predominant desire of his heart, and be attended with some prospect of securing his fortune. It was full time to take such steps; for in 1802 Leyden had actually commenced overtures to the African Society, for undertaking a jour-

ney of discovery through the interior of that continent—an enterprise which sad examples have shown to be little better than an act of absolute suicide. To divert his mind from this desperate project, a representation was made to the Right Hon. William Dundas, who had then a seat at the Board of Control, stating the talents and disposition of Leyden, and it was suggested that such a person might be usefully employed in investigating the language and learning of the Indian tribes. Mr Dundas entered with the most liberal alacrity into these views; but it happened, unfortunately as it might seem, that the sole appointment then at his disposal was that of surgeon's assistant, which could only be held by a person who had taken a surgical degree, and could sustain an examination before the medical board at the India house. It was upon this occasion that Leyden showed, in their utmost extent, his wonderful powers of application and comprehension. He at once intimated his readiness to accept the appointment under the conditions annexed to it, and availing himself of the superficial information he had formerly acquired by a casual attendance upon one or two of the medical classes, he gave his whole mind to the study of medicine and surgery, with the purpose of qualifying himself for his degree in the short space of five or six months. The labour which he underwent on this occasion was incredible; but with the powerful assistance of a gentleman of the highest eminence in his profession, (Mr John Bell of Edinburgh,) he succeeded in acquiring such a knowledge of this complicated and most difficult art, as enabled him to obtain his diploma as surgeon with credit, even in the city of Edinburgh, so long famed for its medical school, and for the wholesome rigour adopted in the distribution of degrees. Leyden was, however, incautious in boasting of his success after so short a course of study, and found himself obliged, in consequence of his imprudence, to relinquish his intention of taking out the degree of M. D. at Edinburgh, and to have recourse to another Scottish university for that step in his profession. Meanwhile the sudden exchange of his profession gave great amusement to some of his friends, especially when a lady having fainted in a crowded assembly, Dr Leyden advanced to her assistance, and went through the usual routine of treatment with all the gravity which becomed his new faculty. In truth, the immediate object of his studies was always, in season and out of season, predominant in Leyden's mind, and just about this time he went to the evening party of a lady of the highest rank with the remnants of a human hand in his pocket, which he had been dissecting in the morning, and on some question being stirred about the muscular action, he was with difficulty withheld from producing this grisly evidence in support of the argument which he maintained. The character of Leyden cannot be understood without mentioning those circumstances that are allied to oddity; but it is not so easy to body forth those qualities of energy, application, and intelligence, by which he dignified his extravagancies, and vindicated his assumption of merit, far less to paint his manly, generous, and friendly disposition.

In December 1802, Leyden was summoned to join the Christmas fleet of Indiamen, in consequence of his appointment as assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. It was sufficiently understood that his medical character was only assumed to bring him within the compass of Mr Dundas's patronage, and that his talents should be employed in India with reference to his literary researches. He was, however, *pro forma*, nominated to the Madras hospital. While awaiting this call, he bent his whole energies to the study of the oriental languages, and amused his hours of leisure by adding to the Scenes of Infancy, many of those passages addressed to his friends, and bearing particular reference to his own situation on the eve of departure from Scotland, which, flowing warm from the heart, constitute the principal charm of that impressive poem. Mr

James Ballantyne, an early and intimate friend of Leyden, had just then established in Edinburgh his press, which afterwards became so distinguished. To the critical skill of a valued and learned friend, and to the friendly as well as professional care of Ballantyne, Leyden committed this last memorial of his love to his native land. The last sheets reached him before he left Britain, no more to return.

About the middle of December, John Leyden left Edinburgh, but not exactly at the time he had proposed. He had taken a solemn farewell of his friends, and gone to Roxburghshire to bid adieu to his parents, whom he regarded with the most tender filial affection, and from thence he intended to have taken his departure for London without returning to Edinburgh. Some accident changed his purpose, and his unexpected arrival in Edinburgh was picturesque and somewhat startling. A party of his friends had met in the evening to talk over his merits, and to drink, in Scottish phrase, his *Bonallie*. While about the witching hour they were crowning a solemn bumper to his health, a figure burst into the room, muffled in a seaman's cloak and travelling cap, covered with snow, and distinguishable only by the sharpness and ardour of the tone with which he exclaimed, "Dash it, boys, here I am again!" The start with which this unexpected apparition was received, was subject of great mirth at the time, and the circumstance was subsequently recalled by most of the party with that mixture of pleasure and melancholy which attaches to the particulars of a last meeting with a beloved and valuable friend.

In London, the kindness of Mr Heber, his own reputation, and the recommendation of his Edinburgh friends, procured Leyden much kindness and attention among persons of rank and literary distinction. His chief protector and friend, however, was Mr George Ellis, the well-known editor of the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*. To this gentleman he owed an obligation of the highest possible value, in a permission which he kindly granted him to change, on account of illness, from one vessel to another, the former being afterwards unfortunately cast away in going down the river, when many of the passengers were drowned.

After this providential exchange of destination, the delay of the vessel to which he was transferred, permitted his residence in London until the beginning of April, 1803, an interval which he spent in availing himself of the opportunities which he now enjoyed, of mixing in the most distinguished society in the metropolis, where the novelty and good humour of his character made ample amends for the native bluntness of his manners. In the beginning of April, he sailed from Portsmouth, in the *Hugh Inglis*, where he had the advantage of being on board the same vessel with Mr Robert Smith, the brother of his steady friend, the Rev. Mr Sidney Smith. And thus set forth on his voyage perhaps the first British traveller that ever sought India, moved neither by the love of wealth nor of power, and who, despising alike the luxuries commanded by the one, and the pomp attached to the other, was guided solely by the wish of extending our knowledge of oriental literature, and distinguishing himself as its most successful cultivator. This pursuit he urged through health and through sickness, unshaken by all the difficulties arising from imperfect communication with the natives, from their prejudices and those of their European masters, and from frequent change of residence; unmoved either by the charms of pleasure, of wealth, or of that seducing indolence to which many men of literature have yielded after overcoming all other impediments. To this pursuit he finally fell a sacrifice, as devoted a martyr in the cause of science, as ever died in that of religion. We are unable to trace his Indian researches and travels with accuracy similar to that with which we have followed those which preceded

his departure from Europe, but we are enabled to state the following outlines of his fortune in the East.

After a mutiny in the vessel, which was subdued by the exertions of the officers and passengers, and in which Leyden distinguished himself by his coolness and intrepidity, the Hugh Inglis arrived at Madras, and he was transferred to the duties of his new profession. His nomination as surgeon to the commissioners appointed to survey the ceded districts, seemed to promise ample opportunities for the cultivation of oriental learning. But his health gave way under the fatigues of the climate; and he has pathetically recorded, in his "Address to an Indian Gold Coin," the inroads which were made on his spirits and constitution. He was obliged to leave the presidency of Madras, suffering an accumulation of diseases, and reached with difficulty Prince of Wales Island. During the passage the vessel was chased by a French privateer, which was the occasion of Leyden's composing, in his best style of border enthusiasm, an "Ode to a Malay kris," or dagger, the only weapon which his reduced strength now admitted of his wielding. The following letter to Mr Ballantyne, dated from Prince of Wales Island, 24th October, 1805, gives a lively and interesting account of his occupations during the first two years of his residence in India.

"Puloo Penang, October 24th, 1805.

"My dear Ballantyne,—Finding an extra Indiaman, the *Revenge*, which has put into this harbour in distress, bound to Europe, I take another opportunity of attempting to revive, or rather commence, an intercourse with my European friends, for since my arrival in India I have never received a single scrap from one of them,—*Proh Deum!* Mr Constable excepted; and my friend Erskine writes me from Bombay, that none of you have received the least intelligence of my motions since I left Europe. This is to me utterly astonishing and incomprehensible, considering the multitude of letters and parcels that I have despatched from Mysore, especially during my confinement for the liver disease at Seringapatam, where I had for some months the honour of inhabiting the palace of Tippoo's prime minister. I descended into Malabar in the beginning of May, in order to proceed to Bombay, and perhaps eventually up the Persian gulf as far as Bassorah, in order to try the effect of a sea voyage. I was, however, too late, and the rains had set in, and the last vessels sailed two or three days before my arrival. As I am always a very lucky fellow, as well as an unlucky one, which all the world knows, it so fell out that the only vessel which sailed after my arrival was wrecked, while some secret presentiment, or rather "sweet little cherub, that sits up aloft," prevented my embarking on board of her. I journeyed leisurely down to Calicut from Cananore, intending to pay my respects to the Cutwall, and the Admiral, so famous in the *Lusiad* of Camoens; but only think of my disappointment when I found that the times are altered, and the tables turned with respect to both these sublime characters. The Cutwall is only a species of boroughbailiff, while the Admiral, God help him, is only the chief of the fishermen. From Calicut I proceeded to Paulgaut-cherry, which signifies, in the Tamal language, "the town of the forest of palms," which is exactly the meaning of *Tadmor*, the name of a city founded by Solomon, not for the queen of Sheba, but, as it happened, for the equally famous queen Zenobia. Thus having demonstrated that Solomon understood the Tamal language, we may proceed to construct a syllogism in the following manner: "Solomon understood the Tamal language, and he was wise,—I understand the Tamal language, therefore I am as wise as Solomon!" I fear you logical lads of Europe will be very little disposed to admit the legitimacy of the conclusion; but, however the matter may stand in Europe, I can assure you it's

no bad reasoning for India. At Paulgaut-cherry I had a most terrible attack of the liver, and should very probably have passed away, or, as the Indians say, changed my climate—an elegant periphrasis for dying, however—had I not obstinately resolved on living to have the pleasure of being *revenged* on all of you for your obstinate silence and ‘perseverance therein to the end.’ Hearing about the middle of August, that a Bombay cruiser had touched at Aleppo, between Quilod and Cochin, I made a desperate push through the jungles of the Cochin Rajah’s country, in order to reach her, and arrived about three hours after she had set sail. Any body else would have died of chagrin, if they had not hanged themselves outright. I did neither one nor the other, but ‘tuned my pipes and played a spring to John o’ Badenyon;’ after which I set myself coolly down and translated the famous Jewish tablets of brass, preserved in the synagogue of Cochin ever since the days of Methusalem. Probably you may think this no more difficult a task than decyphering the brazen tablet on any door of Princes or Queen street. But here I beg your pardon; for, so far from any body, Jew, Pagan, or Christian, having ever been able to do this before, I assure you the most learned men of the world have never been able to decide in what language or in what alphabet they were written. As the character has for a long time been supposed to be antediluvian, it has for a long time been as much despaired of as the Egyptian hieroglyphics. So much was the diwan or grand vizier, if you like it, of Travancore astonished at the circumstance, that he gave me to understand that I had only to *pass through the Sacred Cow* in order to merit adoption into the holy order of bramins. I was forced, however, to decline the honour of the sacred cow, for unluckily Phalaris’ bull and Moses’ calf presented themselves to my imagination, and it occurred to me that perhaps the Ram-rajah’s cow might be a beast of the breed. Being on the eve of a new attack of the liver, I was forced to leave Travancore with great precipitation, in the first vessel that presented itself, a Mapilla brig, bound to Puloo Penang, the newly erected presidency on the Straits of Malacca, where I have just arrived, after a perverse pestilent voyage, in which I have been terribly ill of revulsions of bile and liver, without any of the conveniences which are almost necessary to an European in these parts, and particularly to an invalid. We have had a very rough passage, the cabin very often all afloat, while I have been several times completely drenched. In addition to this we have been pursued by a Frenchman, and kept in a constant state of alarm and agitation; and now, to mend the matter, I am writing you at a kind of naval tavern, while all around me is ringing with the vociferation of tarpaulins, the hoarse bawling of sea oaths, and the rattling of the dice-box. However, I flatter myself I have received considerable benefit from the voyage, tedious and disgusting and vexatious as it has been. * * *

“You know when I left Scotland, I had determined at all events to become a furious orientalist, “*nemini secundus*,” but I was not aware of the difficulty. I found the expense of native teachers would prove almost insurmountable to a mere assistant surgeon, whose pay is seldom equal to his absolutely necessary expenses; and, besides, that it was necessary to form a library of MSS. at a most terrible expense, in every language to which I should apply, if I intended to proceed beyond a mere smattering. After much consideration, I determined on this plan at all events, and was fortunate enough in a few months to secure an appointment, which furnished me with the means of doing so, though the tasks and exertions it imposed on me were a good deal more arduous than the common duties of a surgeon even in a Mahratta campaign, I was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey, and at the same time directed to carry on inquiries concerning the natural history of the country, and the manners

and languages, &c., of the natives of Mysore. This, you would imagine, was the very situation I wished for, and so it would, had I previously had time to acquire the country languages. But I had them now to acquire after severe marches and counter-marches in the heat of the sun, night-marches and day-marches, and amid the disgusting details of a field hospital, the duties of which were considerably arduous. However, I wrought incessantly and steadily, and without being discouraged by any kind of difficulty, till my health absolutely gave way, and when I could keep the field no longer, I wrought on my couch, as I generally do still, though I am much better than I have been. As I had the assistance of no intelligent Europeans, I was obliged long to grope my way; but I have now acquired a pretty correct idea of India in all its departments, which increases in geometrical progression as I advance in the languages. The languages that have attracted my attention since my arrival have been Arabic, Persic, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian. You will be ready to ask where I picked up these hard names, but I assure you it is infinitely more difficult to pick up the languages themselves; several of which include dialects as different from each other as French or Italian from Spanish or Portuguese; and in all these, I flatter myself, I have made considerable progress. What would you say, were I to add the Maldivian and Mapella languages to these? Besides, I have decyphered the inscriptions of Mavalipoorani, which were written in an ancient Canara character that had hitherto defied all attempts at understanding it, and also several *Lada Lippi* inscriptions, which is an ancient Tamal dialect and character, in addition to the Jewish tablets of Cochin, which were in the ancient Malayalam, generally termed Malabar. I enter into these details merely to show you that I have not been idle, and that my time has neither been dissipated, nor devoid of plan, though that plan is not sufficiently unfolded. To what I have told you of, you are to add constant and necessary exposure to the sun, damps and dews from the jungles, and putrid exhalations of marshes, before I had been properly accustomed to the climate, constant rambling in the haunts of tigers, leopards, bears, and serpents of 30 or 40 feet long, that make nothing of swallowing a buffalo, by way of demonstrating their appetite, in a morning, together with smaller and more dangerous snakes, whose haunts are dangerous, and bite deadly; and you have a faint idea of a situation, in which, with health, I lived as happy as the day was long. It was occasionally diversified with rapid jaunts of a hundred miles or so, as fast as horses or bearers could carry me, by night or day, swimming through rivers, afloat in an old brass kettle, at midnight! O! I could tell you adventures to outrival the witch of Endor, or any witch that ever swam in egg-shell or sieve; but you would undoubtedly imagine I wanted to impose on you were I to relate what I have seen and passed through. No! I certainly shall never repent of having come to India. It has awakened energies in me that I scarcely imagined I possessed, though I could gnaw my living nails with pure vexation to think how much I have been thwarted by indisposition. If, however, I get over it, I shall think the better of my constitution as long as I live. It is not every constitution that can resist the combined attack of liver, spleen, bloody flux, and jungle fever, which is very much akin to the plague of Egypt, and yellow fever of America. It is true I have been five times given up by the most skilful physicians in these parts; but in spite of that, I am firmly convinced that "my doom is not to die this day." You are to commend me kindly to your good motherly mother, and tell her I wish I saw her oftener, and then to your brother Alexander, and request him sometimes, on a Saturday night, precisely at eight o'clock, for my sake, to play "Gingling Johnny" on his flageolet. If I had you both in my tent, you should

drink yourself drunk with wine of Shiraz, which is our eastern Falernian, in honour of Hafiz, our Persian Anacreon. As for me, I often drink your health in *water*, (ohon a rec!) having long abandoned both wine and animal food, not from choice, but dire necessity.—Adieu, dear Ballantyne, and believe me, in the Malay isle, to be ever yours sincerely,

JOHN LEYDEN."

Leyden soon became reconciled to Puloo Penang (or Prince of Wales Island), where he found many valuable friends and enjoyed the regard of the late Philip Dundas, Esq., then governor of the island. He resided in that island for some time, and visited Achi, with some other places on the coasts of Sumatra, and the Malayan peninsula. Here he amassed the curious information concerning the language, literature, and descent of the Indi-Chinese tribes, which afterwards enabled him to lay before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta a most valuable dissertation on so obscure a subject. Yet that his heart was sad, and his spirits depressed, is evident from the following lines, written for new-year's day, 1806, and which appeared in the Government Gazette of Prince of Wales Island.

Malaya's woods and mountains ring
With voices strange and sad to hear,
And dark unbodied spirits sing
The dirge of the departed year.

Lo! now, methinks, in tones sublime,
As viewless o'er our heads they bend,
They whisper, "Thus we steal your time,
Weak mortals, till your days shall end."

Then wake the dance, and wake the song,
Resound the festive mirth and glee;
Alas! the days have pass'd along,
The days we never more shall see.

But let me brush the nightly dews,
Beside the shell-depainted shore,
And mid the sea-weed sit to muse
On days that shall return no more.

Olivia, ah! forgive the bard,
If sprightly strains alone are dear;
His notes are sad, for he has heard
The footsteps of the parting year.

'Mid friends of youth beloved in vain,
Oft have I hailed the jocund day;
If pleasure brought a thought of pain,
I charmed it with a passing lay.

Friends of my youth for ever dear,
Where are you from this bosom fled?
A lonely man I linger here,
Like one that has been long time dead.

Foredoomed to seek an early tomb,
For whom the pallid grave-flowers blow,
I hasten on my destined doom,
And sternly mock at joy or woe!

In 1806, he took leave of Penang, regretted by many friends, whom his eccentricities amused, his talents enlightened, and his virtues conciliated. His

reception at Calcutta, and the effect which he produced upon society there, are so admirably illustrated by his ingenious and well-known countryman, Sir John Malcolm, that it would be impossible to present a more living picture of his manners and mind, and the reader will pardon some repetition for the sake of observing how the same individual was regarded in two distant hemispheres.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER.¹

“ It is not easy to convey an idea of the method which Dr Leyden used in his studies, or to describe the unconquerable ardour with which these were pursued.—During his early residence in India, I had a particular opportunity of observing both. When he read a lesson in Persian, a person near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, under different heads of verbs, nouns, &c., into a blank book that formed a vocabulary of each day’s lesson. All this he had in a few hours instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man he used, in his broad accent, to call ‘one of his mechanical aids.’ He was so ill at Mysore, soon after his arrival from England, that Mr Anderson, the surgeon who attended him, despaired of his life; but though all his friends endeavoured at this period to prevail upon him to relax in his application to study, it was in vain. He used, when unable to sit upright, to prop himself up with pillows, and continue his translations. One day that I was sitting by his bedside, the surgeon came in.—‘I am glad you are here,’ said Mr Anderson, addressing himself to me, ‘you will be able to persuade Leyden to attend to my advice. I have told him before, and now I repeat, that he will die if he does not leave off his studies and remain quiet.’ ‘Very well, doctor,’ exclaimed Leyden, ‘you have done your duty, but you must now hear me: *I cannot be idle*, and whether I die or live, the wheel must go round till the last;’ and he actually continued, under the depression of a fever and a liver complaint, to study more than ten hours each day.

“ The temper of Dr Leyden was mild and generous, and he could bear with perfect good humour, raillery on his foibles. When he arrived at Calcutta in 1805, I was most solicitous regarding his reception in the society of the Indian capital. ‘I entreat you, my dear friend,’ I said to him the day he landed, ‘to be careful of the impression you make on your entering this community; for God’s sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men.’ ‘Learn English!’ he exclaimed, ‘no, never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs.’

“ His memory was most tenacious, and he sometimes loaded it with lumber. When he was at Mysore, an argument occurred upon a point of English history; it was agreed to refer it to Leyden, and to the astonishment of all parties, he repeated verbatim the whole of an act of parliament in the reign of James relative to Ireland, which decided the point in dispute.—On being asked how he came to charge his memory with such extraordinary matter, he said that several years before, when he was writing on the changes that had taken place in the English language, this act was one of the documents to which he had referred as a specimen of the style of that age, and that he had retained every word in his memory.

“ His love of the place of his nativity was a passion in which he had always a pride, and which in India he cherished with the fondest enthusiasm. I once

¹ We omit the earlier portion of this letter referring to the general character and manners of Leyden.

went to see him when he was very ill, and had been confined to his bed for many days; there were several gentlemen in the room; he inquired if I had any news; I told him I had a letter from Eskdale; and what are they about in the borders? he asked. A curious circumstance, I replied, is stated in my letter; and I read him a passage which described the conduct of our volunteers on a fire being kindled by mistake at one of the beacons. This letter mentioned that the moment the blaze, which was the signal of invasion, was seen, the mountaineers hastened to their rendezvous, and those of Liddesdale swam the Liddle river to reach it.—They were assembled (though several of their houses were at a distance of six and seven miles,) in two hours, and at break of day the party marched into the town of Hawick (at a distance of twenty miles from the place of assembly,) to the border tune of ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’ Leyden’s countenance became animated as I proceeded with this detail, and at its close he sprung from his sick-bed, and, with much strange melody, and still stranger gesticulations, sung aloud, ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me? wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’—Several of those who witnessed this scene looked at him as one that was raving in the delirium of a fever.

“These anecdotes will display more fully than any description I can give, the lesser shades of the character of this extraordinary man. An external manner, certainly not agreeable, and a disposition to egotism, were his only defects. How trivial do these appear, at a moment when we are lamenting the loss of such a rare combination of virtues, learning, and genius, as were concentrated in the late Dr Leyden!

JOHN MALCOLM.”

We have little to add to General Malcolm’s luminous and characteristic sketch. The efficient and active patronage of Lord Minto, himself a man of letters, a poet, and a native of Teviotdale, was of the most essential importance to Leyden, and no less honourable to the governor-general. Leyden’s first appointment as a professor in the Bengal college might appear the sort of promotion best suited to his studies, but was soon exchanged for that of a judge of the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta. In this capacity he had a charge of police which “jumped with his humour well;” for the task of pursuing and dispersing the bands of robbers who infest Bengal had something of active and military duty. He also exercised a judicial capacity among the natives, to the discharge of which he was admirably fitted, by his knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. To this office a very considerable yearly income was annexed. This was neither expended in superfluities, nor even in those ordinary expenses which the fashion of the East has pronounced indispensable; for Dr Leyden kept no establishment, gave no entertainments, and was, with the receipt of this revenue, the very same simple, frugal, and temperate student, which he had been at Edinburgh. But, exclusive of a portion remitted home for the most honourable and pious purpose, his income was devoted to the pursuit which engaged his whole soul; to the increase, namely, of his acquaintance with eastern literature in all its branches. The expense of native teachers, of every country and dialect, and that of procuring from every quarter oriental manuscripts, engrossed his whole emoluments, as the task of studying under the tuition of the interpreters, and decyphering the contents of the volumes, occupied every moment of his spare time. “I may die in the attempt,” he writes to a friend, “but if I die without surpassing Sir William Jones a hundred fold in oriental learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer.” The term was soon approaching when these regrets were to be bitterly called forth, both from his Scottish friends, and from all who viewed with interest the career of his ardent and enthusiastic genius, which, despising every selfish consideration, was only

eager to secure the fruits of knowledge, and held for sufficient reward the fame of having gathered them.

Dr Leyden accompanied the governor-general upon the expedition to Java, [August 1811] for the purpose of investigating the manners, language, and literature of the tribes which inhabit that island, and partly also because it was thought his extensive knowledge of the eastern dialects and customs might be useful in settling the government of the country, or in communicating with the independent princes in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements. His spirit of romantic adventure led him literally to rush upon death; for, with another volunteer who attended the expedition, he threw himself into the surf, in order to be the first Briton of the expedition who should set foot upon Java. When the success of the well-concerted movements of the invaders had given them possession of the town of Batavia, Leyden displayed the same ill-omened precipitation in his haste to examine a library in which many Indian manuscripts of value were said to be deposited. A library, in a Dutch settlement, was not, as might have been expected, in the best order, the apartment had not been regularly ventilated, and, either from this circumstance, or already affected by the fatal sickness peculiar to Batavia, Leyden, when he left the place, had a fit of shivering, and declared the atmosphere was enough to give any mortal a fever. The presage was too just; he took his bed, and died in three days [August 28], on the eve of the battle which gave Java to the British empire.

Thus died John Leyden, in the moment, perhaps, most calculated to gratify the feelings which were dear to his heart; upon the very day of military glory, and when every avenue of new and interesting discovery was opened to his penetrating research. In the emphatic words of Scripture, "the bowl was broken at the fountain." His literary remains were intrusted by his last will to the charge of Mr Heber, and Dr Hare of Calcutta, his executors. They are understood to contain two volumes of poetry, with many essays on oriental and general literature. His remains, honoured with every respect by lord Minto, now repose in a distant land, far from the green-sod graves of his ancestors at Hazeldean, to which, with a natural anticipation of such an event, he bids an affecting farewell in the solemn passage which concludes the Scenes of Infancy.

The silver moon, at midnight cold and still,
Looks, sad and silent, o'er yon western hill;
While large and pale the ghostly structures grow,
Reared on the confines of the world below.
Is that dull sound the hum of Teviot's stream?
Is that blue light the moon's or tomb-fire's gleam,
By which a mouldering pile is faintly seen,
The old deserted church of Hazeldean,
Where slept my fathers in their natal clay,
Till Teviot's waters roll'd their bones away?
Their feeble voices from the stream they raise,
"Rash youth! unmindful of thy early days,
Why didst thou quit the peasant's simple lot?
Why didst thou leave the peasant's turf-built cot,
The ancient graves, where all thy fathers lie,
And Teviot's stream, that long has murmured by?
And we—when Death so long has closed our eyes
How wilt thou bid us from the dust arise,
And bear our mouldering bones across the main,
From vales, that knew our lives devoid of stain?
Rash youth! beware, thy home-bred virtues save,
And sweetly sleep in thy paternal grave!"

Such is the language of nature, moved by the kindly associations of country and of kindred affections. But the best epitaph is the story of a life engaged in the practice of virtue and the pursuit of honourable knowledge; the best monument, the regret of the worthy and of the wise; and the rest may be summed up in the sentiment of Sannazario,

*Hæcine te fessum tellus extrema manebat
Hospitii post tot terræque marisque labores?
Pone tamen gemitus, nec te monumenta parentum
Aut moveant sperata tuis tibi funera regnis,
Grata quies patriæ; sed et omnis terra sepulchrum.*

To this eloquent and highly picturesque memoir, upon which we have drawn so largely, it is only to be added; that the Poetical Remains of Dr Leyden were published in one volume 8vo, in 1819, with a memoir by the Rev. James Morton; and that another posthumous work, entitled Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, and commemorating for the first time an Indian hero little inferior to Cæsar or Napoleon, but, heretofore, totally unknown in Europe, in which he had had the co-operation of his friend, Mr William Erskine, appeared at Edinburgh in 1826.

LIDDEL, (Dr) DUNCAN, a physician of eminence, was born in Aberdeen in the year 1561, and was son to a respectable citizen of that town.¹ He received his education at the schools, and the university of King's college, in his native city. In the year 1579, at the early age of eighteen, he visited the continent, passing over to Dantzic, whence he travelled through Poland to Frankfort on the Oder, where he had the good fortune to meet with a beneficent countryman, Dr John Craig, afterwards physician to James VI., who then taught logic and mathematics. His views, which were previously wavering, were fixed by the kind attention and assistance of his friend, who enabled him to study mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, for three years in the university of Frankfort, where Craig was himself a professor. In 1582, Craig proposing to return to Scotland, his pupil proceeded to prosecute his studies at Breslaw in Silesia, under the conduct of a statesman at that period of considerable note—Andreas Dudithius, to whose attention his zealous countryman had recommended him. In this new sphere of exertion, he is said to have made extensive progress in his favourite study of the mathematics, under the tuition of professor Paulus Wittichius. After spending somewhat more than a year at Breslaw, he returned to Frankfort, where he again turned his attention to medicine, and commenced a course of private tuition in mathematics and philosophy. A contagious distemper which broke out at Frankfort in 1587, dispersing the students in various directions, induced him to change his place of residence for the celebrated university of Rostock. Here he appears to have first acquired celebrity for his professional knowledge and conversational information, and particularly for his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. He became the companion and pupil of Brucæus, a physician and philosopher of Flanders, who, although the senior of Liddel, both in years and celebrity, acknowledges himself to have received much useful information and assistance from the young philosopher, while Caselius, another companion and friend of Liddel, pays a tribute to the comprehensiveness of his genius and reading, by remarking that "he was the first person in Germany who explained the motions of the heavenly bodies,

¹ Inscription on a brass plate, in the church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen; Sketch of the Life of Dr Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen. 1790. This pamphlet, understood to have been written by the late Mr John Stewart, professor of Greek in Marischal college, gives so accurate and concise an account of its subject, that little can be added. We are aware of but one work having any reference to Liddel, which has been overlooked. The *Literæ ad Joannem Keplerum* contain one or two letters from him.

according to the three different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe."

The illustrious individual last mentioned, had likewise studied at the university of Rostock: it is probable that the pursuits of the two philosophers brought them into contact, and the author of the Biography of Liddel, considers it sufficiently established, that they were intimate with each other in after life, and that the Danish philosopher frequently visited the subject of our memoir in his journeys to Scotland. There is, however, a shadow of authority for supposing² that Liddel held the higher rank of an opponent of Tycho Brahe, and maintained a disputation with him on equal terms. The eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, whatever information he may have chosen to receive on the subject, certainly was enabled to have made himself master of the true state of the circumstances which he related, says, "These mathematical blades put me in mind of that Dr Liddel, who for his profoundness in those sciences of sensible immaterial objects, was every where much renowned, especially at Frankfort de Main, Frankfort on the Oder, and Heidelberg, where he was almost as well known as the monstrous bacchanalian tun that stood there in his time. He was an eminent professor of mathematics, a disciple of the most excellent astronomer Tycho Brahe, and condisciple of that worthy Longomontanus: yet in imitation of Aristotle, (whose doctrine with great proficiency he had imbued,) he esteemed more of truth than either of Socrates or Plato; when the new star began to appear in the constellation of Cassiopæia, there was concerning it such an intershocking of opinions betwixt Tycho Brahe and Dr Liddel, evulged in print to the open view of the world, that the understanding reader could not but have commended both for all; and yet (in giving each his due) praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy." It is not improbable that the imaginative author of the Jewel may have thought proper, without much inquiry, to bestow on a person born in his own near neighbourhood, the merit of a conflict in which a Scotsman, whose name may not have then been known, was engaged; at the same time adding to the lustre of the achievements of his countryman. The author of the Life of Dr Liddel observes, "Upon what authority this circumstance is founded cannot be discovered, for there is no mention of it in either of the very full accounts of the life and writings of Tycho Brahe, by Gassendi and Montucla, nor in a large volume written by Tycho himself, concerning this new star; although he there animadverts at great length upon the opinions of many other astronomers, who had also treated of it. Nor could any such controversy have possibly happened *at the time* mentioned by Sir Thomas Urquhart, for the new star there spoken of was observed by Tycho Brahe in 1572, and the account of it published in 1573, when Dr Liddel was only twelve years of age. There is indeed in the volume of Astronomical epistles of Tycho Brahe, a long letter from him to his friend Rothmannus, chiefly filled with severe reflections upon the publications of a certain Scotsman against his account of the comet of 1577, not of the new star in Cassiopæia; but it appears from Gassendi that this Scottish writer was Dr Craig, formerly mentioned, and not Dr Liddel." When we recollect that Liddel and Craig, as intimate literary associates, may have imbibed the same theories, and similar methods of stating them, this last circumstance approaches a solution of the difficulty.

In the university of Rostock Liddel received the degree of master of philosophy, and in 1590, he left it to return to Frankfort, at the request of two young Livonians of rank, to whom it is probable he acted as tutor. He did not long remain at Frankfort on his second visit, having heard of the rising fame of the

² On the authority of Caselius's dedication to Craig, and the funeral oration on Liddel.

new "Academia Julia," founded at Helmstadt by Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick in 1576. Here he accompanied his pupils, and was restored to the company of his old friend Caselius, whom the duke had invited to his youthful establishment.

In 1591, Liddel, by the recommendation of his friend, and of Grunefeldt, an eminent civilian, was appointed to the lower professorship of mathematics in the new university, as successor to Parcovius, who had been removed to the faculty of medicine; and, on the death of Erhardus Hoffman in 1594, he succeeded to the first, or higher mathematical chair. This eminent station he filled during the course of nine years, giving instructions in geometry, astronomy, and universal geography, and keeping the information he communicated to his pupils, on a level with the dawning progress of discovery. In 1596, he obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, and, in a science which was not at that period considered as so completely abstracted from the circle of general knowledge as its practical extent now compels it to be, he acquired the same celebrity which he had achieved in philosophy and mathematics. He is said by his lectures and writings to have proved the chief support of the medical school of Helmstadt; he acted as first physician to the court of Brunswick, and enjoyed a lucrative private practice among the opulent families in the neighbourhood. In 1599, he was elected dean of the faculty of philosophy, a post of honour to which he was frequently re-elected, both by the faculties of philosophy and of medicine. Meanwhile, in the year 1603, he resigned to Henricus Schaperus the chair of mathematics, of which he had remained occupant, notwithstanding his labours in another science; and in the year following, he was chosen pro-rector of the university. The method of studying his profession, and his courses of public tuition had already made Liddel an author of no inconsiderable extent, and, about this period, the fame he had acquired probably induced him to present the academical works which he had written or superintended, in a distinct manner before the world. In 1605, was published "*Disputationes Medicinales Duncani Liddellii Scoti, Phil. et Med. Doctoris, et Professoris Publici in Academia Julia Helmæstadii.*" This work, filling four volumes 4to. contains the theses or public disputations maintained by himself and his pupils at Helmstadt from 1592 to 1606; it is dedicated as a mark of gratitude to his early friend and patron Craig, accompanied by the usual multitude of commendatory verses on the author and his works. This book is mentioned by the author of the memoirs of Liddel as having been reprinted at so late a period as 1720. In 1607, he produced a better known work, "*Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata,*" published at Hamburg. This work was dedicated to king James. A second edition was published at Lyons in 1624, and a third at Hamburg in 1628. As in other works on medicine of the period, the range of the author's investigation was not confined to subjects to which the term medical would now exclusively refer; metaphysics were included. Into the merit of this, as a work on practical medicine, it would now be useless to inquire, and we may be content with ranking the merit of the author, according to the estimation of the work during the 17th century, which was by no means inconsiderable. At the time when the last mentioned work was published, motives which we cannot now discover, induced Liddel to retire for the remainder of his life to his native country, which he had frequently visited during his honoured residence abroad. It would appear that he privately left the university, as Caselius remarks that the duke of Brunswick, if aware of his intention, would probably not have permitted so active a teacher to leave his favourite institution, which was then falling into confusion. On his return, he passed through Germany and Italy, and finally took up his residence in

Scotland, although in what part of the country seems not to be known, the earliest information obtained as to his locality being of the year 1612, when he subscribed at Edinburgh a deed of settlement, mortifying certain lands in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, for the support of six bursars in Marischal college. The magistrates of Aberdeen were appointed trustees for the application of the fund, and according to a not unusual practice, the curse of God was denounced against any one who should abuse or misapply it.³ By a settlement dated the 9th December, 1613, he confirmed the previous donation, and left for the establishment of a professorship of mathematics in Marischal college the sum of 6000 merks, which was afterwards profitably laid out on land by the trustees. To the same institution he left his books and instruments. This may be considered the last performance of his active life, for he died eight days after its date, on the 17th of December, 1613. He was buried in the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, where a tablet of brass, on which his portrait has been boldly and expressively engraved by an artist at Antwerp, was erected to his memory. He is likewise commemorated by a small obelisk erected in the lands of Pitmedden, near Aberdeen—the same which he mortified for the support of bursars. Dying unmarried, the children of a brother and sister inherited his property, and one of the former succeeded Dr William Johnston (brother to Arthur the poet) in the mathematical chair which Dr Liddel had founded.

Besides the literary efforts already mentioned, a posthumous work by Liddel was published at Hamburg in 1628, entitled "Tractatus de dente aureo;" being an answer to a Tractate by Jacobus Horstius, who had maintained the verity of a fable, which bore that a boy of Silesia who had lost a tooth, received from nature, in return, one of pure gold. The circumstance was considered an omen to encourage the Germans in their wars with the Turks, and predicative of the downfall of the Mahometan faith. The subject can be interesting only to those who study the extent of human credulity.

LINDSAY, (SIR) DAVID, a celebrated Scottish poet of the sixteenth century, was born about the year 1490. He is distinguished by the title "of the Mount," from the name of his family seat near Cupar in Fife, and which is presumed, though not certainly known, to have been also the place of his birth. The early part of his education he received at Cupar, the after part of it at St Andrews, to which he removed in 1505. Here he remained till 1509. From this period till 1512, there is a hiatus in his history, and it is not known how the intermediate space was employed. In that year, however, he is found to be in attendance upon the young prince, afterwards James V., who was born on the 10th of April, 1512. The particular nature of his appointment, on first settling at court, cannot be ascertained; but it does not appear to have been of a very dignified description. His attendance on the infant monarch seems also to have been divided with the royal parent James IV., on whom he is found waiting as a special servant, on the remarkable occasion of the feigned spectre's appearance before that prince in the chapel of Linlithgow in 1513. Lindsay stood close beside the king during the whole of that extraordinary scene, and according to his namesake, the historian, declared that he, along with the other servants in attendance, made several ineffectual attempts to take hold of the ghostly intruder.

The death of James IV., which took place soon after, does not appear to have affected Lindsay's situation at court. He still continued his attendance on the young prince, and this in rather a singular capacity, considering the respecta-

³ In a minute of the council Records of Aberdeen, of date 6th December, 1638, it is ordained that Dr Liddel's bursars shall wear a black bonnet and a black gown, both in the college and in the street, conform to the will of the mortifier, under the pain of deprivation.

bility of his family, although probably it may be thought that there was no degradation, if indeed it was not a positive honour, to take the personal charge of an infant king. This, however, he seems to have done literally, and as is gathered from passages in his own works, much in the character of a dry nurse. The following are amongst those alluded to. The lines occur in the dedication of his poem entitled the "Dream" to the king :

Quhen thou was young I bore thee in my arme,
Full tenderlie till thou begouth to gang ;
And in thy bed aft happit thee full warme,
With lute in hand, sine sweilly to thee sang.

And again at an after period, when complaining of the neglect which he met with at court, he thus reminds the king of the days of his childhood, and of the playful and tender kindnesses which then passed between them :

How as ane chapman beiris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back ;
And sometimes strydlinges on my neck,
Dansand with mony bend and beek.
The first syllabis that thou did mute
Was pa, da syne, upon the lute ;
Then play it I twenty springis perquier,
Quhilke was great pleasure for to heir ;
Fra play thou let me never rest,
Bôt Gynkertoun thou luifit ay best.

Lindsay's attendance on the young king was not dignified by any charge whatever, connected with his education. His services were entirely of a personal nature, and were only put in requisition when the royal youth returned from "scule." James's education was intrusted to Gavin Dunbar, an eminent and learned prelate, so that, with all Lindsay's genius, he seems not to have been thought competent to this important and honourable trust. That which he filled, however, such as it was, he retained till the year 1524, when he was dismissed from it, by the intrigues of the queen mother, who, aiming at the sole direction of the national affairs during the minority of the king, carefully removed from the royal presence all whom she feared might exert an influence over the young monarch inimical to her own views and interests, and amongst that number she seems to have reckoned the poet. His dismissal, however, seems by no means to have taken place with the king's consent, although it is evident that he was obliged to submit to it. He was too young to assert his own will in opposition to that of his mother, but he did the next best thing he could for the kind companion of his tender years,—he procured a pension to be bestowed upon him, and took especial care of its punctual payment.

On the king's assuming the reins of government in his own person, and when his will could be no longer opposed, Lindsay was recalled to court, and about 1530, was appointed lyon king at arms, and as a necessary accompaniment, invested with the honour of knighthood. In the dedication of the "Dream" to the king, already quoted from, and which was written during the time of his banishment from court, although he complains of the treatment which he had received, he not only acquits the king of having any part in inflicting it, but speaks in terms of the warmest gratitude of the kindness of his royal master. He seems, indeed, to have formed a strong personal attachment to the monarch, and there is every reason to believe that it was reciprocal. Lindsay had now begun to make some figure as a poet. He had already written the

“Dream” and the “Complaynt,” both productions of great merit; but it was to his talent for satire, a quality which he had not yet exhibited, that he was chiefly indebted for the singular degree of popularity which he afterwards acquired. Of the felicity and point with which he could exercise this dangerous gift, the following curious instance is related by Dr Irving in his *Life of the poet*:—“The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay approached him with due reverence, and began to prefer an humble petition that he would install him in an office which was then vacant. ‘I have,’ said he, ‘servit your grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are, and now your maister taylor, at the pleasure of God is departit, wherefore I wald desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefite upon me.’ The king replied, that he was amazed at such a request from a man who could neither shape nor sew. ‘Sir,’ rejoined the poet, ‘that maks nae matter, for you have given bishopricks and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouth teach nor preach, and why not I as weill be your taylor, though I can nouth shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane taylor.’ The effect of this well managed *jeu d’esprit* upon the bystanders, many of whom came within its range, may be readily conceived. Whatever might be their feelings on the subject, James himself enjoyed it greatly, and found much amusement in contemplating the angry looks which it occasioned.”

This and other witticisms at the expense of the clergy, are supposed by Lindsay’s biographers to have been the principal cause of that want of promotion of which he so frequently complains; but this seems doubtful. James himself had but little reverence for the clergy, and it is not therefore likely that he would be displeas’d with Lindsay for entertaining similar sentiments. Of the king’s opinion of the holy men of his time his answer to a deputation of them which waited upon him with a list of protestant peers and chiefs, whom they desired might be brought to punishment, is sufficiently indicative. “Pack, ye jugglers,” said he, “get ye to your charges and reform your own lives; be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me; or I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by most severe punishments, if ever such motion proceed from you again.” It is not, therefore, easy to say, considering the intimate, nay familiar footing on which Lindsay stood with the king, what were the causes that afforded him grounds for his frequent complaints, if indeed, he had any at all that were reasonable, a point by no means made evident. Whatever might be the emoluments arising from his services, they were now occasionally of a sufficiently dignified and important nature. In 1531, he was despatched on an embassy to Antwerp to renew an ancient commercial treaty with the Netherlands, and in 1548, he was sent to the court of Denmark to solicit ships to protect the Scottish coast against the English, and to negotiate a free trade in grain for the Scottish merchants.

Besides being a man of genius, Lindsay was also a man of great practical good sense, if the latter be not indeed a necessary attribute of the former, and this enabled him to see in a peculiarly strong and clear light the errors and absurdities, if not inherent in, at least which had been then engrafted on, the church of Rome, and against these he directed the whole force of his satirical powers, and with an effect which rendered him at once extremely formidable to the clergy, and singularly popular with the great bulk of the people.

Of his talent for ridicule the following exquisitely humorous specimen of his manner of dealing with the impositions of the Romish church will give a correct idea. It is the speech of a pardoner—of one who dealt in miracles and traded

in holy relics and absolutions. It occurs in his play entitled "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis:"

My potent pardonnis ye may se
 Cum frae the Can of Tartarie,
 Weill seillit with ester schellis.
 Thocht ye haif no discretioun,
 Ye sall haif full remissioun,
 With help of buikis and bellis.
 Heir is a rellik lang and braid,
 Of Fynmackowll the richt chaft blade,
 With teith and all togidder ;
 Of Collingis Kow heir is a horne,—
 For eitting of Makameillis corne
 Was slane into Baquhidder ;
 Heir is the cordis baith grit and lang
 Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armistrang,
 Of gude hempt saft and sound:
 Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
 Qubaerir beis hangit in this cord,
 Neidis never to be drowned.
 The culum of St Bryddis cow,
 The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,
 Quhilk bure his haly bell:
 Quha evir heiris this bell clink
 Gife me a duccat to the drinke,
 He sall nevir gang till hell—
 Without he be with Belliall borne.
 Maisteris, trew ye that this be scorne?
 Cum, win this pardon, cum!
 Quha luivis thair wyvis not with thair hairt
 I haif power thame to depairt ;
 Me think you deif and dum.
 Hes nane of you curst wicket wyvis
 That haldis you into sturt and stryvis ?
 Cum take my dispensatioun ;
 Of that cummer I sall mak you quyt,
 Howbeid yourself be in the wyte,
 And mak ane fals narratioun.
 Cum win the pardone, now let see
 For meill, for malt, or for money ;
 For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.
 Of rellikkis heir I haif a hunder,
 Quhy cum ye not? This is a wonder ;
 I trow ye be not wyss.

From this it will be plainly seen what a dangerous and powerful enemy the Romish church had to contend with in the person of Lindsay—infinitely more dangerous and more powerful than the ablest preacher or the most acute reasoner. The effect, indeed, aided as it was, by the circumstance of the public mind being already attuned to such feelings and sentiments regarding religious matters, was altogether irresistible ; and there is no doubt that this and similar productions of the satirist, tended more to the accomplishment of the final overthrow of popery in Scotland than any other circumstance previous to the Reformation. Lindsay himself was the Burns of his day. His poems were in every mouth, and were equally appreciated in the cottage as in the castle.

Among the lower orders he was especially popular. His broad humour delighted them beyond measure, and there was scarcely one of them but could repeat large portions of "Davie Lindsay" from memory. Indeed it is not yet a very great while since his popularity among this class began to fade. Nor, though now certainly fast losing ground, is he by any means yet entirely forgotten in the country. Many an ancient tiller of the soil, and his equally ancient better half—for what remains of his fame is more vigorous in the country than the town—still cherish and appreciate the merits of their old favourite native poet.

The dread and detestation in which Lindsay's satirical poems were held by the clergy is expressively enough indicated by their having procured an act to have his "buick" burned during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, when they had regained a temporary ascendancy under that princess, and a wonder arises that Lindsay himself was not subjected to a similar fate; indeed, that he escaped it at all is a circumstance not easily accounted for.

During his lifetime many unfortunate persons were brought to the stake for heresy, and for contemning the ordinances of the existing religion, and how it happened that he, incomparably the most dangerous and most notorious offender of them all should have escaped, is a question that may well be asked; but we suspect it is one which cannot be satisfactorily answered, otherwise than by supposing that he was protected by the strong arm of royalty.

In 1537, Lindsay acted as sort of master of ceremonies on the occasion of the arrival in Scotland of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. He contrived a variety of pageants, and prepared orations for the reception of her majesty at St Andrews, and superintended in person the execution of his designs. Some of them were absurd and fantastic enough, but they were, of course, in accordance with the taste of the times.

Of the concluding years of his life nothing is known, nor is it ascertained when or where he died. Dr Irving states that he survived till the year 1567; but how long he lived after is unknown. He must, however, from this account, have been at least upwards of seventy years of age at the time of his death. Lindsay's merits as a poet are not of the very highest order. Broad humour was his forte, and the specimen given will sufficiently show, that when he trusted to this talent he did not trust to a broken reed. His principal pieces are "The Dreame," "The Complaynt," "The Complaynt of the King's Papingo," "Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis," "Answer to the King's Flyting," and "The Complaynt of Basche the King's Hound."

LINDSAY, JOHN, eighteenth earl of Crawford, and fourth earl of Lindsay, was born on the 4th of October, 1702. He was the eldest son of John, seventeenth earl of Crawford, by Emilia, daughter of James, lord Doune, and granddaughter to the duchess of Lauderdale. His mother having died while he was yet an infant, he was committed to the charge of an elderly female domestic at the family seat of Struthers, in Fife; his father, who was at this time captain of the second troop of horse grenadiers, and lieutenant-general of queen Anne's forces, residing constantly in London.

His lordship in after-life, has been frequently heard to repeat an interesting anecdote which occurred about this period of his life. The duke of Argyle and the duke of Hamilton were one day dining with his father. After dinner a warm debate ensued about the then all-engrossing topic, the union. In the midst of it, the duke of Argyle caught up the young earl, then a child, who was playing about the room; placed him on the table in the midst of the crowd of bottles and glasses by which it was occupied, and, after contemplating the boy for an instant, "Crawford," he said, addressing his father, "if this

boy lives, I wonder whether he will be of your sentiments.”—“If he has a drop of my blood in his veins,” replied the earl, “he certainly will.”—“I warrant, at any rate, he will make a brave fellow,” said Argyle, kissing the child, and placing him again on the floor.

In 1713, his lordship succeeded, by the death of his father, to the family titles and estates, and was soon after invited, together with a younger and only brother and two sisters, by the duchess of Argyle, their grand-aunt, to take up their residence with her in the Highlands, where she then lived in retirement. Here he remained until he had attained a proper age for college, when he was sent to the university of Glasgow. His biographer, Rolt, informs us, that while residing with the duchess of Argyle, the young earl had fallen desperately in love with a little Highland girl; but he unfortunately gives no account of the progress or termination of this boyish attachment. The circumstance, however, affords an early indication of the warm, chivalrous, and romantic disposition for which his lordship was afterwards so much distinguished.

While at the university he rendered himself famous amongst his fellow students by his boldness and courage. He led them on in all their battles with the citizens, headed every expedition of difficulty or danger, and stood forward on all occasions as the champion of the college, when any of its members were injured or insulted, or conceived themselves to be so. He, in short, took the whole burden of the university's honour on his own shoulders, and guarded and protected it with the most watchful zeal and uncompromising intrepidity.

From the college of Glasgow he went to that of Edinburgh, where he remained for some time, and then returned to the retirement of the duchess of Argyle in the Highlands. Here he now prosecuted his studies under the tuition of a private preceptor, and continued this course until he attained his nineteenth year.

On arriving at this age, it was thought proper that he should, agreeably to the usual practice in the cases of young men of rank and fortune, proceed to the continent, at once to complete his education, and to improve himself by travel. With this view, he set out in the year 1721, first for London, where he remained for a short time, and thereafter to Paris. Here he entered the academy of Vaudeuil, and continued to attend that seminary during the two succeeding years. His progress in learning, and in the acquisition of every elegant accomplishment while he resided in the French capital, was so remarkable, as to excite a strong feeling of respect for his talents amongst his fellow academicians, who saw him surpassing many students of much longer standing, and attaining an eminence which left him few competitors. In horsemanship, fencing, and dancing, he was considered, even in the refined city of Paris, to be without a rival.

In 1723, he quitted the academy of Vaudeuil, but continued to reside in France till 1726. In the same year in which his lordship left the seminary just named, an incident occurred strongly illustrative of his daring and determined character. Amongst the other sights exhibited during the festivities which were held in celebration of the accession of the young French king, was that of drawing one of the fish ponds in the gardens of Versailles. The earl of Crawford was amongst the crowd assembled to witness this novelty. In pressing forward to the edge of the water to obtain a sight of the young monarch, he was rudely jostled by a French marquis. Irritated by this incivility, the earl instantly caught up the Frenchman, who was in full court dress, in his arms, and tossed him, robes, and feathers, and all, into the middle of the fish pond. The spectators, highly delighted with the unexpected exhibition, burst into immoderate fits

of laughter, in which they were cordially joined by the young king himself, who eagerly inquired who the person was that had thrown the marquis into the water. The latter himself did not think fit to take any notice of the affair either at the time or at any after period.

In 1726, his lordship returned to Britain, acknowledged by all to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. On the 25th of December of the same year, he obtained a captain's commission in one of the additional troops of the 2nd regiment of royal Scots Greys. This appointment he held till 1730, when, these troops being disbanded, he again repaired to the duchess of Argyle's residence in the Highlands, and remained there for the next eighteen months. In January, 1732, he once more left this retirement to mingle with the world, being appointed to the command of a troop of the 7th, or Queen's own regiment of dragoons. He was also, in the same month, elected one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage, in place of the earl of Loudon deceased. This honour was again conferred upon him at the general elections in the years 1734, 1741, and 1747.

In the month of June, 1733, his lordship was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. On the 18th of February, in the year following, he obtained the captain-lieutenancy of the 1st regiment of foot-guards, and on the 1st of October in the same year, a company of the 3d foot guards. Notwithstanding these various appointments, the earl, who entertained from his youngest years a strong passion for military fame, finding his life but an inactive one, and the English service unlikely at the time to present him with any opportunity of distinguishing himself, sought and obtained the king's permission to go out as a volunteer to the imperial army, the emperor being at that time engaged in a war with France.

His lordship joined the Imperialists in 1735, at Bruchsal on the Rhine, where he was received with every mark of distinction and favour by the celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy, then in command of the troops in that quarter. Finding, however, that there was no immediate appearance of active service here, his lordship, accompanied by viscount Primrose and captain Dalrymple, both volunteers like himself, proceeded to the army under count Sackendorff. The first duty imposed on them by this general was to reconnoitre the enemy, who were posted near Claussen. As they advanced towards the French lines they were met by a party of the enemy, three times the number of their own escort, and a skirmish ensued, in which count Nassau, who accompanied them, was killed, and lord Primrose severely wounded by a musket ball close beside the earl of Crawford.

On the evening of the same day, 17th October, 1735, the battle of Claussen was fought, affording his lordship an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which he did not let pass. He attached himself to the prince of Waldeck, who commanded the left wing of the Imperialists, and attended him throughout the whole of the battle. The position in which the earl was placed was the first attacked by the enemy, and was the most sanguinary part of the field. The intelligence, bravery, and good conduct of his lordship in this engagement excited the warmest admiration of the prince, and laid the foundation of his future fame as a soldier.

Preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France having been soon afterwards signed, the earl left the Imperial army, made a tour of the Netherlands and Holland, and again returned to Britain. On his arrival he was graciously received by George II., who honoured him with many warm expressions of esteem. His lordship remained at home for two years. At the end of this period, he again became desirous of exchanging the monotony of

a peaceful and idle, for an active life, and sought the king's permission to serve as a volunteer in the Russian army, under field marshal Munich, then engaged with the Imperialists, in a war against the Turks. Having obtained the royal permission to take this step, he embarked at Gravesend in April, 1738, for Petersburg. On his arrival there he immediately waited upon the Czarina, who received him with the most expressive indications of kindness and favour, and instantly appointed him to the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of general in the Russian service.

Invested with these appointments, his lordship left Petersburg in the middle of May to join the army, which he effected after a dangerous and tedious journey of a month's duration. Several sanguinary engagements with the Turks soon followed, and in all the earl eminently distinguished himself, both by his military skill, and fearless intrepidity. In one of these murderous conflicts, which took place on the 26th of July, and in which the Turks and Tartars were repulsed with great loss, his lordship, who was at the head of a party of Cossacks, excited the astonishment and admiration of even these bold and skilful riders, by his dexterity in horsemanship. Nor were they less delighted with the gallantry also which he exhibited in this battle, in the instance of a single combat with a Tartar, whom, after a desperate encounter, he sabred and stript of his arms. The latter he afterwards brought to England with him as objects of curiosity.

The season being now far advanced, marshal Munich thought it advisable to retire from the scene of operations, and accordingly retreated to Kiow, whither he was accompanied by the earl, who remained with him for three weeks after the cessation of hostilities. He then left Munich, and joined the Imperialists near Belgrade. The earl had now acquired a large stock of military knowledge, and had been especially improved in the art by his experience under Munich, whom he justly reckoned the first captain of the age. Six weeks after he joined the Imperial army, it was marched into winter quarters. On this occasion he attached himself to prince Eugene's regiment, and proceeded with that corps to Comorra, thirty-three miles S.E. of Presburg. Here, and at Vienna, to which he occasionally resorted, he remained till the middle of April, 1739. During this leisure his lordship employed himself in reducing to method and system the military knowledge which he had acquired, by drawing plans, and writing observations on the Russian campaign; thus availing himself of every means and opportunity that offered, of improving himself in that art, to attain an eminence in which had been from his earliest years the great object of his ambition, and of his fondest hopes.

His lordship now joined the Imperialists assembled near Peterwaradin, under the command of marshal Wallis, and attached himself to his old friend and fellow soldier, the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general of infantry. In a short time after, the battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, was fought. In this engagement, the earl, while fighting the Turks at the head of Palfi's cuirassiers, had his favourite black horse killed under him: another was immediately brought him, but he had scarcely gained the saddle when he himself was struck with a musket ball, which entering the outside of his left thigh, shattered the bone to pieces, and brought him to the ground.

Here he lay for some time in a state of utter insensibility, when he was accidentally discovered by general count Sucheri, who, on perceiving him, ordered some grenadiers to raise him up, and place him on one of his horses. This, however, was all the attention which the urgency of the moment would permit. Having been mounted on the horse he was left to his fate, and received no further assistance until the following morning, when he was found by one of his

own grooms, his face deadly pale, his head uncovered, and himself holding fast by the horse's mane with both hands to prevent his falling off:

He was now immediately carried to Belgrade, where surgical assistance was obtained. On examination of the wound it was at first deemed mortal; but although it certainly shortened his days, it was not immediately fatal. After making some progress towards recovery, his lordship left Belgrade on the 26th of September, being carried on board a vessel on the Danube, with which he proceeded to Comorra, where he arrived on the 27th of December. This place he left on the 28th of April, 1740, and sailed up the Danube to Vienna, which he reached on the 7th May. During all this time his lordship was confined to a recumbent posture by the state of his wounded limb, which still subjected him to the most excruciating agony, and continued constantly emitting splinters from the fractured bone. So desperate and severe was this wound, that his lordship walked for the first time, and even then with the assistance of crutches, only in the beginning of September, 1740; about a year and a half after he had received it.

In Vienna he remained till the 20th of September, when, being advised to try the effects of the baths of Baden, he proceeded to that quarter, and remained there till the 11th of August, 1741. His lordship, still suffering from his wound, which no expedient had yet been able to heal, now proceeded by Presburg, Vienna, and Leipsic, to Hamelen, where he arrived on the 3rd October, and had an interview with George II., who happened to be there at the time. His majesty received the earl with much kindness, and entered into a long conversation with him. On the 23rd of October he took leave of his majesty, and embarked for England. Notwithstanding his absence, the earl's interest had not been neglected at home. In July, 1739, he was made a colonel of horse and adjutant-general, and on the 25th October of the same year, was appointed colonel of the 42nd regiment of foot, or Royal Scots Highlanders. The same inclination to forward his military views marked his return. On the 25th of December, 1741, the year in which he came to England, he was appointed colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.

His lordship's wound still annoying him, he was now advised to try the bath of Bareges in France, and having obtained, for this purpose, a pass from the French king, the *Lynx* British man-of-war was ordered to carry him out. With this vessel he sailed from Portsmouth on the 23rd of May, 1742, and arrived at Bourdeaux on the 30th of the same month.

Soon after landing he proceeded to Bareges, which he reached on the 12th June, and commenced a regular system of bathing, but without much effect; being still able to walk only with the assistance of a crutch and high-heeled shoe. From Bareges he went on the 16th October to Aix in Provence, where he again used the bath, and with much more benefit than he had derived from the same remedy in the former place. Leaving Aix his lordship arrived at Chambery on the 2nd of November, where he waited on the king of Sardinia, with whom he remained till the 18th, when he proceeded to Geneva. In this city he remained till the 1st of January, 1743. He then visited Milan, Genoa, Modena, Verona, and Venice, and from thence proceeded by Trieste, Gatz, Lintz, and through Bohemia and Saxony, and finally joined the British army, of which field-marshal Stair was commander, at Hochstet, on the 24th of May, where George II. happened to be at the time. At the battle of Dettingen, which took place on the 16th of the following month, the earl commanded a brigade of life-guards, and conducted himself throughout that conflict with a coolness and intrepidity which greatly enhanced his reputation for courage and military skill. During the action, his lordship, on one occasion, ordered the

officers of his brigade to the front, the enemy being within fifty paces of them. He then addressed his men, "Hark, my dear lads," he said, "trust to your swords, handle them well, and never mind your pistols." Placing himself then at their head, he led them on to the charge, encouraging them and animating them by his example as they advanced, the trumpets the while sounding the martial strain of "Britons, Strike Home." The soldiers obeying the instructions of their gallant leader, and participating in his enthusiasm, closed on the French, and drove them before them with prodigious slaughter. In the beginning of the battle a musket ball struck his lordship's right holster case, penetrated the leather, and, hitting the barrel of the pistol which it contained, fell harmlessly into the case. Here it was found by his lordship, who showed it the day after the engagement to the king at Hanau, where he then was, and who, on seeing the earl approaching, exclaimed, "Here comes my champion;" following up afterwards this flattering expression of his opinion of his lordship's merits, by the most gratifying remarks on the gallantry of his conduct on the preceding day.

In this year, (1743,) the earl was appointed colonel of the 4th or Scottish troop of horse guards, and, after the battle of Dettingen, was made a general of brigade. In May, 1744, his lordship joined the combined armies, in camp, near Brussels; but, owing to the over caution of marshall Wade no opportunity offered of again distinguishing himself during the whole of the campaign which followed. In the next year, however, this was not wanting. The duke of Cumberland, having been appointed captain general of the British forces, arrived at Brussels on the 11th of April, 1745, his lordship being then with the army as brigadier-general. The arrival of his grace was soon after (30th April) followed by the battle of Fontenoy. In this engagement his lordship conducted himself with his usual gallantry, and exhibited even more than his usual skill, particularly in conducting the retreat, which he did in a manner so masterly, as procured for him a reputation for military genius not inferior to any of that age. His lordship also wrote an exceedingly able and interesting account of the battle. On the 30th of May following, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The rebellion in Scotland now occurring, his lordship was ordered, in Feb., 1746, from Antwerp, where he then was, to his native country, to take the command of the Hessians employed by the government on that occasion, and whose numbers amounted to six thousand. With these troops he secured Stirling, Perth, and the passes into the lowlands, while Cumberland proceeded by the north-east coast in quest of the rebels. On this visit to Scotland, his lordship formed an acquaintance with, and afterwards married, lady Jane Murray, eldest daughter, and presumptive heiress of James, second duke of Athole. On the extinction of the rebellion, he returned to the army in the Netherlands, where he arrived early in June. At the battle of Rocoux, which took place on the 1st of October following, he commanded the second line of cavalry, with which he drove back the French infantry, and threw them into irretrievable confusion. His lordship soon afterwards accompanied the army into winter quarters at Bois le Duc. His troop of horse guards being this year disbanded, he was appointed to the command of the 25th regiment of foot on the 25th Dec., 1746.

In February following, (1747,) his lordship embarked at Flushing for England, landed at Southampton, and proceeded to Belford, where he arrived on the 3d March. Here his lordship met, by appointment, lady Jane Murray, to whom he was married on the day of his arrival. His wound, which had never yet been thoroughly healed, now again broke out from fatigue, and subjected him

anew to all the pain and suffering which he had experienced immediately after receiving it. From Bedford, the earl and countess proceeded to London, from thence to Helvoetsluys, and finally to Bois le Duc, where they arrived in June. On the 22d May, his lordship, previous to his leaving England, was appointed to the command of the 2d regiment of dragoons, or royal Scots Greys, in room of the earl of Stair, deceased; and, on the 26th of September following, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

On the conclusion of the campaign, the earl, accompanied by his countess, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, for the benefit of the baths there; being still seriously annoyed by his wound, which had again broken out after a second temporary cure. While his lordship was confined here to bed, his young countess—she had not yet attained her twentieth year—was seized with a violent and malignant fever which carried her off in four days. His lordship, who was deeply affected by his loss, and for a time wholly inconsolable, ordered that the body of his deceased lady should be embalmed, and sent over to his family burial place at Ceres in Fife. He himself remained at Aix till the opening of the campaign in 1748, when he joined the duke of Cumberland and confederate army of 150,000 men. His lordship remained with the army till the conclusion of the peace, which took place in the same year. On the 16th of February of the following year, (1749,) he superintended the embarkation of the British troops at Williamstadt, and soon after returned to London, where he died on the 25th December, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after suffering again severely from his wound. His remains were carried to Ceres, and deposited beside those of his countess.

His lordship is represented to have been of middle size, remarkably stout, but finely formed. His manners were mild, elegant, and refined; his disposition generous, brave, and charitable, often beyond his means. His purse, open to all, was especially at the service of the distressed widows of officers, numbers of whom were relieved from misery and destitution by his bounty. His lordship always maintained a splendid retinue, and lived in a style becoming his rank, but was moderate at table, and temperate in all his habits. His judgment was strong, his temper serene and dispassionate. His lordship having died without issue, the titles of Crawford and Lindsay devolved on George, viscount of Garrock.

LINDSAY, ROBERT, of Pitscottie, author of the *Chronicles of Scotland* known by his name, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a cadet of the noble family of Lindsay, comprising the earls of Crawford and Lindsay, and the lords Lindsay of Byres. He is not known otherwise than as the author of the *Chronicles* alluded to, and these have not had the effect of eliciting any information regarding him from his contemporaries, which could be of any avail to a modern biographer. He has, in truth, been scarcely recognized even as a literary man by the chroniclers of Scottish genius, and yet, this is the only ground on which he seems to have any claim to commemoration, there being no other circumstance of any interest in his life but that of his having written the work spoken of above.

As to the *Chronicles* themselves, it is not perhaps very easy to determine in what language they should be spoken of. They present a strange compound of endless and aimless garrulity, simplicity, credulity, and graphic delineation; the latter, however, evidently the effect not of art or design, but of a total want of them. He describes events with all the circumstantiality of an eyewitness, and with all the prolixity of one who is determined to leave nothing untold, however trifling it may be.

But his credulity, in particular, seems to have been boundless, and is remark-

able even for the credulous age in which he lived. He appears to have believed, without question, every thing which was told him; and, believing it, has carefully recorded it. After detailing at some length, and with great gravity, all the circumstances of the mysterious summons of Plotcock, previous to the battle of Flodden Field, "Verily," he says, "the author of this, that caused me write the manner of the summons, was a landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone which made his protestation."

The earnest and honest simplicity of the good old chronicler, however, is exceedingly amusing. He aims at nothing beyond a mere record of what he conceived to be facts, and these he goes on detailing, with a great deal of incoherence, and all the unintellectual precision of an artificial process, neither feeling, passion, nor mind ever appearing to mingle in the slightest degree with his labours. These characteristics of the chronicles of Lindsay have greatly impaired their credibility, and have almost destroyed all confidence in them as authorities.

Where he is corroborated by other historians, or by an association of well known and well established circumstances, he may be trusted, but, where this is not the case, his testimony ought to be received with caution; for, where he does not absolutely create, he is almost sure to exaggerate, and is thus in any event a very unsafe guide.

If Lindsay was but an indifferent chronicler, he was a still worse poet, as will be conceded, it is presumed, after a perusal of the following introductory stanzas of a poetical address to Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, prefixed to the Chronicles:

"O little book, pass thou with diligence
To St Andrews that fair city;
Salute that lord with humble reverence,
Beseeching him, of fatherly pity,
With entire heart, and perfect charity,
And that he would on noways offend
To look on thee, one day or two to spend.

And there shew him thy secrets more and less,
From the beginning unto the end:
And also you to come utter and express;
Show him the verity, and make it to him kend—
The martial deeds, and also the fatal end,
Of his noble dainty progenitor,
In Scotland lived sometime in great honour.

The Chronicles begin with James II., 1436, and end with queen Mary, 1565. This latter reign, however, is not completed, being carried down only a little beyond the period at which the marriage of that unfortunate princess with Darnley took place.

LITHGOW, WILLIAM, a well known traveller of the seventeenth century, was born in the parish of Lanark, in the year 1583. Nothing is known of his birth or parentage, or of the earlier period of his life. He seems to have attracted very little general notice prior to the publication of his travels in 1614; and even the celebrity which these acquired for him, does not appear to have suggested any inquiry into his previous history.

There is no reason, however, to believe otherwise than that he was a person

of rather mean condition, and poor circumstances, though evidently possessed of an education very far surpassing what was common among the vulgar at the period when he lived. The motives which induced him to leave his native country, to perform a painful and dangerous pilgrimage through foreign lands, are not more obvious than some of the other particulars of his early life. He himself, in the strange and almost unintelligible jargon in which he frequently indulges in the work which records his adventures, obscurely assigns two: the oppression of enemies,—but who they were, or what was the cause of their enmity, he does not say—and an irresistible desire to visit strange lands. It would, indeed, appear that this last was the ruling passion of his life, and that, together with a roving, unsettled, and restless disposition, it was the principal agent in compelling him to undertake the formidable journeys which he accomplished, and enabled him to bear up with such a series of hardships and bodily sufferings, as perhaps no man ever before or since has endured.

From the obscurity in which his early life is involved, it is not, therefore, until he has assumed the character which has procured him celebrity, namely, that of a traveller, that Lithgow is introduced to us.

In his youth, while he was, as he himself says, yet a stripling, he made two voyages to the "Orcadian and Zetlandian Isles." Shortly after this, he proceeded on a tour through Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low countries. From the latter he went to Paris, where he remained for ten months. William Lithgow nowhere gives the slightest hint regarding the source whence he derived the funds necessary to defray the expenses of these journeys; but there seems to be some reason for believing that he trusted in a great measure to chance, and to the casual assistance which he might receive from any of his countrymen whom he might encounter, in the different places he visited. This applies only, however, to the first part of his career; the latter was provided for by a piece of good fortune which shall be noticed in its proper place.

On the 9th of March, 1609, Lithgow again started from Paris on another roving expedition, and, on this occasion, proceeded, in the first instance, directly to Rome. He was escorted several miles on his way by three or four of his countrymen, with whom he had picked up an acquaintance while in Paris, and who, not improbably, supported him during the time of his residence in that city. These persons he describes as gentlemen, and one of them, at any rate, certainly had a claim to this character on the score of rank. This was Hay of Smithfield, esquire, of the king of France's body guard.

Although thus associating himself, however, with these gentlemen, Lithgow does not speak of them as equals, but in a marked tone of inferiority; leaving altogether an impression that their kindness and attention proceeded from the circumstances of his being a countryman, a man of talent, and of a singular, bold, and adventurous disposition. Having bid adieu to his companions, he trudged onwards to Rome on foot; for such was his usual mode of travelling. He made it a rule, and strictly adhered to it, never to avail himself of any conveyance during a journey when he could accomplish it on foot, and his only deviation was in the cases of crossing seas, rivers, or lakes. During all his travels he never mounted a horse, or put his foot into a carriage, or any description of vehicle whatever.

While in Rome he made a narrow escape from the inquisition; the most sanguinary and ferocious of whose members were at that time, singular to say, Scotsmen. Two of these were from St Andrews. There were besides, one of the name of Gordon, one Cunningham, born in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and several others, and it was from the eager pursuit of these, his own countrymen, that poor Lithgow found the greatest difficulty in escaping. This, however, he

effected by the assistance of a domestic of the earl of Tyrone, who was then residing at Rome. This man, whose name was Megget, concealed him for three days and nights on the roof of the earl's palace, and, on the fourth night, conveyed him secretly out of the city, by aiding him to scale the walls, as the gates and streets were all carefully guarded by persons appointed by the inquisition to apprehend him.

From Rome Lithgow proceeded to Naples, and from thence to Loretto. On his way to the latter place, he overtook a carriage, in which were two young gentlemen from Rome with their mistresses, all proceeding joyously on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Madonna. This lively group insisted upon the lonely pedestrian's stepping into their carriage, but, adhering to the rule he had laid down of never availing himself of any such conveyance, he obstinately refused. Finding that they could not prevail upon him to take a seat beside them, the good-natured pilgrims descended from their carriage, and insisted on keeping him company on foot, and, thus associated, the whole party jogged merrily on for Loretto. Here he fell in with another of his countrymen, of the name of Arthur, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and who seems to have been imbued with some portion of his own restless and rambling disposition. Having spent some time in Loretto, they proceeded together to Ancona, and thence by sea to Venice. Here his companion left him to cross the Alps, while his own "purpose reached for Greece and Asia." Arthur, it appears, had been a domestic servant of the earl of Glencairn. The circumstance, therefore, of Lithgow's making him a companion, would seem to be an additional proof that he did not assume, or pretend to, the character of a gentleman traveller.

Lithgow now proceeded to visit the various islands in the Mediterranean, and thereafter wandered through Greece and Asia, encountering innumerable dangers and difficulties; now shipwrecked, now attacked by banditti, now plundered and maltreated, and, with all this, frequently exposed for days and nights together to the inclemency of the weather; his religion excluding him, in several places, not only from the hospitality of the natives, but even from the shelter of their houses. During his peregrinations through Greece, he met with two gentlemen from Venice, who entertained him kindly for ten days, and, on his departure made him a present of fifty zechins in gold; the first gift, he says, he received in all his travels, and, it may be added, that this is also the first allusion he makes to any pecuniary matters relating to himself. He now proceeds to declare, that if some such instances of good fortune had not befallen him he should never have been able to accomplish his "sumptuous peregrination."

Not contented with the adventures in which he was unavoidably, on his part, involved, there were others which he sought. Like another Don Quixote, he released captives, or at least assisted them to effect their escape, and came to the aid of distressed damsels. Altogether, he appears to have been a singularly benevolent and kind-hearted man; ready at all times to peril his life for the injured or oppressed, whenever he thought such a risk could be of service to them.

From Greece Lithgow proceeded over-land to Egypt, and finally reached Grand Cairo. During his journey thither, he had the good fortune to fall in with three Dutchmen at Jerusalem, who were journeying with a caravan in the same direction. These he joined, and kept by them until they reached the Egyptian capital. Here his three companions speedily killed themselves by drinking "strong Cyprus wine without mixture of water." Each as they died left the survivors all his property, and the last bequeathed the whole accumu-

lated amount to Lithgow. He had, however, some difficulty in rescuing his legacy from the grasp of the Venetian consul; but by sacrificing a part he obtained possession of the remainder, which amounted to nine hundred and forty-two zechins of gold, besides rings and tablets.

Thanking God for his good fortune, he now proceeded, quite at his ease as to money matters, to inspect every thing that was curious in the city. From Cairo he proceeded to Alexandria, where he embarked for Malta. From thence he sailed for Sicily, walked afterwards to Paris, and finally came over to England, where he presented to king James, to queen Anne, and to prince Charles, "certain rare gifts and notable relicks brought from Jordan and Jerusalem."

After remaining in London for about a year, Lithgow's propensity to roving again became too strong to be resisted, and he set out upon a second expedition. He now traversed the Netherlands and Switzerland, and from thence proceeded to Calabria. Here another windfall came in his way, but it was one of a much more questionable nature in point of morality than that which met him at Cairo. Between Saramutza and Castello Franco, he found the dead bodies of two young barons lying in a field, who had just killed each other in a duel. Seeing that they were richly clad, Lithgow, "to speak the truth," as he himself says, searched their pockets, and found two silken purses well filled with Spanish pistoles. These, together with certain rings which they wore on their fingers, he carried off, and appropriated to his own use; and he thus moralizes on the fact. "Well, in the mutability of time there is ay some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not, I will not question. It was now mine that was last theirs; and to save the thing that was not lost, I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova."

Lithgow now visited Africa, traversing Barbary, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Then, crossing over to Italy, he perambulated Hungary, Germany, and Poland, and finally reached Dantzic, where he embarked for England, and once more arrived in safety in London. He was now an object of curiosity and interest, and, while he remained in England, was frequently admitted to familiar audiences of his majesty, and was at all times a welcome guest at the tables of the first nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, where he repaid their civilities by relating the story of his adventures.

Lithgow's spirit of adventure and singular restlessness of disposition, however, were still unsubdued; and neither all that he had seen, nor all that he had suffered, could induce him to settle at home. In 1619, he again set out on another roving expedition, but on this occasion he was furnished with letters of recommendation from king James, addressed to "all kings, princes, and dukes." Provided with these documents he proceeded to Ireland. From thence he sailed for France, travelled through Portugal and Spain, and finally arrived at Malaga. Here he was apprehended as a spy, and accused of giving intelligence to some English ships which were then on the Spanish coast, respecting the return of the Plate fleet.

All poor Lithgow's proofs and asseverations of innocence availed him nothing. He was subjected to the most dreadful tortures. His limbs were mangled and crushed, and his body torn and lacerated with tightened cords and other engines of torture. His innocence as a spy was ultimately established to the satisfaction even of his persecutors; but he was then handed over to the Inquisition, which inflicted upon him a fresh series of tortures not less horrible than the first.

Maimed and mutilated, Lithgow was at length liberated by the interference of the English consúl and of several English residents in Malaga, from whom

all knowledge of the unfortunate traveller's fate had been carefully concealed until it was discovered to them by accident.

Shortly after his release he was carried on board of an English ship, for his person was so fearfully mangled that he was not only wholly unable to walk, but was apparently beyond hope of recovery. In this state, on his arrival in England, which was in 1621, he was exhibited, lying on a feather bed, to the king and the whole of the court, all the persons of whom it was composed, crowding to see him. His miserable situation excited universal sympathy, and might under a more spirited prince have become the ground of a national quarrel with the country in which the cruelty and injustice had been inflicted. If his majesty, however, failed in avenging the unhappy traveller's injuries, he was not wanting in compassion for his sufferings. He was twice sent to Bath at the royal expense, and maintained by the same hand for seven and twenty weeks, until he had in a great measure recovered his original health and strength, "although," he says, "my left arm and crushed bones be incurable."

Soon after his arrival in England, Lithgow was carried, by the king's direction to the residence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure some redress of his grievances. By this celebrated person he was treated with characteristic duplicity. Lithgow, finding the case hopeless, accused the Spaniard, in the presence chamber, and before a crowd of courtiers, of deceit and ungentlemanlike conduct. This charge he followed up with an act of violence on the person of the ambassador, for which, though his spirited conduct was much applauded, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he was confined nine weeks. Lithgow after this made several attempts to procure some sort of redress or compensation from the house of commons, by a bill of grievances, but none of these were successful. The last effort of this kind which he made was in 1626. In the year following he returned to Scotland; and still under the influence of that spirit which had urged him to roam through the world for so many years, he undertook a tour through the western isles. He speaks of himself as having been in the island of Arran in the year 1628; but from this period little more is known regarding him. He finally, however, and probably soon after this, returned to his native parish, where he remained till his death; but when this took place is uncertain. He was interred in the church-yard of Lanark, and is yet familiarly spoken of in that part of the country, where it is said several of his descendents still exist. The place of his sepulture is unmarked by any memorial, and cannot therefore be pointed out.

The first edition of his travels was printed in 1614, 4to. This work was again reprinted in the reign of Charles I., with a dedication to that monarch. He also published an account of the siege of Buda in 1637, a circumstance which shows that he had attained a considerable age; as in 1637, he would be in his 54th year.

LIVINGSTON, JOHN, one of the most revered names in Scottish ecclesiastical history. He was born at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire, (then called Monybroch), on the 21st of June, 1603. His father, Mr William Livingston, who officiated as minister of Monybroch from 1600 to 1614, and was then translated to Lanark, was the son of Mr Alexander Livingston, his predecessor, in the charge of the parish of Monybroch, and who, in his turn, was a grandson of Alexander, fifth lord Livingston, one of the nobles intrusted with the keeping of queen Mary in her infancy, and the ancestor of the earls of Linlithgow and Callender. His mother was Agnes Livingston, daughter of Alexander Livingston, a cadet of the house of Dunnipace. His christian name he received at baptism in compliance with the request of lady Lillias Graham.¹

¹ A gentlewoman of the house of Wigton, with whom, as with many persons of equal

“Worthy famous Mr John Livingston,” as he was fondly termed by his contemporaries, received the rudiments of learning at home, and at the age of ten was sent to study the classics under Mr Wallace, a respectable teacher at Stirling. During the first year he made little progress, and was rather harshly treated by the schoolmaster; this was corrected by a remonstrance from his father, after which he profited very rapidly by his studies. When he had completed his third year at Stirling, it was proposed that he should go to the Glasgow university; but his father eventually determined that he should remain another year at school, and this, he informs us,² was the most profitable year he had at school, being chiefly devoted to a course of classical reading. During the time of his residence in Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpson, a clergyman of much note, officiated in the parish church; and Mr Livingston relates, that, on receiving the communion from his hands, he experienced a physical agitation of an uncommon character, which he believed to have been occasioned “by the Lord for the first time working upon his heart.” At his father’s house in Lanark, to which he returned in 1617, in order to attend the death-bed of his mother, he had further opportunities of profiting religiously; for it was the occasional resort of some of the most distinguished clergymen and “professors” of that age. The celebrated Mr Robert Bruce was among the number of the former; and of the latter were the countess of Wigton (whom Livingston himself calls the “rare”), lady Lillias Graham, already mentioned, lady Culross, still more famous than any of the rest, and lady Barnton. It seems to have then been a common practice for such persons as were conspicuous for religious earnestness, of whatever rank, to resort much to each other’s houses, and to take every opportunity, when on a journey, to spend a night in a kindred domestic circle, where they might, in addition to common hospitalities, enjoy the fellowship of a common faith. To a large mingling in society of this kind, we are no doubt to attribute much of the sanctity for which Mr Livingston was remarkable through life.

The subject of our memoir received his academical education at the university of St Andrews, where Mr Robert Boyd was then principal, and Mr Robert Blair, another eminent divine, the professor of theology. Being tempted at this time by some proposals for a secular profession, he adopted the expedient of retiring to a cave on the banks of Mouse-water (perhaps the same which sheltered Wallace), where he spent a whole day in spiritual meditation, and ultimately resolved to become a preacher of the gospel, as the only means of securing his own eternal interests. During the progress of his subsequent studies in divinity, he gave token of that firm adherence to presbyterian rules which characterized him in his maturer years. He was sitting with some of the people and a few of his fellow students in a church in Glasgow, when the archbishop (Law) came to celebrate the communion for the first time after the episcopal fashion established by the Perth articles. Seeing the people all sitting as usual, Law desired them to kneel, which some did, but among the recusants were Livingston and the little party of students. The archbishop commanded them either to kneel or depart: to this Livingston boldly replied, that “there was no warrant for kneeling, and, for want of it, no one ought to be excommunicated.” Law only caused those near them to move, in order that they might remove.

Mr Livingston became a preacher in 1625, and for a considerable time preached for his father at Lanark, or in the neighbouring parish churches. He had several calls to vacant churches, especially to Anwoth in Galloway, which rank, his father was on intimate terms of personal and religious friendship, and whose father, husband, and eldest son, were all of the same appellation.

² In his life, written by himself, Glasgow, 1754.

was afterwards filled by the celebrated Rutherford. The increasing rigour of the episcopal regulations appears to have prevented him from obtaining a settlement. He was at length, in 1627, taken into the house of the earl of Wigton at Cumbernauld, as chaplain, with permission to preach in the hall to such strangers as chose to accompany the family in their devotions, and also to minister occasionally in the neighbouring pulpits. He was living in this manner when he produced the celebrated revival of religion at the kirk of Shotts. This, it seems, was a place where he always found himself in the enjoyment of an unusual degree of "liberty" in preaching. On Sunday, June 20, 1630, the communion was celebrated at Shotts to a large assemblage of people, among whom were all the more eminently pious women of rank in that part of the country. The impression produced by the solemnities of the day was so very great, that many did not depart, but spent the whole night in prayer and conference.³ Among these was Mr Livingston, who being requested to give a sermon next morning to the still lingering multitude, walked forth very early into the fields. Here, he says, "there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere." He had actually gone to some distance, and was losing sight of the kirk of Shotts, when the words, "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness," were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power, as constrained him to return. In the ensuing service he "got good assistance about an hour and a half" upon the text, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. "In the end," says Mr Livingston, "offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my lifetime." The effect of the address is spoken of by Fleming, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," as "an extraordinary appearance of God, and down-pouring of the Spirit, with a strange unusual motion on the hearers," inasmuch that five hundred, it was calculated, had at that time, "a discernible change wrought upon them, of whom most proved lively christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day." The importance of such a sermon, in propagating religion in a country where it was as yet but imperfectly introduced, has given this event a prominent place—not perhaps in the history of the *church* of Scotland, but certainly in the history of the *gospel*. It caused Monday sermons after the celebration of the communion to become general, and appears to have been the origin of that now habitual practice.

Livingston gives some curious particulars in reference to this signally successful preaching. He officiated on the ensuing Thursday at Kilmarnock, and there he was favoured with some remains, as it were, of the afflatus which had inspired him on the former day. Next Monday, however, preaching in Irvine, "I was so deserted," says he, "that the points I had meditated and written, and had fully in my memory, I was not, for my heart, able to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach—at least, not in Irvine; but Mr David Dickson could not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath, to get, as he expressed it, amends of the Devil. And so I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom."

³ The bed-room of lady Culross was filled with people, to whom she prayed "three large hours' time,"—"having great motion upon her."—*Livingston's Life, MS. Ad. Lib.*

Finding all prospect of a parochial settlement in his native country precluded by the bishops, Mr Livingston was induced, in August, 1630, to accept the charge of the parish of Killinchie, in the north of Ireland, where a considerable portion of the population consisted of Scots. Here he ministered with great success, insomuch that, by one sermon preached in the neighbouring parish of Holywood, he was calculated to have converted a thousand persons in as effectual a manner as he had done the five hundred at Shotts. Such extensive utility is, perhaps, only to be expected in a country such as Scotland and Ireland then were, and as America has more recently been; but yet, as similar acts are recorded of no contemporary clergyman whose name is familiar to us, we must necessarily conclude, that there was something in the oratorical talents and spiritual gifts of Mr Livingston, which marked him out as a most extraordinary man. His success, as a minister, is less agreeably proved in another way—by the persecution, namely, of the bishop in whose diocese he officiated. After being once suspended and replaced, he was, in May, 1632, deposed, along with Messrs Blair, Welsh, and Dunbar; after which, he could only hold private meetings with his flock. He and several of his people were now become so desperate, as to the enjoyment of religion, in their own way, under British institutions, that they formed a resolution to emigrate to America. He accordingly set sail from Weymouth; but being driven back by a contrary wind, some circumstances induced him to change his mind. Almost immediately after his return, he and his deposed brethren were reinstated by a letter of the lord deputy Strafford; and, for a year and a half, he continued to preach at Killinchie.

Mr Livingston's salary, in this charge, was only four pounds a-year; yet he takes pains to assure us, that notwithstanding all his travels from place to place, and also occasional visits to Scotland, he never wanted money. He lets slip, afterwards, however, that he received sums occasionally from the countesses of Eglintoune and Wigton, and other devout ladies. His mode of life was so fully justified by the circumstances of the times, which rendered it by no means singular, that Mr Livingston was not deterred from forming a matrimonial connexion. He had formed an attachment to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, "of most worthy memory." The young lady was also recommended to him by the favourable speeches of many of his friends. Yet—and the fact is a curious trait of the age and of the man—he spent nine months "in seeking directions from God," before he could make up his mind to pay his addresses. "It is like," he says, "I might have been longer in that darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together; for, in November 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Antrim, [the lady was then residing on a visit in Ireland,] I forgathered with her and some others, going thither, and propounded to them, by the way, to confer upon a text, whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrim; wherein I found her conference so just and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I proposed the matter, and desired her to think upon it; and, after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and, being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and desired her to pray, which at last she did: and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother; and, albeit, I was then fully cleared, I may truly say it was about a month after, before I got marriage affection to her, although she was, for personal endowments, beyond many of her equals, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer; but, thereafter, I had greater difficulty to moderate it."

The parties, having proceeded to Edinburgh, were married in the West Church there, June 23, 1635, under circumstances of proper solemnity, notwithstanding that archbishop Spottiswood, chancellor of Scotland, was understood to have issued orders for the apprehension of Mr Livingston some days before. The wedding was attended by the earl of Wigton and his son lord Fleming, and a number of other pious friends. Having returned to Ireland, he was, in the ensuing November, once more deposed, and even, it appears, excommunicated. He continued, nevertheless, to hold forth at private meetings in his own house, where Blair, also again deposed, took up his abode. At length, in renewed despair, he once more embarked, along with his wife, for the American colonies; but, strange to say, after having sailed to a point nearer to the banks of Newfoundland than to any part of Europe, he was again driven back; after which, conceiving it "to be the Lord's will that he should not go to New England," he made no further attempt.

For about two years, Mr Livingston preached occasionally, but always in a somewhat furtive manner, both in Ireland and Scotland. He was in the latter country in 1637, when at length the bishops brought matters to such a crisis, as terminated their supremacy in Scotland, and enabled such divines as Mr Livingston to open their mouths without fear. Mr Livingston was present at Lanark when the covenant was received by the congregation of that place; and he says, that, excepting at the Kirk of Shotts, he never saw such motions from the Spirit of God; "a thousand persons, all at once, lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes." Being commissioned to proceed to London, to confer with the friends of the cause, in reference to this grand national movement, he disguised himself in a grey coat and a grey montero cap, for the purpose of avoiding the notice of the English authorities. An accident which befell him on the way, confined him, after his arrival in the metropolis, to his chamber; but he was there visited by many friends of liberty in church and state, including several of the English nobility. He had not been long in London, when the marquis of Hamilton informed him, through a mutual friend, that the king was aware of his coming, and threatened "to put a pair of fetters about his feet." He was, therefore, obliged to retire precipitately to his own country.

In July 1638, Mr Livingston was enabled, under the new system of things, to enter upon the ministry of the parish of Stranraer, in Wigtonshire; a place with which he had long been familiar, in consequence of his frequently passing that way to and from Ireland. Here his zeal and eloquence appear to have been deeply appreciated, insomuch that the people flocked even to hear his private family devotions, filling his house to such a degree, that he had at length to perform these exercises in the church. It is a still more striking proof of his gifts, that multitudes of his Irish friends used to come over twice a-year to be present at his ministrations of the communion. On one occasion, he had no fewer than five hundred of these far-travelled strangers; on another, he had twenty-eight of their children to baptize! Such was then the keen appreciation of "free preaching," and the difficulty of obtaining it under the restrictions of the episcopal system, that some of these people were induced to remove to Stranraer, simply that they might be of the congregation of Mr Livingston. It is confessed, indeed, by the subject of our memoir, that the obstructions which the Irish presbyterians encountered at that time, in hearing the gospel preached after their own way, tended materially to excite and keep alive religious impressions in their hearts. "The perpetual fear," he says, "that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them, with

great hunger, wait on the ordinances." The narrow views of that age prevented the king or his ecclesiastical friends from seeing the tendency of their measures; but the result was exactly accordant to the more extended philosophy of our own times. We have now less persecution, and, naturally, a great deal more indifference.

It is a fact of too great importance to be overlooked, that Mr Livingston was a member of the general assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, and decreed, so far as an unconstituted association of the clergy could do so, the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland. He accompanied the army in the campaign of 1640, as chaplain to the regiment of the earl of Cassillis, and was present at the battle of Newburn, of which he composed a narrative. In November, he returned to Stranraer, where, in one Sunday, notwithstanding the smallness and poverty of the town, he raised a contribution of no less than forty-five pounds sterling, for the use of the army. A large portion of this, it must be remarked, was given by one poor woman under very peculiar circumstances. She had laid aside, as a portion to her daughter, seven twenty-two shilling pieces and an eleven-pound piece: the Lord, she said, had lately taken her daughter, and, having resolved to give him her portion also, she now brought forward her little hoard, in aid of that cause which she seriously believed to be his. In these traits of humble and devoted piety, there is something truly affecting; and even those who are themselves least disposed to such a train of mind, must *feel* that they are so.

Mr Livingston appears to have always retained a warm feeling towards the presbyterians of the north of Ireland. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, when these poor people fled in a body from the fury of the catholics, multitudes came into Scotland, by the way of Stranraer. Of the money raised in Scotland to relieve the refugees, £1000 Scots was sent to Mr Livingston, who distributed it in small sums, rarely exceeding half-a-crown, to the most necessitous. He complains, in his memoirs, that out of all the afflicted multitudes who came in his way, he hardly observed one person "sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand" in their late calamity, or of their own deserving of it, "so far had the stroke seized their spirits as well as bodies." This is a remark highly characteristic of the age. One more valuable occurs afterwards. Being sent over to Ireland with the Scottish army, "he found," he says, "a great alteration in the country; many of those who had been civil before, were become many ways exceeding loose; yea, sundry who, as could be conceived, had true grace, were declined much in tenderness; so, as it would seem, *the sword opens a gap, and makes every body worse than before*, an inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a very lively condition." If Mr Livingston had not been accustomed to regard everything in a spiritual light, he would have argued upon both matters with a view simply to physical causes. He would have traced the savage conduct of the catholic Irish to the united operation of a false religion, and the inhumane dominancy of a race of conquerors; and the declining piety of the presbyterians to that mental stupor which an unwonted accumulation of privations, oppressions, and dangers, can hardly fail to produce. It is strange to a modern mind, to see men, in the first place, violating the most familiar and necessary laws respecting their duty to their neighbours, (as the English may be said to have done in reference to the native Irish,) and then to hear the natural consequences of such proceedings, described as a manifestation of divine wrath towards a class of people who were totally unconnected with the cause.

Mr Livingston was minister of Stranraer for ten years, during which time he had not only brought his own flock into a state of high religious culture, but

done much, latterly, to restore the former state of feeling in the north of Ireland. In the summer of 1648, he was translated, by the general assembly, to Ancrum, in Roxburghshire, where he found a people much more in need of his services than at Stranraer. In 1650, he was one of three clergymen deputed, by the church, to accompany an embassy which was sent to treat with Charles II., at the Hague, for his restoration to a limited authority in Scotland. In his memoirs, Mr Livingston gives a minute account of the negotiations with the young king, which throws considerable light on that transaction, but cannot here be entered upon. He seems to be convinced, however, of the insincerity of the king, though his facility of disposition rendered him an unfit person to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. Being of opinion that the lay ambassadors were taking the *curse of Scotland* with them, he refused to embark, and was, at last, brought off by stratagem. In the ensuing transactions, as may be conceived, he took the side of the protestors; but, upon the whole, he mingled less in public business than many divines of inferior note in spiritual gifts. During the protectorate, he lived very quietly in the exercise of his parochial duties; and, on one occasion, though inclined to go once more to Ireland, refused a charge which was offered to him at Dublin, with a salary of £200 a-year. After the restoration, he very soon fell under the displeasure of the government, and, in April, 1663, was banished from his native country, which he never more saw. He took up his residence at Rotterdam, where there was already a little society of clergymen in his own circumstances.

In narrating the events of this part of his life, Mr Livingston mentions some curious traits of his own character and circumstances. "My inclination and disposition," he says, "was generally soft, amorous, averse from debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and easy to be wrought upon. I cannot say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness; but, I may say, I have been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils. I rather inclined to solitariness than company. I was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts. For outward things, I never was rich, and I never was in want, and I do not remember that I ever borrowed money, but once in Ireland, five or six pounds, and got it shortly paid. I choosed rather to want sundry things than to be in debt. I never put any thing to the fore of any maintenance I had; yea, if it had not been for what I got with my wife, and by the death of her brother, and some others of her friends, I could hardly have maintained my family, by any stipend I had in all the three places I was in."

The remainder of his life was spent in a manner more agreeable, perhaps, to his natural disposition, than any preceding part. He had all along had a desire to obtain leisure for study, but was so closely pressed, by his ordinary duties, that he could not obtain it. He now devoted himself entirely to his favourite pursuit of biblical literature, and had prepared a polyglot bible, which obtained the unqualified approbation of the most learned men in Scotland, when he was cut off, on the 9th of August, 1672, in the 70th year of his age. Just before he expired, his wife, foreseeing the approach of dissolution, desired him to take leave of his friends. "I dare not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness; "but it is likely our parting will be but for a short time." Mr Livingston, besides his Bible, (as yet unpublished,) left notes descriptive of all the principal clergymen of his own time, which, with his memoirs, were printed in 1754. Some of his children emigrated from Scotland to the state of New York, where their descendants have, in the course of time, become people of the first distinction and weight in society. The late Dr John H. Livingston, minister of the

Reformed Dutch church in New York, professor of Divinity to that body, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey—one of the first men of his age and country, and to whose memoirs, by Mr Alexander Gunn, we have been indebted for some of the preceding facts—was the great-great grandson of the subject of this memoir.

LOCKHART, (SIR) GEORGE, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, and lord president of the court of session, was the second son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, a judge of the court of session. The period of his birth is unknown, and the earliest circumstance of his life which has been recorded is, that he studied for the bar, to which he was admitted on the 8th of January, 1656, by the commissioners appointed for the administration of justice in Scotland, under the government of Cromwell.¹ The well-known personal interest of his brother, Sir William Lockhart, with the protector, was probably the means of introducing his talents to early notice; and on the 14th May, 1658, he was appointed "sole attorney," or lord advocate of Scotland. On the restoration of the monarchy, his family influence procured him favour at court; and after taking the oath of allegiance, along with the performance of other somewhat humiliating ceremonies, expressive of regret for his support to the fallen government, he was permitted the exercise of his profession, and received the honour of knighthood in 1663. Sir George distinguished himself as an able barrister, and became a man of power and influence. Notwithstanding favours extended towards him, such as monarchs too often find sufficient to secure unhesitating tools, he used the privileges of his profession frequently against the court; and through the progress of the dark deeds perpetrated by Tweeddale and Lauderdale, his name frequently occurs in the books of Adjournal (the criminal record of Scotland), as using his professional abilities in favour of the covenants. One of the most prominent features of his life, is the struggle which he headed in 1674, for procuring by indirect means, and partly through the influence of the bar, an appeal from the courts of law to the legislature, unauthorized by the theory of the constitution of Scotland, and directly against the wishes of the court, to which a body of paid judges, removeable at pleasure, seemed a more pliable engine, than an assembly of men, partly elected, partly holding by hereditary right. He was the person who in the suit between the earl of Dunfermline, and the earl of Callender and lord Almond, advised the last mentioned to present an appeal to parliament.² The earl being cited before the privy council to answer for this act, applied to Sir George Lockhart, Sir Robert Sinclair, Sir George Cunningham, and Sir George Mackenzie, for information how to act in the matter; and a paper was drawn up for him by these eminent men, declaring "that he desired nothing thereby, but to protest for remeid of law;" in other words, that he did not wish the decree of the court of session to be reduced on the ground of injustice or oppression, but a revisal by the parliament, declaratory or statutory, as to the law on the point. "In all which," says Sir George Mackenzie, with the bitterness of disappointment, "Sir George Lockhart's design was to bring in this trial before the parliament, hoping thereby that they would lay aside the president, and leave the chair vacant for him." Lauderdale immediately proceeded to court, accompanied by the president of the court of session and one of the judges; and on their report of the proceedings, Charles found the matter of sufficient importance to demand personal interference, and wrote a letter to the

¹ Brunton and Haig's Hist. of Col. of Just., 419.

² Those readers who are not acquainted with the details of this event, may find such circumstances connected with it as are here omitted, in the life of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall.

privy council, in which, expressing his conviction of the necessity of preserving the supreme power of the college of justice, and his "abhorrence" of appeals, he was graciously pleased that no proceeding should be instituted against those who had maintained the political heresy, in case they disavowed it; but that if they did not, they should be debarred the exercise of their professions. The consequence of this letter, was the banishment of Lockhart and Cunningham, and the voluntary exile of fifty advocates, who chose to resent the insult: but the manner in which the act is detailed by Sir George Mackenzie, and the curious views which he casts on the motives and conduct of his great rival, prompt us to extract the passage:—"His majesty having ordained by his letters such as would adhere to that appeal to be debarred from pleading, and Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham being thereupon called in before the lords, they owned that though formal appeals might be said to be contrary to the 62 act. par. 14 James II., yet a protestation for remeid of law might be allowed; whereupon they were debarred from their employments, till the king should declare his farther pleasure. And albeit it might have been reasonably concluded, that this exclusion should have pleased the younger advocates, whom those seniors overshadowed, interrupting the chief advantage and honour that was to be expected in that society; yet most fearing to offend so eminent men, who they knew would soon return to their stations, and being pushed on by the lords of the party, and the discontented persons to whom they owed their employments, went tumultuarly out of the session house with those who were debarred; and thus, as Sir George Lockhart broke that society at first by his avarice, in the matter of the regulations, he broke them now again by his pride, in the matter of the appeals; and by raising a clamour against the president, and joining in the popular dissatisfaction, he diverted early from himself that great hatred which was so justly conceived against his insolence and his avarice; two crimes which were more eminent in him than his learning."

Although the causes of the enmity entertained by Mackenzie towards Lockhart are not fully explained, the allusions of the former make it quite clear that it arose from professional and political rivalry. The king had written to the burghs, advising them to renew their old acts, against the choosing of representatives. "The king's design in this was," says Sir George, "to exclude such as had been factious in the former parliament, and to engage the burghs to an immediate dependence on the crown." The disaffected advocates endeavoured to inspire the burghs with a wish to oppose the designs of the court; in the mean time, however, it was necessary that the king's letter should be answered, and a draught of such a document was prepared for the committee by Sir George Mackenzie. This letter was sent for the perusal of Lockhart, who altered it "so as of a discreet and dutiful letter, it became, by adding what was humorous, and striking out what was discreet, a most unpolisht and indiscreet paper. And when Sir George Lockhart was askt why he had deformed it so, his answer to James Stewart was, that it was fit to make Sir George Mackenzie unpardonable." Sir George Mackenzie alleges that Lockhart had induced him to join the body in favour of appeals, on the ground that the union of so many members of the bar would form a formidable opposition to Lauderdale; and it is to his enmity against that minister at the period, that, without a better reason, we must date Mackenzie's accession to the cause. But when the king, on the 12th of December, issued a proclamation, declaring, on the word of a prince, that such of the advocates as should not petition for re-admission before the 28th of January following, should never be permitted to return to their profession, Sir George Mackenzie "did so much tender the reputation of his

king, that he, having been bedrid of a broken leg when the rest were debarr'd, shunn'd to have himself debarr'd, or publicly to own the appeal; though to secure such as had, he declared that he would not return to his employment without them. Which not satisfying Sir George Lockhart, who pressed still that Sir George Mackenzie should be debarr'd, he was content, in a letter under his hand, to oblige himself in those terms; but this letter not having satisfied, and he being prest, merely to satisfy Sir George Lockhart's private humour, he called for his former letter, and wrote in a postscript these words: 'But if I enter, and put myself in the same condition with the rest, I do declare this letter, and all the obligations therein, to be void and not obligatory.' And having owned the appeal with a very undaunted courage, did from that hour despise that party which had jealous'd him, after so many proofs of his courage and fidelity, to please a little creature, who had never follow'd them, but his own passion, to which he and they were become such slaves, that they had thereby lost the glory and reputation of impartial reformers, which had so much recommended them at first, while they followed *Sir George Mackenzie's* disinterested advices." Mackenzie then adds a circumstance, which will hardly diminish the suspicion of his tortuous conduct in the business, although it may shed a ray of additional light on the causes of his rancour towards Lockhart. This is the letter from which the party concluded Sir George Mackenzie to be guilty of perjury, in having entered before the rest; dispersing copies of the letter, without the postscript, because they knew the postscript destroyed their malicious pretences. Before the day which the court had named as the last for receiving the submission of the recusant advocates, a document, couched in the form of a petition, but steadily vindicating the right of appeal for remeid of law, was presented to the privy council. This very valuable paper, which has been preserved at full length by Mackenzie, is full of legal knowledge, and clear concise reasoning; it had, however, to strive, not only against power, but also against precedent; no clear established law could be found on which to rest the right of appeal, and a course of ingenious special pleading had to be derived from implication, and the plea that the court of session was a distinct body from the daily session of old, which, being a committee of parliament set apart for the purpose of saving the time and trouble of the main body, would have defeated its end by the admission of appeals. The grand constitutional argument of a check on the venality of judges, could only be hinted at under the cloak of deference and submission to the royal authority; and the petitioners thought it prudent to terminate their certainly firm and manly statement of their rights, with the concession, that "as the petitioners acknowledge there are eminent lawyers upon the session, of deserved reputation; so if the lords of session, by an act of sederunt, or otherwise, will plainly and clearly declare that protestations for remeid of law, to his majesty and estates of parliament, were and are in themselves unlawful, and that the parliament cannot thereupon review and rescind their decreets, if they find just cause; the petitioners will so far defer to their authority, as to be concluded thereby, and satisfy what was prescribed and required by the lords of session as to that point." Mackenzie was induced to sign this petition: he says, "Sir George Lockhart's love of money making him weary of that love to revenge, he persuaded the appellars (for so all the adherers were called) to give in an address to the privy council; but so bitter and humorous, that Sir George Mackenzie though he had concur'd in furnishing materials and argument, did with some others dissent from it; till they were again conjur'd, by some of their comrades, not to make a rupture, at a time wherein their fixt adherence to one another was their only security."³ The

³ With the petulant remarks on Lockhart, so plentifully scattered through the above

petition was viewed by the privy council and the king, as a daring and seditious piece of pleading; and Sir John Cunningham proceeding to London to endeavour by his personal influence to alleviate the threatened effects, was quickly followed by Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair; "but upon express promise," says Mackenzie, "that if Sir George Mackenzie and those who had signed the address, should be pursu'd for it, they should return and concur with him in the defence. Notwithstanding whereof," he continues, "they having been pursu'd in a process before the privy council, Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair retir'd, and lurk't near to North Allerton, without acquainting even their wives of their residence, lest thereby they might have been advertis'd. Whereupon Sir George Mackenzie gave in his defence," &c. The defence deserted the constitutional origin of the struggle, and assumed the aspect of a mere vindication of the motives of presenting the petition. Mackenzie at length yielded: as a motive for so doing, he says—but we are aware of no document that confirms the assertion—that he "intercepted at last a letter, wherein they (Lockhart and Sinclair) told their confidants that they had resolved to wait the event of that process; in which, if Sir George Mackenzie was absolved, they would be secure by the preparative; but if he was found guilty, the malice of the pursuers would be blunted before it reacht them." Accordingly, on the plausible ground that "it was no dishonour to submit to their prince, ceding being only dishonourable amongst equals, and never being so, when the contest was rais'd by such as design'd to make them knaves and fools," prevailed on the greater number of his brethren to submit. Sir George Lockhart, left to maintain the struggle almost alone, fully aware that unanimity and number only can give effect to political resistance, presented a tardy submission in December, 1675, and was re-admitted to the privileges of his profession on the 28th of January, 1676.⁴ We have dwelt thus long on this incident, because it is one of the very few constitutional struggles connected with the history of Scotland, and the curious details lately brought to light in the *Memoirs* of Sir George Mackenzie, are not very generally perused.

The next political transaction in which we find Lockhart professionally engaged, is the trial of Mitchell in 1678, for having four years previously attempted the murder of archbishop Sharpe. He was tried on his own confession, and there is no point of history more surely ascertained, or less liable to doubt, than that the confession was obtained on a promise of pardon. "But," as Burnet expressively says, "Sharpe would have his life." For the purpose of facilitating the prosecution, Nisbet, the lord advocate, was superseded by Mackenzie; and Primrose, from being clerk register, was appointed justice general "He fancied," says Burnet, "orders had been given to raze the act that the council had made (the act offering the conditional pardon), so he turned the books, and he found the act still on record. He took a copy of it and sent it to Mitchell's counsel." Thus armed, Lockhart appeared, to meet the confession. Burnet, who says, "he was the most learned lawyer and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any nation," states that "he did plead to the admiration of all, to show that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed in a court. The

quotations, compare the following *published* character of the professional abilities of his great rival, by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Eloquence of the Bar*—it would be difficult to conceive a more perfect picture of a great forensic orator. "Lockartius corpus alterum juris civilis, alterque Cicero dici poterat. Illi etiam peculiare erat argumenta sua eo ordine disponere, ut tanquam lapides in fornice alter alterum sustineret; quæ ex improviso, dum oraret, ei suggererentur, prompta solertia indicabat, aptisque locis disponebat. Nihil ab eo abscondit jurisprudentia, et quamprimum casus illi a cliente aperiretur, sua omnia, omniaque adversarii argumenta retexebat. Incurdia, quæ alios oratores turbabat, cum tantum excitare solebat; vocem tamen latratu, vultumque rugis deformabat."

⁴ Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, 267 to 310.

hardships of a prison, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confessions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their senses. He brought upon this a measure of learning that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized nations. And when it was opposed to this, that the council was a court of judicature, he showed that it was not the proper court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as at a court of judicature. And he brought out likewise a great deal of learning upon those heads. But this was overruled by the court, and the confession was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon the hope and promise of life: and on this Sharpe was examined. The person he had sent to Mitchell gave a full evidence of the promises he had made him; but Sharpe denied them all. He also denied he ever heard any promise of life made him by the council; so did the lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton, to the astonishment of all that were present. Lockhart upon that produced a copy of the act of council, that made express mention of the promise given, and of his having confessed upon that. And the prisoner prayed that the books of council, which lay in a room over that in which the court sat, might be sent for. Lockhart pleaded, that since the court had judged that the council was a judicature, all people had a right to search into their registers; and the prisoner, who was like to suffer by a confession made there, ought to have the benefit of those books. Duke Lauderdale, who was in the court only as a witness, and so had no right to speak, stood up, and said he and those other noble persons were not brought thither to be accused of perjury; and added, that the books of council were the king's secrets, and that no court should have the perusing of them. The court was terrified with this, and the judges were divided in opinion. Primrose and one other was for calling for the books, but three were of opinion that they were not to furnish the prisoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought, and here was only a bare copy, not attested upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So this defence being rejected, he was cast and condemned.⁵ Perhaps the annals of crime scarcely produce another so perfect specimen of judicial villany.

The talents and courage of Lockhart were employed by the duke of Argyle at his memorable trial in 1681; three times the privy council denied him the sanction of their warrant—unfortunately often necessary at that period for the safety of the lawyer who should defend a person accused of treason—and it was at last granted, lest Argyle, on the ground that he was deprived of legal assistance, might interrupt the trial by refusing to plead. In the parliament of 1681, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the shire of Lanark, a seat which he held till his death, and in 1685, after the fall of his opponents in the ministry, we find him one of the committee appointed to answer the king's letter to the parliament, and a lord of the articles.⁶ In 1685, on the death of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lockhart was appointed president of the court of session, and was soon afterwards made a privy councillor, and a commissioner of the exchequer. Having in the year 1679. boldly undertaken the task of representing before the king the grievances against Lauderdale, he was considered one of the chief political opponents of that minister, and seems to have been gradually led to a participation with the proceedings of the duke of York. After having followed the actions of a high minded man through the path of honour, and seen him use his talents and influence in the protection of the weak, and resistance to the powerful, it is painful to arrive at transactions, in which the presence of his accustomed firmness, or integrity, may seem wanting. He is said to have been at first opposed to a repeal of the penal laws

⁵ Burnet, i. 41.

⁶ Act. Parl., viii. 456,7.

against papists, but after a journey to London, concerted for the purpose of overcoming his scruples, to have entertained a different view⁷—a view which, it is to be feared, was produced more by the benignant smile of royalty, than by a sudden accession of liberal principles. On the question of the applicability of the disabling laws to the duke of York, he somewhat sophistically maintained that “a commission to represent the king’s person fell not under the notion of an office.”⁸ But, if he chose to assist the court in obtaining its ends by legal means, his former spirit returned on an attempted stretch of arbitrary power, and he objected to the privy council’s sanctioning a relaxation, in favour of the Roman catholics, becoming law, through the mere royal prerogative.⁹

This great man, whose talents and courage would have adorned a better period, fell a victim to the fury of one of those savages which misgovernment produces. He was murdered by John Chiesley of Dalry on the 31st of March, 1689.

The determination to commit the murder on the part of this man, arose from a dispute with his wife, the latter claiming aliment for herself and ten children, and the parties consenting that the claim should be settled by the arbitration of Lockhart and lord Kennay, who gave a decree appointing an annual sum out of Chiesley’s estate to be paid to his wife. Infuriated at not being permitted to deprive his wife and offspring of their daily bread, he formed the resolution of taking vengeance on the president at whatever cost. On communicating his intention to Mr James Stewart, advocate, he was answered that “it was a suggestion of the devil, and the very imagination of it a sin before God;” to which he replied, “Let God and me alone; we have many things to reckon betwixt us, and we will reckon this too.” The victim, it appears, was informed of his intention; but he disdained precautions. The murderer confessed that, when in London, he had walked up and down Pall-mall, with a pistol beneath his coat, lying in wait for the president. The day on which he consummated the deed was Sunday. He charged his pistol, and went to church, where he watched the motions of his victim, and when Lockhart was returning to his own house through the close or lane on the south side of the Lawn Market, now known by the name of “The Old Bank Close,” following close behind him, discharged a shot, which took effect. The president fell, and being carried into his own house, immediately expired, the ball having passed through his body. Chiesley did not attempt to escape, and, on being told that the president was dead, he expressed satisfaction, and said “he was not used to do things by halves.” He was put to the torture, and made a full confession, and having been seen committing the act, and apprehended immediately after, or as it is technically termed, “red hand” he was summarily tried before the provost of Edinburgh, as sheriff within the city. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off while alive, to be hanged upon a gibbet with the instrument of murder suspended from his neck, and his body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh.¹⁰

LOCKHART, GEORGE, a celebrated political partisan, and author of *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, Commentaries, &c., &c.*, was the eldest son of the above, by Philadelphia, youngest daughter of Philip, fourth lord Wharton. He was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the year 1673. He appears to have been educated for the Scottish bar, but, having succeeded, on the death of his father, to a very ample fortune, he seems to have turned his attention chiefly to politics, and having obtained a seat in the Scottish parliament, 1703, he distinguished himself by his opposition to all the measures of the

⁷ Fountainhall’s Diary, 167.

⁸ Burnet, i. 468.

⁹ Fountainhall, 192.

¹⁰ Arnot’s Crim. Tr., 168-74.

court, and his ceaseless activity in behalf of the fallen episcopal church, and the exiled royal family. Singularly unlike his father, in discernment of the justice of a cause and liberality of principle, he appears to have resembled him in the stubborn courage with which he pursued any favourite object. To all the principles of the Revolution, he professed a deep aversion, and the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England he considered, especially in regard to the former, as likely to terminate in that misery which a peculiar class of politicians always argue to be the consequence of any change, or some reason which it is difficult to fathom; he was, however, named, by the queen, one of the commissioners upon that famous treaty, and, with the exception of the archbishop of York, was the only tory that was so named. "He had no inclination to the employment," he has himself told us, "and was at first resolved not to have accepted it, but his friends, and those of his party believing he might be serviceable, by giving an account how matters were carried on, prevailed with him to alter his resolution." Before entering upon the duties of his high office, he accordingly took their advice, in what manner he was to conduct himself, and in particular, "whether or not he should protest and enter his dissent against those measures, being resolved to receive instructions from them, as a warrant for his procedure, and to justify his conduct: so, when they all unanimously returned this answer, that if he should protest, he could not well continue longer to meet with the other commissioners; and, if he entered his dissent, it would render him odious to them, and that they would be extremely upon the reserve with him, so as he would be utterly incapable to learn any thing that might be useful afterwards in opposing the design; whereas, if he sat quiet, and concealed his opinion as much as possible, they, expecting to persuade him to leave his old friends and party, would not be so shy, and he might make discoveries of their designs, and thereby do a singular service to his country; therefore they agreed in advising him, neither to protest or dissent, nor do any thing that might discover his opinion and design, unless he could find two or three more that would concur and go along with him, (which was not to be expected,) but to sit silent, making his remarks of every thing that passed, and remain with them as long as he could; and then, at last, before signing the result of the treaty, to find out some pretence of absenting himself." Such were the feelings and intentions which he brought to the accomplishment of a transaction which he was chosen for the purpose of furthering, in the most expeditious and most efficient manner; and he relates with pride that he acted up to his instructions, that he acted as a spy on the proceedings of the others, and, at least, was enabled to interrupt and render more laborious the consummation of a measure which his party was unable to stifle. The archbishop, disdaining to follow a similar course, absented himself from the meetings.

But Lockhart had other and more dangerous duties to perform for his party; he held a commission from the Scottish Jacobites to communicate with the English tories, and, if possible, to ascertain how far the latter might be brought to concur in a scheme, projected in Scotland, for the restoration of the son of the abdicated monarch by force. This commission he executed with similar fidelity, but he found the English less zealous than the Scots, and disinclined to any attempt, at least during the lifetime of the queen. All the transactions which might be interesting to the exiled family, he faithfully reported to the courts of Versailles and St Germain, through the instrumentality of an emissary, called captain Straiton, while he submitted his proceedings to the cognizance of his brother Jacobites, whom he aptly termed his constituents. His account of the proceedings of the commissioners, is distorted by party colouring, beyond the usual allotment of such documents, and one is tempted to ask how a person, who

saw, in every branch of the proceedings, something so irredeemably wicked, could have so far compromised his conscience, as to have permitted himself to be chosen as one of those whose duty it was to assist in and further them.

The scheme of a general rising was designed for the purpose of stifling the projected union; but the attempt having failed, the Jacobites were compelled to debate the treaty, clause by clause, in open parliament, where, notwithstanding every artifice for exciting public clamour, it was triumphantly carried. Lockhart, through the whole, was uniform in his opposition—adhered to every protest that was taken against it, and, in more than one instance, entered protests against it in his own name. He also, in conjunction with Cochrane of Kilmarnock, gave fifty guineas to Cunningham of Eckatt, for the purpose of forwarding a design of forcibly dispersing the parliament by an army of Cameronians, which he proposed to raise in the western shires, but which, as he alleged, he was prevented from doing by the intrigues of the duke of Hamilton.

The union having been ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and peaceably carried into effect, the next hope of the Jacobites was the French invasion, which Hooke had negotiated with them during the preceding year, and to which they now looked forward with the most ardent expectation. Of all the partizans of James, perhaps none were more zealous, on this occasion, than the subject of this memoir; but, fortunately for himself, he followed in the train, and acted by the advice of the duke of Hamilton, who, being at the time at his seat in Lancaster, and taken there into custody by a king's messenger, could not meet his Scottish friends at Dumfries, according to agreement, till the defeat of the French fleet rendered any further appearance at that time unnecessary, in consequence of which he himself, as well as his friends, escaped any thing like serious prosecution. Mr Lockhart also having the powerful influence of his uncle, lord Wharton, exerted in his favour, remained unmolested.

The next hope of the Jacobites was in the inclinations of the queen, which, with all her coldness, they naturally expected, and indeed had, if we may believe their own account, and lay much weight on a few accidental circumstances, a well-grounded hope, that they might be extended to her brother and his family; and that they might more effectually influence her counsels, it was resolved, that no influence or endeavour should be spared in procuring seats in parliament for the heads of the party. Mr Lockhart started for the county of Edinburgh, and had sufficient interest to secure his election, though he was obnoxious both to the court and the presbyterians, to whom he seems to have been always inimical. The first session of the first British parliament, did not afford much scope for that species of ingenuity for which Mr Lockhart has taken so much credit to himself; and by his efforts, joined to those of Mr Houston, younger of Houston, Lag, younger of Lag, Duff of Drummure, and Cochrane of Kilmarnock, all unwavering supporters of the same political creed, little or nothing was effected. The next session was almost wholly occupied with the affair of Sacheverel, in whose behalf the Jacobites were joined by those supporters of the house of Hanover, who either conceived, or for political purposes alleged, that the church was in danger, while the affairs of Scotland were neglected amidst more exciting discussions. A field was soon, however, to be opened, in which they doubted not shortly to reap a rich harvest.

At the period when a waiting woman in the queen's bed-chamber was sapping the foundation of the Godolphin and Marlborough administration, that ministry requested leave to dismiss Mrs Masham, threatening her with an address from the two houses of parliament; to which was to be attached an invitation to Prince George, of Hanover. "As such treatment much chagrined the queen against her ministry," says Lockhart, "she was very desirous to secure

herself against such attempts, and did avowedly solicit a great many members of both houses of parliament, that they would not consent to a motion to deprive her of the liberty allow'd to the meanest housekeeper in her dominions, viz., that of choosing her own domestic servants."—"And I accordingly," continues the narrator, in a very remarkable passage bearing on one of the most obscure points in British history, "procured an address, in a very high monarchical style, from the barons and freeholders in the county of Edinburgh; and having brought it up with me when I came to parliament, I was introduced by the duke of Hamilton to present the same; and having read it to her majesty, she seemed very well pleased, gave a gracious return to the address, and then told me, tho' I had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of my affection to her person, and hoped I would not concur in the design against Mrs Masham, or for bringing over the prince of Hanover. At first I was somewhat surprised, but recovering myself, I assured her I should never be accessory to imposing any hardship or affront upon her; and as for the prince of Hanover, her majesty might judge, from the address I had read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents, if I gave my consent for bringing over any of that family, either now or any time hereafter. At this she smiled, and I withdrew; and then she said to the duke, she believed I was an honest man; and the duke replied, he could assure her I liked her majesty and all her father's bairns."¹ The gradual steps towards a delicate and dangerous subject, so naturally laid down in this valuable passage—the hope expressed by the queen that the Jacobite partisan was averse to the removal of the favourite, and the introduction of the prince—the surprise of the Jacobite, and his ingenious extension of the request—the queen's smile and remark on his honesty—and, finally, the cautious but bold extension of the insinuations in the kindly rejoinder of the duke, all speak to the authenticity of the scene, and the accurate observation of the narrator. That he may be depended on, there is little doubt. The cautious Hallam considers that the Lockhart Papers sufficiently prove that the author "and his friends were confident of the queen's inclinations in the last years of her life, though not of her resolution." Nor can a vanity to be esteemed the depository of the secrets of princes, be likely to operate on a man whose works are not to be witnessed by his own age. On the whole, the passage may be said almost to prove that the queen's "inclinations" were with her brother; but a "resolution" on either side, she appears to have never attained.

The circumstance last mentioned was soon followed by the renowned downfall of Anne's whig ministry. Strong but ineffectual attempts were made by the whigs at the elections. Lockhart was violently opposed in Edinburghshire, but carried his election by a great majority, as did Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn for the shire of Stirling, and Sir Alexander Areskine, lord Lyon king at arms, for the shire of Fife, both thorough paced Jacobites and violent episcopalians. The last of these gentlemen, along with Mr Carnegie of Boysack, Mr James Murray, second son to the viscount Stormont, afterwards created by the Pretender lord Dunbar, and Sir Alexander Cuming of Cantar, joined Mr Lockhart in a close confederacy, agreeing to mutual support, in cordially prosecuting the great objects for which they had come into parliament, viz., the dissolving of the treaty of union, and the breaking up of the protestant succession. Keeping their agreement as secret as was compatible with its efficacy, and prudently cultivating the friendship of the English Tories, they soon became conspicuous, and were regarded by both sides of the house as men of superior consequence, whose feelings and views it was necessary to consult in all measures regarding Scotland. The first fruit of this confederacy was a breach of the union, committed by the

¹ Lockhart Papers, i. 307.

house of lords, in reversing a sentence of the magistrates of Edinburgh which shut up the meeting-house of a Mr Greenshields, the first clergyman who introduced the English liturgy into the service of the Scots Episcopal church. The full harvest was the act of toleration, with the oath of abjuration annexed, to be imposed upon all the ministers of the Scottish church; the act restoring lay patronage; and the act for the observing certain holidays, all of which were prepared by Mr Lockhart, and by him and his friends forced upon the ministry, contrary to the expressed opinion of the people, and with the avowed purpose of undermining the presbyterian interest.

At the same time that he was so deeply engaged in forwarding the particular views of himself and his friends, in regard to affairs purely Scottish, Mr Lockhart was also employed upon the more general business, or what may be called the drudgery of the house. He was one, and the only Scotsman, who was upon the commission of the house for examining the national accounts, with the view of criminating the ex-whig ministers; and, as chairman of that commission, gave in a long report, intended to implicate the duke of Marlborough, a person whose conduct was certainly not pure, while it still affords a pleasing contrast to that of his accusers. The report, however, when it came to be examined, discovered only the headstrong party spirit of its authors, and not much against the accused, but the usual political corruption, too characteristic of the period.

The duties of a commissioner upon the national accounts, did not, however, by any means absorb the whole attention of the indefatigable Lockhart, for while he devoted himself to the service of the pretender, he also proposed a bill in parliament to bestow upon curates the bishops' rents, to resume all grants of church property that had been made to the universities, which he declared to be public nuisances, mere nests of rebellion, which could not be soon enough annihilated. The service to be accomplished in favour of the exiled family by these measures, is not very clear, and we are prevented from knowing the effect their proposal would have produced, from his friends declining to adopt them. So high, indeed, was he borne by his zeal, that an order was obtained by his friends from St Germain, recommending to him moderate measures, and dissuading him from attempts to openly force the English ministry upon desperate projects, as they were themselves well enough disposed, and were the best judges of the means whereby their good intentions would be carried into effect. This order he dared not disobey, but he owns it was much against his inclination, and takes the liberty of affirming that it injured the pretender's interest.

On the duke of Hamilton being appointed ambassador to the court of France, he selected the subject of our memoir to wait privately upon him, and to act according to his orders upon an affair of extraordinary moment, which he never explained, but which Lockhart understood to be the pretender's restoration, and he was just leaving Scotland with the hope of being called to accompany the duke upon that pleasing duty, when he heard that a quarrel betwixt Hamilton and Lord Mohun had brought both these distinguished noblemen to an untimely end. This circumstance he affirms to have been fatal to the hopes of the pretender, no one having been found capable of conducting so delicate a business till the period when disputes in the cabinet and the death of the queen rendered the case hopeless. But these circumstances did not damp his ardour, or prevent him from impeding the government, which he could not overturn. Accordingly, on the attempt to extend the malt tax to Scotland, in the year 1713, he made a desperate effort, in which he was seconded by the earls of Mar, Eglinton, Ilay, &c., for the dissolution of the union, a project which narrowly failed of success, as we have narrated more at large in the life of John, duke of Argyle. The attempt to assimilate the Scottish to the English militia which fol-

lowed, he resisted, and, in his personal friendship, defended the hereditary title of the duke of Argyle to the lieutenancy of the county of Argyle. His friends, who could not see the advantage of such a measure, were displeas'd, but his design was to bring over the duke to the interests of the Pretender, of which he was always suspicious the ministry were less careful than of their own. He, however, continued to sit and to act with them, under the strongest assurances from Bolingbroke, that every thing he could desire would be done for the Pretender so soon as it was possible to do it with safety, till the prorogation before the death of the queen, when he retired to his residence in the country, and though the same parliament was assembled on the death of the queen, did not attend it, having lost all hope of the Pretender's restoration by other means than arms.

He accordingly began privately to provide horses and arms for himself and his dependants, though from his late conduct he was not trusted by the leaders of the party to the extent that might have been expected. Nothing, indeed, but mere general surmises seem to have reached him till the month of August, 1715, when warrants were already issued out against all who were suspected as favouring the designs of the earl of Mar, and under one of these warrants he was, early in that month, apprehended at his house of Dryden, and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. In these circumstances he immediately wrote to the duke of Argyle, who, in return for his services in regard to the militia bill, procured his enlargement, after he had been fifteen days a prisoner, on his giving bail for six thousand merks. He was no sooner liberated than he waited upon his rebel associates, who had not been apprehended; but, finding them still disinclined to the communication, he retired to his house at Carnwath, where he secretly and diligently employed his personal influence in the furtherance of the cause, though still unacknowledged by any of the ostensible leaders of the insurrection, and waited till the arrival of the Pretender, or the transit of the Forth by Mar, should give the signal for him and his friends to appear in arms. In the mean time, a letter from the duke of Argyle informed him that his practices were well known to the government, and requiring him forthwith to repair to his house at Dryden. Every thing, arms, horses, &c., were again disposed of in the best manner that could be devised, and he immediately repaired to Dryden, where he negotiated with Kenmure and the southern rebels; his troop of horse, under the command of his brother Philip Lockhart, being sent to join them at Biggar, he himself staying behind for a few days to arrange some minor concerns. To ensure his safety after concluding his transactions with the rebels, he wrote to the lord justice clerk, requesting to know whether he should remain in Edinburgh or go home to Dryden, and was ordered to choose the latter alternative. Mackintosh, however, having that night crossed the Forth, on his march to the south, a party of soldiers was sent out to Dryden, who apprehended Lockhart, and carried him again to the castle; a circumstance which saved both his life and his estate, as well as those of many others who were prepared to set out with him on an expedition that proved desperate—his whole troop being taken at Preston, along with the rest of their companions, and his brother shot as a deserter by order of a court-martial.

Mr Lockhart suffered a long confinement, but escaped, through the steadiness of his friends, that punishment which was likely to have followed his conduct, and which the government, could they have elicited sufficient evidence, would most willingly have inflicted; but he was by no means cured of his affection for the exiled family, and before two years had elapsed, he was employed as an agent to bring up six thousand bolls of oatmeal, to be given to the king of

Sweden as the hire or the reward for his setting the Pretender upon the British throne. Of all the attempts made by the party in its despair, this was certainly the most singular; yet he seems to have embarked in it with that ardour which marked his character, and he contrived to obtain, from the earl of Eglinton, the offer of three thousand guineas towards its accomplishment. It was soon, however, found to be a project which could not be carried into effect. He narrowly escaped being involved in the affair of Glenshiel, and when the Spanish battalion was brought to Edinburgh, he supplied the commander, Don Nicolas, with what money he wanted till he could be supplied with bills from the Spanish ambassador in Holland, telling him, at the same time, that "it was unkind in him to allow himself to be straightened, when he knew the king, for whose cause he suffered, had so many friends in town that would cheerfully assist him."

In 1718, the Pretender commenced a correspondence with Mr Lockhart, which continued with little interruption till 1727, when it fell into the hands of the government, by what means has never been fully explained, though most probably it was in consequence of a dispute Mr Lockhart had got into with the episcopal college, respecting the election of a bishop of the name of Gillon, whose ordination was keenly opposed by a number of the presbyters, who objected to the nomination that had been made of him by the Pretender, as unduly influenced by Lockhart, who, for a number of years, had been the only channel through which they communicated with their exiled prince. Many meetings were held, and much rancour displayed on the subject, by the enraged presbyters, who threatened the consequences of the rebellion, in which most of the parties were implicated, if the consecration was persisted in. The bitterness of the disputants made it impossible for them to be secret: the whole came before the public, and the government being masters of the channel of communication, the earliest packet transmitted to Lockhart was waited for, and sent to London. Orders were immediately sent to seize Strahan, a merchant in Leith, to whom the packet had been directed, and, under a strong guard of dragoons, to send him to London. Before setting out, however, he was well instructed how to conduct himself, supplied with money by Lockhart, and the earls of Kincardine and Dundonald, with the assurance, that if he behaved with firmness, nothing could be brought legally home to him, while his family, in the mean time, should be carefully seen to, and he himself would gain honour by the incident. Warrants were at the same time issued for the apprehension of Mr Lockhart and Mr Corsar, one of his friends. The latter was apprehended at Glammis, but the former, taking the alarm, effected his escape into Durham, where he remained in the house of a friend till the 8th of April, when he sailed for Dort, where he arrived in safety. He immediately wrote to the Pretender, through lord Inverness, stating the circumstances into which he had fallen, and that he was waiting his master's commands before finally resolving how to dispose of himself. In the mean time, he met lord North and Grey at Brussels, who had also been under the necessity of leaving his native country for dabbling in the affairs of the Pretender, and was thus far on his way to the court of that personage, where he hoped to be trusted with the management of his affairs, which, in the hands of colonel Hay and James Murray, (created lords Inverness and Dunbar,) were generally supposed to have fallen into disorder, pressing at the same time that Mr Lockhart should accompany him, and take charge of the affairs of Scotland, while he attended to those of England. Lockhart, however, would not approach the court of the Pretender without his orders, shrewdly suspecting that James was too fond of the lady Inverness, who was lord Dunbar's sister, to part permanently with either of the three. The lord North and Grey proceeded to

his destination, but found, instead of the premiership which he expected, an appointment provided for him in the army of Spain, with which he was obliged to be content. Inverness had been nominally superseded by Sir John Graham, who proposed the most flattering terms to Lockhart; but the former was still first in the Pretender's affection, and, along with Dunbar, held the entire management of his counsels, which were, and had long been, very far from what the latter gentleman wished. By their advice, and in pursuance of his own feelings, the Pretender no sooner heard of the death of George I. than he left Bologna for Lorraine in the greatest haste, intending to put himself at the head of the Highlanders, and with their assistance, conquer and secure the throne of the three kingdoms; a similar project to that which his son attempted in the year 1745. A messenger was sent to consult Lockhart, who, astonished at the folly of the proposal, assured the Pretender that it would prove the ruin of himself and all his friends, and would deprive him of the power of ever again renewing the attempt. More wise than his son upon a like occasion, he accepted the advice, and returned to Avignon. Lockhart tendered him, afterwards, some long letters, containing very good advices, with which he probably had little hope that he would comply, and learning, in the month of April, 1728, that his friends the duke of Argyle, lord Hlay, and Duncan Forbes, then lord advocate for Scotland, had procured him liberty to return and to live at home unmolested, he embraced the opportunity of doing so, nothing being required of him but his simple promise that he would live in peace. He was, however, required to go by the way of London, and to return thanks personally to George II., who was now in possession of the throne. "This," he says, "did not go well down with me, and was what I would most gladly have avoided; but there was no evading of it; and as others, whose sincere attachment to the king was never doubted, had often preceded me on such like occasions, I was under the necessity of bowing my knee to Baal, now that I was in the house of Rimmon." Having performed this piece of unwilling submission, he returned to his family in 1728, evidently in despair of furthering the cause in which he had so long exerted himself, and determined to resign all connexion with politics. Of his after history, we have been unable to learn more than that he was slain in a duel on December 17, 1731, having entered the fifty-ninth year of his age.

He was married on the 13th of April, 1697, to Euphemia Montgomery, third daughter of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglinton, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William, lord Cochrane, son of the earl of Dundonald. He had seven sons and eight daughters. His eldest son George, possessing somewhat of the prudent foresight of his father, delivered himself up in the year 1746, to Sir John Cope, the day after the battle of Gladsmuir, and was for a considerable time a prisoner at large in England. His grandson George, continued with Charles till after the fatal battle of Culloden, after which he escaped to the continent, and died an exile at Paris some few months before his father, in the year 1761.

As an author, Mr Lockhart is entitled to very considerable praise. His Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, and his commentaries, though neither so clear nor so impartial as could be wished, are yet valuable materials for history, and throw very considerable light both upon the individual characters and transactions of those times. And his register of letters is still more interesting; as giving us not only an account of the proceedings, but the acts themselves, of the Jacobites of the period. His memoirs were surreptitiously published during his lifetime, by a friend to whom he had lent them, and a key to the names (given in the published volume in initials) was afterwards circulated. He left

his papers carefully concealed, with instructions to his heir, to abstain from publishing them till the year 1750; but the connexion of his grandson with the rebellion of 1745 rendering their appearance even then inexpedient, they lay unnoticed until, at the request of count Lockhart, they were edited by Mr Anthony Anfrere in 1817.

We have only to add, that in private life his character seems to have been exceedingly amiable, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the respect and affection, notwithstanding the contrariety of their political principles, of the best and wisest public man of his age, Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

LOCKHART, (SIR) WILLIAM, of Lee, an eminent statesman under the Protectorate of Cromwell, was the third son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, by Martha, daughter of Douglas of Mordingston. He was born in the year 1621, and received the earlier part of his education in Scotland, whence he proceeded to some one of the usual seminaries in Holland. He did not long remain in that country, but after visiting Scotland for a short period, joined the French army as a volunteer, and so far distinguished himself as to attract the attention of the queen mother, who procured for him a pair of colours.¹ He subsequently accompanied lord William Hamilton to Scotland, and accepted the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in that nobleman's regiment.

In the course of his military duty he was introduced to Charles I., at his surrender to the Scottish army before Newark. He was on this occasion knighted, and was afterwards employed to negotiate for the safety of the marquis of Moreton. Having joined in the enterprise of the duke of Hamilton, called the Engagement, he was taken prisoner in the unfortunate action at Preston, and after remaining a year in custody at Newcastle, regained his liberty at the serious cost (at that period) of one thousand pounds. Having attached himself to the house of Hamilton, he necessarily attracted the jealous notice of the rival nobleman, Argyle, and on several occasions subsequent to the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, suffered, through its influence, a degree of contumely from the king, which roused his haughty spirit to exclaim, that "No king upon earth should use him in that manner." But while he did not conceive that he should suffer the insults of a king with more patience than those of any other man, his private feeling towards the nominal head of the government did not interfere with his duty to his country, and his services to the cause he had adopted as the best. He remained an officer in Charles's army, and his regiment was distinguished for its services at the battle of Worcester. The cause of monarchy being now suppressed in both ends of the island, he remained for two years in retirement; but, weary of keeping in dormancy powers which he was aware might distinguish him in the service of the state, he repaired to London, and was welcomed by the Protector, who never permitted a man of Lockhart's powers to remain unwillingly idle. From which side the advances were made appears not to be known; it was probably from that of Lockhart. This step is the more surprising as he had belonged to that party of the Scottish presbyterians which used to regard monarchy with most respect. On the 18th of May, 1652, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, and in 1654, the Protector gave him one of his nieces in marriage,² and raised him to the possession of the highest political influence

¹ Harding's Biographical Mirror, iii. 54.

² Harding calls the niece 'Robina Sewster.' Noble thinks the lady whom Lockhart married was probably a daughter of Desborough, because secretary Thurloe writes to Lockhart, "H. H. (the Protector) doe very much rejoice to hear that your lady is in a way of recovery, and so doth general Desborough, and truly no more than yours, &c."—*House of Cromwell*, ii. 256.

in the land. In 1654 and 1656, he represented the shire of Lanark in Cromwell's parliaments. He was also appointed one of the trustees for disposing of the forfeited estates of the royalists, and a member of the Protector's privy council for Scotland.

On the 14th December, 1655, he was appointed ambassador from England to Louis XIV. ; a duty which, at that dangerous period, when the British government was acknowledged abroad only from its strength, was eminently calculated to bring out the peculiar energies of his mind. He did not proceed on his mission until April, 1656 ;³ a circumstance which probably accounts for his having sat for Lanark during that year. The character both of the government and its servant quickly secured respect. "He was," says Clarendon, "received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal Mazarine."⁴ His countryman Burnet, who probably knew him better, says, "He was both a wise and gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far. He was made governor of Dunkirk, and ambassador, at the same time. But he told me that when he was sent afterwards ambassador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time."⁵ He arrived at Dieppe on the 24th of April, and was received with all the civic honours which the town could bestow.⁶ An alliance with France in opposition to Spain, and indeed anything resembling amity towards the former nation, was considered an anomaly in the British constitution resembling an infraction of the laws of nature, and the measure, although it was boldly undertaken, and successfully executed, has met the reprobation of historians, whose simple statement of its impolicy and folly is embraced in the terms, "An alliance between Great Britain and France." But the union was an act of almost diplomatic necessity on the part of the Protector, from the alliance (as it was termed) of Spain with the exiled Charles ; and with whatever reluctance the French may have at first looked upon the novelty, Mazarine found himself associated with a government whose assistance was useful, and whose enmity might be dangerous.

From the influence of the clergy alone was any opposition to be dreaded. "I have received," says the ambassador, "many civill messages from persons of honour and good interest ; and I fynd also, that my being here is much disliked by others, especiallie by the assembly of the clergy. And," he continues, in the manner of the period, "I shall make it my endeavour to wait upon God for his directione and protectione, and shall verie little trouble myself with their menaces." But Lockhart found that the French were at least lukewarm in assisting the vast designs of Cromwell, and that they were naturally averse to be the mere auxiliaries of their natural enemies, in subjecting those neighbouring provinces which had often called forth the full power of their armies.

Lockhart, accordingly, takes many occasions to express the discontent of his

The following passage from the same source is perhaps more conclusive :—

COLONEL LOCKHART TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

"When I had the honour to take leave of you, I had your permission to give you trouble in any business wherein I was concerned ; therefore being engaged by articles of agreement with general Desbrowe to make a purchase in England for a settlement to my wife and her children, and the date being elapsed, by which time I was bound either to make a purchase, or to secure so much money by way of mortgage upon land in England, I am bound to beseech you to move his highness, for leave to me for a month to come to London for settling that affair." &c. Edinburgh, December 25th, 1655.—*Thurloe's State Papers*, iv. 342.

³ Thurloe, iv., 647, 728.

⁴ History, vii., 180.

⁵ Burnet's Own Times, i. 76.

⁶ Thurloe, iv., 739.

energetic temper at the interruptions thrown in his way. Alluding to the cardinal's conduct about the dispute which then divided France, he says—"So soon as I have the opportunity of being at court, I shall endeavour to inform myself as fully as shall be possible for me, of what hath passed in this particular; and if I find that the differences betwixt the cardinal and the prince are in any good way of accommodation, I shall then persuade myself, that the cardinal (whatever pretences he hath had to the contrary,) intends a peace with Spayne in good earnest, and hath got over the greatest rub that was in his way: for in his discourses on that businesse, I found that the restoration of the prince stuck more with him than either the re-delivery of towns, or the leaving of his allye the Portugal, to the Spanyard's mercy."⁷ And, probably under the irritation of delay, he wrote to secretary Thurloe in June, saying, "I beg leave to discharge my conscience, by letting you know, that I am verie much convinced, that his highnesse affairs here doe infinitelie suffer by mismanagement. They doe requyre the addressse of a hande muche more happie than myne; and therefore shall humbly beg, that you may be pleased to lett his highnesse knowe how much it concerns his interest heare that some other person be employed, whose parts and experience may be more suitable to this trust than myne are."⁸ But Lockhart did not either give up his commission in discontent, or submit to be dallied with. Towards the termination of the year, he says in his despatches, "The audience my last told you I demanded and was promised, hath been defered till this evening, notwithstanding my endeavours to the contrary: and though it lasted from six o'clock at night till ten, yet I cannot say I had much satisfaction in it, for Mons. De Lion was with his eminence all the tyme, and by his presence necessitated my sylence in some particulars, that, if I had had the honour to entertain the cardinal by himself I durst have ventured upon. Howsoever, finding several particulars formerly agreed upon, questioned, and others absolutely denied, I was guiltie of the rudenesse to tell his eminence that I did not understand such procedure in businesse, and was astonished to meet so unexpected changes."⁹ From remonstrances the ambassador proceeded to threats. It was the determination of the English that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be taken and left in their hands; and in the commencement of the year 1657, "Lockhart," says Clarendon, "made such lively instances with the cardinal, and complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St Venant, the army marched into Flanders: and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardyke, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced would facilitate the other very much; and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Reynolds, with an obligation 'that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first attempt.'"¹⁰

Lockhart's contest for the interests of Britain did not terminate after the capture of Mardyke: he accused the French of purposely leaving the town undefended, that the British might be compelled to raze the fortifications, and gain no advantage from their captures, while they weakened the enemies of France. He urged Turenne to proceed immediately to the siege of Dunkirk, then but ill defended, offering for the service 5000 veterans and 2000 recruits; but he had to wait until June, 1658, ere the design was put in practice. At this celebrated siege Lockhart commanded the British foot, with which he charged and routed those of Spain. "As to the siege of Dunkirk," says lord

⁷ Thurloe, v. 441.

⁸ Thurloe, v. 120.

⁹ Thurloe, v. 574.

¹⁰ History, vii. 212

Fouconberg, "by the little discourse I have had with the duke de Crequy, chevalier Grammont, and others, I find they infinitely esteeme my lord Lockhart for his courage, care, and enduring the fatigue beyond all men they ever saw. These were their own words."¹¹ When the fortifications had yielded to his efforts, and those of his illustrious coadjutor Turenne, he found himself still perplexed by the interruptions of the French: that the possession of so important and long-hoped-for an acquisition should be left to foreigners, was humiliating; and whatever respect they paid to Cromwell's government, these might at least indulge the privilege of preventing their assistance from being so ample as it appeared. Almost unassisted, Lockhart was compelled with his small army immediately to put the place in a posture of defence, and complaining that he was "forced to buy the very pallisades of the Fert-Royall; otherwayes the French, notwithstanding any order the king and cardinall can give, would pull them out; and not only burn them, but pull down the earthen works in taking them out."¹²

After the siege Lockhart was visited by commissary Mandossi, a person who, under pretence of paying some debts which the Spanish army had incurred during the siege, acted as an emissary from the marquis of Caracine, privately to discover the extent to which Lockhart might countenance an immediate treaty as the avenue to a peace; but the conquering general returned polite and haughty answers to the hints laid before him. He was appointed governor of Dunkirk, an office in which he was enabled to distinguish himself for his resolution and consistency; and he was employed as plenipotentiary at the treaty of the Pyrenees. After the accession of Richard Cromwell, and even during the uncertainty of the continuance of a protectoral government in England, Sir William Lockhart so far supported in his own person the influence of the commonwealth, that the interference of the exiled prince was disregarded by both the foreign powers. After the peace, he visited England, and met with Monk, whom he found still apparently intent on the continuation of the protectorate. Being thus lulled into security, he returned to his foreign station, which he hardly reached when he heard rumours of the approaching restoration of monarchy. When Monk first hinted that his exertions would be at the service of the king, and advised him speedily to quit Spain, lest his person might be seized as a hostage for the restoration of Dunkirk, Charles fled to Breda; and Lockhart might at once have obtained pardon for all offences, and the prospect of high promotion under the new order of things, if he would have acceded to a request (made with many flattering promises) to throw open to him the gates of Dunkirk. But the man who had said he would not be insulted even by a king, answered that "he was trusted by the commonwealth, and could not betray it."¹³—"This scruple," says Hume, "though in the present emergence it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn;" but the elegant historian made the observation on the presumption that Lockhart "was nowise averse to the king's service."—"Whether this refusal," says Clarendon, "proceeded from the punctuality of his nature (for he was a man of parts and of honour), or from his jealousy for the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish, but in his own family;) certain it is, that, at the same time that he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emolu-

¹¹ Thurloe, vii. 151¹² Thurloe, 173.¹³ Burnet, i. 86.

ments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardyke into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda."¹⁴ After the termination of the period of excitement and energy in which he bore so active a part, little of interest remains to be told connected with the events of Lockhart's life. He was of course deprived of the government of Dunkirk, which was bestowed on Sir Edward Harley. Through the intercession of Middleton, he was suffered to return to Britain, and was introduced to Charles; he then retired to Scotland, where he buried himself in retirement, and amused himself with teaching his fellow countrymen the English methods of agriculture; but, driven away by the prevailing anarchy, he preferred a residence with the relations of his wife in Huntingdonshire. In 1665, when a renewed struggle of the commonwealth's men was expected in Scotland, the busy spirits, who had dreamed of, rather than concerted the enterprise, looked to the earl of Cassillis and Lockhart as the individuals who would probably become their leaders; but, neither countenancing the advances which were cautiously made, the project fell for a period. In 1671, he was brought to court by Lauderdale, and he showed no disinclination to be employed, "not so much," says Burnet, "out of ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the court." But Charles seems to have considered him as one of his "natural" enemies, "for when a foreign minister," continues Burnet, "asked the king leave to treat with him in his master's name, the king consented, but with this severe reflection, that he believed he would be true to any body but himself."—"He was sent," continues the same authority, "to the courts of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy. For though the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by the instructions which I read after his death, yet he saw whither things were going; and that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell into, which ended in his death two years after. This event took place on the 20th March, 1675, a year after the death of his father. Noble has told us that his death was attributed to the alternate causes of "a poisoned glove," and disgust at the machinations betwixt Charles and Louis, of which he had been the unconscious instrument. "I have ever looked on him," says Burnet, "as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray."

LOGAN, GEORGE, chiefly celebrated as the controversial opponent of Ruddiman, was born in the year 1678, and is supposed to have been the son of George Logan, a descendant of the family of Logan of Logan, in Ayrshire, who married Miss Cunningham, a daughter of the clergyman of Old Cumnock, and sister to Mr Alexander Cunningham, professor of civil law in the university of Edinburgh, towards the latter end of the 18th century.¹⁵ George Logan was educated at the university of Glasgow, of which he entered the Greek class in 1693, and became a master of arts in 1696. Being destined for the church, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Glasgow about the year 1702, and on the 7th of April, 1707, he was ordained a minister by the same presbytery, in pursuance of a popular call to the parish of Lauder, the ministry of which he obtained in preference to two other candidates, Mr Stephen Oliver and Mr George Hall. He remained at Lauder until the 22nd January, 1719,

¹⁴ Clarendon ut sup.

¹⁵ Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, 190.

when, in consequence of another call, which was unanimous on the part of the parishioners, he was appointed to the ministry of Sprouston, in the presbytery of Kelso. A second time inducements were held forth, which prompted him to change his sphere of duty, and on the 22nd January, 1722, he was inducted as minister of Dunbar. Here he married his first wife, the sister of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles in the Merse, a lady who left him a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. His ministry appears to have secured much popularity, for advancement was again held forth to him; and on the 14th December, 1732, he was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He whose fame and fortune had been so much advanced by the popular voice, now published a treatise "On the Right of Electing Ministers," and it may safely be presumed, that the liberal opinions thus commenced and continued through the rest of his life, were at least fostered by the influence which the exercise of a popular right had produced on his own fortune. It is probable that this tract was published just before his appointment to the charge in Edinburgh, being dated in the same year. When the act for bringing to punishment those connected with the Porteous mob, in 1736, was ordered to be read in all the churches, on the last Sunday of every month during a year, "all the ministers," says Mr Chalmers, rather enigmatically, "did not think with Logan that the will of the legislature ought, on this occasion, to be obeyed. And he was carried, by the activity of his temper, into a contest, in 1737, with the Rev. Dr Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refusing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point wherein it is not easy to perceive how either conscience or religion could be concerned." On the 8th of May, 1740, Logan was appointed moderator of the general assembly. During the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highlanders, in 1745, Logan, in common with most of the other ministers of Edinburgh, thought it prudent to secure his personal safety by quitting the town. His house, being near the weigh-house, where the Highlanders had a guard to prevent communication between the city and castle, was occupied by them as a guard-house. After their retirement, he inserted in the newspapers an advertisement for the recovery of some articles abstracted by his late guests, a document containing more satire upon the tory party than his political pamphlets. His controversy with Ruddiman originated in the edition of Buchanan's works, edited by that eminent scholar in 1715. He had become a member of a society of critics, whose ostensible purpose was to rescue the memory of Buchanan from the prejudicial opinions of his editor, but whose labours, though they appear to have reached a considerable extent of matter, were never published. In 1746, Logan published "A Treatise on Government: showing that the right of the kings of Scotland to the crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary;" and, in 1747, he subjoined "A Second Treatise on Government, showing that the right to the crown of Scotland was not hereditary in the sense of Jacobites." The first answer he received was in an anonymous letter, written in a spirit of airy ridicule, and in July, 1747, appeared the graver discussion of the grounds of his opinions by Ruddiman. Logan, in company with many men who have supported liberal and enlightened political sentiments, had the misfortune to be more anxious to establish them on historical precedent, than on their native merits, and the history of Scotland was peculiarly barren in ascertained facts for such a purpose. His principles appear to have been somewhat akin to those of Grotius, which admitted nothing in hereditary right but a continuation to the descendants of the permission given to their ancestor to govern. To show that the crown of Scotland did not descend through the Stewarts in a pure legitimate stream, he discussed the well-known subject of the legitimacy of Robert III., and the question, certainly at one time debateable,

whether the Pretender was or was not the son of James II. The former of these points has now been pretty satisfactorily established by the labours of Innes, Hay, Stewart, and Ruddiman, and the latter is no longer a matter of doubt. But Logan is accused of having gone to other and more frail sources; a fabulous list of kings had been added to the number of the tenants of the Scottish throne, by Boece and the other early chroniclers. Buchanan, if he did not know the list to be fabricated, knew the circumstances of the lives of these persons to rest on so unstable a foundation, that he found himself enabled to twist their characters to his theories. On the events connected with the reigns of these persons, Logan likewise comments; but after having done so, turning to the writings of Innes and Stillingfleet, he remarked—"But I shall be so good as to yield it to Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Innes: but then let our Scottish Jacobites and the young chevalier give over their boasting of hereditary succession by a longer race of kings in Scotland than in any kingdom in the known world."² Ruddiman employed his usual labour in clearing the questions about Robert III. and the birth of the Pretender; but in another point—the wish to prove that Robert the Bruce was a nearer heir to the Scottish crown by feudal usages than John Baliol—he failed. Chalmers, who can see neither talent nor honesty in Logan, and no defect in Ruddiman, observes, that "it required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakness of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government which he affected, either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more despicable fallacies of Buchanan;" but the fables, which were satirically noticed by Logan, were subjects of serious consideration to the grave critic. Ruddiman brings against his opponent the charge, frequently made on such occasions, of "despising dominions, speaking evil of dignities, and throwing out railing accusations against kings, though the archangel Michael durst not bring one against the devil himself, whom our author, I hope, will allow to be worse than the worst of our kings."³ This was, at least, in some degree, complimentary to Logan, and the critic, proceeding, tries to preserve, for the ancestors of Charles II., both their length of line and their virtues, and is anxious to show that, at least, such as cannot be easily saved from the censures of Buchanan and Logan, were not lineal ancestors of the great Charles II. In point of philosophy, Ruddiman's work cannot well be compared with the several pamphlets of Logan, although even the arguments of the latter against divine right, would now be considered too serious and uncalled for, by any power of defence. The different pamphlets will be found accurately enumerated in "Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman." Logan was the more restless and determined of the two, and continued his attacks until 1749, when both had reached a period of life fitted for more peaceful pursuits. Logan died at Edinburgh on the 13th of October, 1755, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

LOGAN, JOHN, a poet and sermon-writer of no mean eminence, was born in the year 1748, at Soutra, in the parish of Fala, in the county of Mid-Lothian, being the son of George Logan, a small farmer at that place, of the dissenting persuasion. He received the elements of learning at the school of Gosford, in East-Lothian, to which parish his father removed during his childhood. Being the younger of two sons, he was early destined to the clerical profession, according to a custom not yet abrogated in families of the humbler rank in Scotland. At the university of Edinburgh, he formed an acquaintance with the unfortunate Michael Bruce, and also with Dr Robertson, afterwards minister of Dalmeny, and known as author of a *Life of Mary queen of Scots*. In the society of the former individual, he cultivated poetical reading and composition, being fondest,

First Treatise, 50.

³ Ruddiman's Answer, 27.

as might be supposed from the character of his own efforts, of the writings of Spenser, Collins, Akenside, and Gray, the three last of whom bear so honourable a distinction from the cold and epigrammatic manner of their contemporaries. During one of the recesses of the college, while residing in the country, he became known to Patrick lord Elibank, who, with his usual enthusiasm in favour of genius of every kind, warmly patronized him.

On completing his education, Logan was received as tutor into the house of Mr Sinclair of Ulbster, and thus became preceptor of the late Sir John Sinclair, author of the Code of Agriculture. He did not long retain this situation, in which he was succeeded by his friend Robertson. In 1770, he superintended the publication of the first edition of the poems of Bruce, who had died three years before. The volume professedly contained a few supplementary pieces by other writers, and of these Logan was himself the principal author. The best of his contributions was the Ode to the Cuckoo, which, notwithstanding the obvious fault of a want of connexion between the various parts of various stanzas, is still one of the most popular poems in the language.

In 1773, Logan was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, thus joining the ranks of the established, instead of the dissenting church. He soon became known as an eloquent and affecting preacher, and in the same year was called by the kirk-session and incorporations of South Leith, to be their minister; a situation always considered as one of the most honourable in the church of Scotland, and which had just been vacated by another man of genius, Dr Henry Hunter, whose life has been given in the present work. Here he continued to cultivate literature with devoted ardour, though it was not till 1781, that he thought proper to publish any poetry under his own name. Among the studies of Dr Logan, history was one of those in which he most delighted. In the winter of 1779, he delivered a course of lectures on the Philosophy of History, in St Mary's chapel, Edinburgh, under the countenance and approbation of Drs Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, and other eminent persons connected with the university. So successful was he in these exhibitions, that, on the chair of universal history becoming vacant in 1780, he would unquestionably have obtained it, if he had possessed the incidental qualification of being a member of the Scottish bar. In the succeeding year, he published an analysis of his lectures, so far as they related to ancient history, under the title of "Elements of the Philosophy of History," which was followed by one of the lectures "On the Manners and Government of Asia." His poems, published in 1781, attracted so much attention, that a second edition was called for next year. In this collection, he reprinted several of the pieces which he had formerly given to the world along with those of Michael Bruce. A painful charge rests against his memory, regarding the real authorship of some of those pieces, and also respecting the use he made of a copious manuscript of Bruce's poetry, intrusted to him after the publication of the first volume. Into this controversy, which is fully stated in Anderson's edition of the British Poets, we deem it unnecessary, in the present state of the literary reputation of both men, to enter; but we can state, as a fact not formerly known to the biographers of Logan, that he asserted his innocence in a very decided manner, after his removal to London, by ordering an Edinburgh agent to take out an interdict against an edition of Bruce's poems, in which several of his own pieces had been appropriated, under the supposition of their belonging to that poet.

Undeterred by the fate of Home, Logan produced a tragedy in 1783. It was entitled "Runnimeed," and aimed at combining the history of Magna Charta with a love story said to be expressly borrowed from the *Tancrede* of Voltaire. Runnimeed was rehearsed by Mr Harris at Covent Garden theatre,

but prevented from being acted by an order from the chamberlain, who, in the recent feeling of the American war of independence, took alarm at several of the breathings in favour of liberty. Logan then printed it, and had it acted in the Edinburgh theatre; but in neither form did it meet with decided success. This, with other disappointments, preyed upon the spirits of the poet, and he now betook himself to the most vulgar and fatal means of neutralizing grief. It is to be always kept in mind, that his father had died in a state of insanity, the consequence of depressed spirits. Hence it is to be presumed, that the aberrations of the unhappy poet had some palliative in constitutional tendencies. From whatever source they arose, it was soon found necessary that he should resign the charge of the populous parish with which he had been intrusted.¹ An agreement to this purpose was completed between him and the kirk-session, in 1786, and he retired with a certain modicum of the stipend, while Mr Dickson was appointed his assistant and successor.

In the autumn of the preceding year, Logan had proceeded to London, apparently with the design of devoting himself entirely to literature. He was engaged in the management of the *English Review*, and compiled a view of ancient history, which passed under the name of Dr Rutherford. In 1788, he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "A review of the principal charges against Mr Hastings;" which, being construed into a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, caused a prosecution of the publisher, Stockdale, who, however, was acquitted. This was the last production he gave to the world. After a lingering indisposition, he died in London, December 28, 1788, about forty years of age.

Dr Logan destined legacies to the amount of £600 to certain of his friends and relations, to be realized out of his books and manuscripts. The latter consisted of sermons, miscellaneous prose pieces, lectures, and a few small lyrical poems. In 1790, the first volume of the sermons was published, under the superintendance of Drs Robertson, Hardy, and Blair. The second volume appeared in the following year; and, before the end of 1793, both volumes had undergone a second impression. None of his other posthumous works have been published.

Except in the latter part of his life, when rendered irritable and sottish by the results of his constitutional temperament, Dr Logan is allowed to have been a man of the most amiable character, full of refined sensibility, and free from all mean vices. Of his poetry, which has been several times reprinted in the mass, it is no small praise to say that it advances before the age in which it was written, having more of the free natural graces which characterize modern verse, than the productions of most of his contemporaries. It is also characterized in many instances by singularly happy expressions, as it is in general by extreme sweetness of versification. His *Ode to the Cuckoo* and his hymns, are the pieces which may be expected to last longest. A selection from the latter, omitting portions of some of those chosen, was embodied in the volume of paraphrases, sanctioned by the church of Scotland as an addition to the psalms. "The sermons of Logan," says his earliest biographer, Dr Anderson, "though not so exquisitely polished as those of Blair, possess in a higher degree the animated and passionate expression of Massillon and Atterbury. His

¹ An aged parishioner of Dr Logan, mentioned to a friend of the editor of this work, that he was present in church one day, when the conduct of the reverend gentleman was such as to induce an old man to go up, and, in no very respectful language, call upon the minister to descend from the pulpit which he disgraced. Such an anecdote, if read immediately after perusing one of the elegant discourses of Logan, would form a singular illustration of the propinquity which sometimes exists between the pure and impure, the lofty and the degraded, in human character.

composition is everywhere excellent—its leading characteristics being strength, elegance, and simplicity. The formation of his sentences appears the most inartificial; though at the same time, it will be found, strictly correct. But the manner, amidst all its beauties, is, on the first perusal, lost in the enjoyment the reader feels from the sentiment. Devotional and solemn subjects peculiarly accord with his feelings and genius. In exhibiting deep and solemn views of human life, his sentiments are bold and varied, and his imagination teems with the most soothing and elevated figures. * * It appears to have been no part of his plan to seek out for new subjects of preaching, or to exert his ingenuity in exhibiting new views of moral and religious topics. To embellish the most common subjects, which are certainly the most proper and useful, with new ornaments; to persuade by more forcible and captivating illustration; to unite the beauties of elegant diction, and the splendour of fine imagery; in this lay his chief exertions, and here rests his chief praise.”

LOTHIAN, (DR) WILLIAM, F.R.S.E., author of a History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, was born at Edinburgh in 1740, being the son of Mr George Lothian, a respectable surgeon in that city. Having passed through the various stages of his education with some eclat, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1762, and appointed, in 1764, one of the ministers of the Canongate. As a preacher his method of instruction was simple and perspicuous, his sentiments rational and manly, and his manner unaffected and persuasive. For many years before his death he was afflicted with a very painful disease; yet he not only performed his professional duties with unabated zeal, but found energy and spirit to compose the work above-mentioned, which appeared in 1780. Previously to this publication he had been honoured by the Edinburgh university with the degree of doctor of divinity. He died December 17, 1783, having only completed the forty-third year of his age. Two sermons by him are published in the Scotch Preacher, 4 vols. 12mo, 1776. For a more copious notice of this respectable divine, reference may be made to the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

LOVE, JOHN, a controversial critic of celebrity, was born at Dumbarton in 1695.¹ He was the son of John Love, a bookseller, who, as Chalmers indisputably remarks, “like greater dealers in greater towns, supplied his customers with such books as their taste required.” The son was educated at the grammar school of Dumbarton, and the university of Glasgow. Having finished his studies, he became assistant or usher to his old master Mr David M'Alpine, and in 1720, succeeded him in his humble duty. On the 17th October, 1721, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Archibald Campbell, a surgeon of Glasgow, who had been one of the baillies of that city. By her he had thirteen children, two of whom, a clergyman and an officer in the navy, were alive when Chalmers wrote his Life of Ruddiman. In 1733, Mr Love entered the field of controversy by publishing “Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr Robert Trotter, schoolmaster of Dumfries,” a production chiefly designed for the purpose of defending Ruddiman, whose grammar had been reflected on by Trotter. “Like Ruddiman,” says Chalmers very aptly, “Love seems to have delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven to conubial connexions, by his scholastic business, which required female superintendance.” Accordingly, in pursuance of the disposition so aptly associated with his name, he married in 1741, for his second wife, Giles, the youngest daughter of the reverend Mr James Elphinston, minister of Dalkeith, who had died in 1710. Love was subjected, it would appear, at one period of his life to a species of religious prosecution, on an accusation of brewing on Sunday,

¹ Chalmers's Ruddiman, 135.

preferred before the church judicatories by Mr Sydserf, minister of Dumbarton, "who," says Chalmers, "after a judicial trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciously accused calumniated innocence." In October, 1735, he was appointed one of the masters of the high school of Edinburgh, and in 1737, with the assistance of Ruddiman and Robert Hunter, he edited a very handsome edition of the Translation of the Psalms of Buchanan, which attracted the notice of the duke of Buccleuch, and obtained for the editor in 1739 the rectorship of the grammar school of Dalkeith; a situation which has for a long period been deemed of considerable importance, and very ably filled, but which would not now be considered an advancement from that which Love previously enjoyed. In the following year he engaged in the controversy about the respective merits of Johnston and Buchanan as translators of the Psalms, known by the name of *Bellum Grammaticale*, and already referred to in our memoir of Arthur Johnston. He was of course the supporter of the work he had edited. "The conquests which Love had made over Trotter and Lauder," says Chalmers, "probably gave him a fondness for controversy." In 1749, he published "A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan," a work levelled at the imputations of Camden on the one part, and the reflections of Ruddiman, his former friend, on the other. It says much for the candour of Love, that Chalmers allows him to have been actuated by "honest zeal." The chief subject of discussion was the alleged penitence of Buchanan on his deathbed, on account of his attacks on the character of queen Mary. In July, 1749, in his old age, Ruddiman published an answer, termed "Animadversions on a late pamphlet, entitled A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan." The venerable grammarian survived his opponent, who died on the 20th September, 1750, at the age of fifty-five. Chalmers admits that "he was certainly an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man."

LOW, GEORGE, an ingenious naturalist, was born at Edzel in Forfarshire, in the year 1746. He was educated at the universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews, and afterwards was tutor in the family of Mr Graham at Stronness in Orkney. During his residence at this place, Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr Solander arrived at the island, on their return from the last voyage of discovery, in which captain Cook lost his life; and Mr Low, having acquired a taste for natural history, was much noticed by these distinguished philosophers, and was requested to accompany them in their excursions through the Orkneys, and also to the Shetland islands, which he accordingly did.

In 1774, he was ordained to the ministerial charge of the parish of Birsay and Staray, on the mainland of Orkney, to which he devoted the remainder of his life, employing his leisure in the study of nature. Considering the disadvantages of his situation, his success was highly creditable. Sir Joseph Banks, with his accustomed zeal for the promotion of science, introduced him to Mr Pennant, by whose advice he engaged to undertake a "Fauna Orcadensis," and a "Flora Orcadensis." Before these works could be given to the world, he died, in 1795. The MSS. of the former work, with his zoological collections, and the manuscript of a translation of Torfæus's History of Orkney, executed by Mr Low, came into the possession of Mr George Faton, the eminent antiquary, at whose decease they were sold to different persons. The "Fauna" was published in 1813, 4to, by W. F. Leach, M.D., F.L.S., and forms a very interesting addition to the natural history of the British Islands. The "Flora" has not been discovered. A tour through Orkney and Shetland, containing hints relative to their ancient, modern, and natural history, was also prepared for the press by this industrious individual, but, owing to his premature death, was never published.

LOWE, JOHN, a poet of considerable celebrity, though the author of only one small lyrical piece which has acquired popularity, was born at Kenmore in the stewartry of Kircudbright, in the year 1750. His father was gardener to Mr Gordon of Kenmore, son of the unfortunate viscount Kenmore; and young Lowe was reared to the business of a country weaver. Having, however, a strong desire of rising above his native lot, he fitted himself by his own exertions for entering an academical career at the university of Edinburgh, where his expenses were chiefly defrayed, it is said, by friends whom he had secured by his agreeable character and evident talents. While pursuing the study of divinity, he was engaged as family tutor by a country gentleman of his native district, Mr M'Ghie of Airds. The residence of this gentleman, as partly implied by its Celtic appellation, was situate on a piece of lofty and picturesque ground, at the confluence of the Dee with the long narrow lake, in which the Ken meets with that river. Lowe, already addicted to versification, rejoiced with a poet's ardour in the beautiful scenery of the Airds, amidst which he constructed an arbour still called "Lowe's Seat." He here composed a considerable number of poems, fragments of which are still recollected in the district; and here also he became attached to one of the beautiful daughters of his employer, who, it is to be supposed, must have materially added to the inspiring powers of the scenery. His happy lyric, entitled "Mary's Dream," but for which, in all probability, he never would have been heard of beyond his native district, was written at the Airds, in reference to the death of a gentleman named Miller, a surgeon at sea, who was attached to the sister of his own mistress, and perished in the manner described in the poem.

It is not certain that Lowe, though he seems to have completed his theological studies, ever became a licentiate of the Scottish church. In 1773, he was induced to proceed to America, in order to become family tutor to a brother of the illustrious Washington. He subsequently set up a boarding academy at Fredericksburg in Virginia, which succeeded for a time, but afterwards failed. Before leaving Scotland, he had interchanged pledges of mutual love with Miss M'Ghie, and it was understood that their marriage should take place as soon as he should be properly settled in life. The lapse of years—distance—hopelessness, perhaps, of ever reaching the necessary degree of fortune, and not impossibly the intervention of seven years of war between the two countries, conspired to annul this engagement; and the parties eventually married different individuals in their respective countries. Lowe is charged by his biographers with glaring infidelity to his promise; but the case is too obscurely related, to enable us to join in the censure which he has thus incurred. The fondest lovers, when divided by time and space from each other, will hardly be able to maintain their flame: as love is often at first the result of exclusive intercourse, so is it apt to expire when the parties cease for a length of time to enjoy that intercourse, or become exposed to a wider range of society. We are far from implying that a breach of youthful vows is justifiable on any principle; but yet when we see a young female bind herself up to a person who has no immediate prospect of being able to make her his wife, and who, perhaps, before that event, has to spend a long time in a distant land, where his very character is exposed to a radical change, we cannot help perceiving that such a woman perils her happiness upon a point in human nature, and a series of contingencies, where the chances are greatly against her, and therefore is not entitled to throw the *whole* blame of her misfortune, should it arrive, upon one who is simply, perhaps, the partner of her early imprudence. Lowe eventually paid his addresses to a Virginian lady, who rejected them, but whose sister had conceived for him a violent affection, and whom he afterwards married, from a

sentiment, as he expresses it, of gratitude. At what time this took place has not been stated by his biographer;¹ but it is impossible, from the account given by that individual, to resist the impression that it was almost half a lifetime after his engagement at the Airds. His wife proved totally unworthy of his affections, and, by driving him for relief to the bottle, caused his death under the most miserable circumstances about the year 1798. This succession of events appears from Mr Gillespie's narrative, to have been rapid: hence it is allowable to conjecture, that at least twenty years must have elapsed between his parting with Miss M'Ghie, and his unhappy union to another. If such was the case, we can hardly see how the most ardent impressions of youth could have been maintained at such a distance, and under the continued depression of circumstances on the part of the gentleman, which is acknowledged by the biographer, and which must have tended so much to make sick the hearts of both parties.

A letter from Virginia from an early friend of the poet, gave the following particulars respecting his death:—"That perceiving his end drawing near, and wishing to die in peace, away from his own wretched walls, he mounted a sorry palfrey, and rode some distance to the house of a friend. So much was he debilitated that scarcely could he alight in the court and walk into the house. Afterwards, however, he revived a little, and enjoyed some hours of that vivacity which was peculiar to him. But this was but the last faint gleams of a setting sun; for on the third day after his arrival at the house of his friend, he breathed his last. He now lies buried near Fredericksburg, under the shade of two palm trees; but not a stone is there on which to write, 'Mary, weep no more for me.'"

The wretched woman to whom he had been united made no inquiries after her husband for more than a month afterwards, when she sent for his horse, which had been previously sold to defray the expenses of the funeral.

Lowe is said to have been a very handsome man, of quick and lively apprehension, and very agreeable as a companion. His reputation as a poet has the strange peculiarity of resting on one small ballad. That, however, has melody, pathos, and imagery, of no common character, and will probably be always reckoned among the happiest small pieces in the English language. Some fragments of his other compositions are given in Cromec's Remains; but they do not rise one step above the cold second-rate pastoral epics of the period.

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MACDIARMID, JOHN, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1779. He was the son of the Rev. Mr Macdiarmid, minister of Weem, in Perthshire. After studying at the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and acting for some time as tutor to a gentleman's family, he proceeded, in 1801, to London, for the purpose of prosecuting a literary career. He soon obtained lucrative employment as a writer in periodical works, and became editor of the *St James' Chronicle*, a newspaper in which some of the first scholars and wits of former years were accustomed to employ their pens. On the renewal of the war with France, in 1802-3, the attention of Mr Macdiarmid was attracted to the system of national defence which had been adopted, and he forsook his other employ-

¹ The Rev. Mr Gillespie, minister of Kelso, in Cromec's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.

ments to devote himself to a work of a very elaborate character, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes 8vo, under the title of "An Inquiry into the System of Military Defence of Great Britain." He aimed at exposing the defects of the volunteer system, as well as of all temporary expedients, and asserted the superiority of a regular army. His next work was an "Inquiry into the Nature of Civil and Military Subordination," 1804, 8vo, perhaps the fullest disquisition which the subject has received. Being thus favourably introduced to public notice as a general writer, he began to aim at higher objects, but, it would appear, without properly calculating his own physical capabilities. Mr D'Israeli, who saw him at this time, and who had afterwards the melancholy task of introducing his case into the work called "The Calamities of Authors," describes him as "of a tender frame, emaciated, and study-worn, with hollow eyes, where the mind dimly shone, like a lamp in a tomb. With keen ardour," says the historian of literary disaster, "he opened a new plan of biographical politics. When, by one who wished the author and his style were in better condition, the dangers of excess in study were brought to his recollection, he smiled, and, with something of a mysterious air, talked of unalterable confidence in the powers of his mind—of the indefinite improvement in our faculties; and although his frame was not athletic, he considered himself capable of trying it to the extremity. His whole life, indeed, was one melancholy trial: often the day passed cheerfully without its meal, but never without its page." Under the impulse of this uncontrollable enthusiasm, Mr Macdiarmid composed his "Lives of British Statesmen," beginning with Sir Thomas More. For the publication, he was indebted to a friend, who, when the author could not readily procure a publisher, could not see even the dying author's last hopes disappointed. The work has obtained a reputation of no mean order. "Some research and reflection," says Mr D'Israeli, "are combined in this literary and civil history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."—"The style," according to another critic, "is perspicuous and unaffected; authorities are quoted for every statement of consequence, and a variety of curious information is extracted from voluminous records, and brought for the first time into public view. His political speculations were always temperate and liberal. He was indeed in all respects qualified for a work of this description, by great power of research and equal impartiality." The poor author was destined to enjoy, for a short time only, the approbation with which his work was received. His health sustained, in November, 1807, an irreparable blow by a paralytic stroke; and a second attack in February, 1808, proved fatal, April 7.

MACDONALD, ANDREW, a dramatic and miscellaneous writer, was born about the year 1755. His father, George Donald, was by profession a gardener, and resided at the foot of the broad way which connects Leith with Edinburgh, called Leith Walk; the place also of young Macdonald's nativity.

The subject of this memoir received the early part of his education at Leith, and went through the usual initiatory course of classical learning in the grammar school of that town. Having exhibited early indications of superior parts, his parents and friends entertained the most sanguine hopes of his success in the world; and especially anticipated his attaining eminence in literature. With a view to his becoming a minister of the Scottish episcopal communion, in which he was born and educated, they entered him a student in the university of Edinburgh, where he remained till 1775, when he was put into deacon's orders by bishop Forbes of Leith, who became also his chief patron. On this occasion, at the bishop's recommendation he prefixed the syllable Mac to his name, though for what reason is not stated.

Although now invested with the clerical character, there was yet no vacant

living for him; but through the interest of his patron, the worthy divine just named, he procured the appointment of preceptor in the family of Mr Oliphant of Gask, as a temporary employment and means of support, until a vacancy in the church should present itself. In this situation he remained about a year, when he was chosen pastor of the episcopal congregation at Glasgow, in room of Mr Wood, who had gone to St Petersburg. His appointment took place in the year 1777. His patron, bishop Forbes, having in the mean time died, he was put into priest's orders by bishop Falconer. Although much addicted to literary pursuits, Macdonald made no public appearance as an author for five years after this period, when he made a debut in the character of a poet, by publishing a poem, or rather part of a poem, entitled "Velina, a Poetical Fragment." Neither this work, nor a novel which he subsequently published under the title of the "Independent," met with any remarkable degree of success. He therefore resolved to try his talents in dramatic composition; and his first effort was the tragedy of Vimonda, which was brought out at the Edinburgh theatre royal, for the benefit of Mr Wood, with a prologue by Henry Mackenzie, and was received with marked applause by the public, though, like all the other works of its unfortunate author, it is now scarcely known to exist.

In the mean time, Macdonald, who still resided at Glasgow, was making but little progress in worldly prosperity. His fortunes, notwithstanding the success of his play, which does not seem to have yet yielded him any considerable pecuniary remuneration, were rather retrograding than advancing. The episcopal church of Scotland was at this period in a very depressed state. The old members were fast dying out, and there were none to replace them. The result was that Macdonald's congregation was speedily reduced to a number so trifling, that he could no longer live by his charge. Thus situated, he resolved on resigning it; and as no better prospects presented themselves elsewhere in the Scottish episcopal church, he denuded himself altogether of his ecclesiastical functions, and finally threw aside even the outward sign of his calling, the clerical dress, and became at all points entirely secularized. On throwing up his ministry, he came to Edinburgh, with, it would seem, pretty confident hopes of being able to make a living by his pen; an idea in which he was encouraged by the success of his tragedy. He had, however, before leaving Glasgow, taken a step which his friends thought fit to consider as at once imprudent and degrading. This was his marrying the maid servant of the house in which he had lodged. His reception, therefore, on his return to Edinburgh, from these friends and those of his acquaintances who participated in their feelings on the subject of his marriage, had much in it to annoy and distress him, although no charge could be brought against the humble partner of his fortune, but the meanness of her condition. Whatever question, however, might have been made of the prudence or imprudence of his matrimonial connexion, there could be none regarding the step which he next took. This was his renting an expensive house, and furnishing it at a cost which he had no immediate means of defraying, although with all that sanguine hope which is but too frequently found associated with literary dispositions, he fully expected to be enabled to do so by the exertion of his talents. The result was such as might have been looked for. His literary prospects, as far as regarded Edinburgh, ended in total disappointment. His creditors became pressing, and the neglect of his friends, proceeding from the circumstance already alluded to, and which in some cases amounted to direct insult, continued as marked as when he first returned amongst them, and added greatly to the distress of mind with which the unfortunate poet was now overwhelmed.

Under the pressure of these accumulated evils, he determined on quitting Edinburgh, and on seeking in London that employment for his literary talents which he could not find in his native capital. Having come to this resolution, he left his mother; for whom he always entertained the most tender regard, in possession of his house and furniture, and proceeded, accompanied by his wife, to the metropolis. Here his reception was such as to compensate in some measure for the treatment which he had experienced at home. The fame of his tragedy had gone before him, and soon after his arrival procured him many sincere and cordial, though it does not appear very powerful, friends. *Vimonda* was brought out with much splendour by Colman, in the summer of 1787, a short time after its author had arrived in London, and was performed to crowded houses. In the following summer, it was again produced, and with similar success. This good fortune, operating on a temperament naturally sanguine, lifted poor Macdonald's hopes beyond all reasonable bounds, and filled his mind with the brightest anticipations of fame and independence. In this spirit he wrote several letters to Mr M. Stewart, music-seller in Edinburgh, the principal, if not indeed the only friend he had left behind him, full of the most splendid ideas regarding his future fortunes. Having left Edinburgh in embarrassed circumstances, so that neither his house rent nor his furniture had been paid, he promises speedy remittances to defray all his debts, and amongst the rest that which he had incurred to his correspondent, who seems to have managed all his affairs for him after he left the Scottish capital, and to have generously made, from time to time, considerable advances of money on his account.

"Thank Heaven," says the ill-fated poet in one of these letters to Stewart, in which he announces the good fortune which he now conceived was to be his for the remainder of his life, "thank Heaven, my greatest difficulties are now over; and the approaching opening of the summer theatre will soon render me independent and perfectly at ease. In three weeks you will see by the public prints, I shall be flourishing at the Haymarket in splendour superior to last season. I am fixed for the summer in a sweet retirement at Brompton, where, having a large bed, and lying alone, I can accommodate you tolerably, and give you a share of a poet's supper, sallads and delicious fruits from my own garden."

All this felicity, and all these gay visions of the future, were, however, speedily and sadly dissipated. In a few short months thereafter Macdonald sunk into an untimely grave, disappointed in his hopes, and reduced to utter destitution in his circumstances. That he did thus die is certain, but neither the immediate cause, nor the progress of the sudden blight, which thus came over his fortunes before his death, is very distinctly traced in any of the memoirs which have been consulted in the composition of this article, unless the following remark, contained in an advertisement prefixed to a volume of posthumous sermons of Macdonald, printed in 1790, can be considered as an explanation:—"Having no powerful friends to patronize his abilities, and suffering under the infirmities of a weak constitution, he fell a victim, at the age of thirty-three, to sickness, disappointment and misfortune." Macdonald died in the year 1788, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving behind him his wife and one child, wholly unprovided for.

Macdonald made several attempts in dramatic composition subsequent to the appearance of *Vimonda*, but none of them were at all equal in merit to that performance, a circumstance which affords, probably, a more satisfactory elucidation of the cause of those disappointments which gathered round and hurried him to his grave, and embittered his dying moments, than those enumerated in the extract employed above. For some time previous to his death, under the fictitious

signature of Matthew Bramble, he amused the town almost daily with little humorous and burlesque poems, after the manner of Peter Pindar's (Dr Wolcot), and these were not unfrequently equal in point and satirical allusion to some of the most felicitous effusions of his celebrated prototype.

As a preacher, he was distinguished for neat, classical, and elegant composition; qualities which procured a favourable reception for the volume of posthumous sermons published in 1790. A tragedy, which he left in a finished state at his death, was printed and included in a volume of his poetical works, published in 1791.

On the whole, Macdonald's literary talents seem to have been of that unfortunate description which attract notice, without yielding profit, which produce a show of blossom, but no fruit, and which, when trusted to by their sanguine possessor as a means of insuring a subsistence, are certain to be found wholly inadequate to that end, and equally certain to leave their deceived and disappointed victim to neglect and misery.

It may be proper, before concluding this brief sketch of Macdonald, to advert to the account given of him by D'Israeli, in his "Calamities of Authors." That account is an exceedingly pathetic one, and is written with all the feeling and eloquence for which its highly distinguished writer is so remarkable; but unfortunately it is inconsistent in many parts with fact. What Mr D'Israeli mentions regarding him from his own knowledge and experience, we do not question; but in nearly all the particulars which were not so acquired, he seems to have been egregiously misinformed. In that information, however, which is of the description that there is no reason for doubting, the following affecting passage occurs:—"It was one evening I saw a tall, furnished, melancholy man, enter a bookseller's shop, his hat flapped over his eyes, and his whole frame evidently feeble from exhaustion and utter misery. The bookseller inquired how he proceeded with his tragedy? 'Do not talk to me about my tragedy! Do not talk to me about my tragedy! I have indeed more tragedy than I can bear at home,' was his reply, and his voice faltered as he spoke. 'This man was Matthew Bramble—Macdonald, the author of the tragedy of *Vimonda*, at that moment the writer of comic poetry.'" D'Israeli then goes on, giving the result of his inquiries regarding him, and at this point error begins. He represents him as having seven children. He had, as already noticed, only one. He says he was told, "that he walked from Scotland with no other fortune than the novel of the *Independent* in one pocket, and the tragedy of *Vimonda* in the other." The novel alluded to was published four years before he went to London; and *Vimonda* had been brought out at Edinburgh a considerable time before he left that city. D'Israeli speaks of the literary success which the "romantic poet" had anticipated while yet "among his native rocks." The reader need scarcely be reminded that Macdonald was born in the immediate vicinity of the Scottish capital, and that the whole of his life, previously to his leaving Scotland, was spent in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and great part of it in what has always been considered the profession of a gentleman.

MACFARLANE, ROBERT, a political and miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1734, and educated at the university of Edinburgh. At an early period of life he proceeded to London, in search of a livelihood, and for many years kept an academy of considerable reputation at Walthamstow. He engaged warmly in the political disputes which took place during the Bute administration; and, in 1770, concentrated his sentiments respecting them in a "History of the Reign of George III.," 8vo. This work, without possessing any large share of intrinsic merit, had a curious history. The author quarrelled with the publisher, (Mr Evans,) who, in 1782, issued a second, and, in 1794, a third

volume, both written by a different person; Mr Macfarlane, then became reconciled to Mr Evans, and added a fourth volume. Mr Macfarlane at one time edited the *Morning Chronicle*. He was also engaged, it is said, in the preparation of the *Poems of Ossian*, some of which he afterwards translated into Latin verse. He had an essay upon the authenticity of those celebrated productions in the press, when he was crushed to death in one of the mobs which distinguished the election contest for Westminster, between Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Mainwaring, August 8, 1804. In 1797, Mr Macfarlane published "An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the present Fortune and future Prospect of Public Affairs," by which it appears that he had now become more attached to the government than he had formerly been. In 1801, he published an English translation of Buchanan's celebrated tract, "*De Jure Regni*," prefaced with two disputations, in which there is much curious antiquarian and historical matter.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN, one of the best of the modern Highland poets, was born in Druinlaighart, in the district of Glenorchy, Argyshire, on the 20th March, 1724. He was the child of poor parents, and never received the slightest tincture of school learning. He was engaged in the civil war of 1745, but on the loyal side. Local and family ties made him a member of the large force which Argyshire sent forth on that occasion to support the government, and he fought at the battle of Falkirk under the command of colonel Campbell of Carahin. It is not to be inferred on this account that he had any antipathy to the cause in which so many of his countrymen were engaged. He was involved in the disgraceful retreat of the king's troops, in which he lost his sword, circumstances which gave him no small degree of mortification, as he has himself shown by the clever song which he wrote upon the occasion. At what period of his life he commenced the composition of poetry, is not known. His only models in the art must have been those legendary verses of various kinds and ages, which the Highlanders used to recite by the winter fire-side, and hand down from one generation to another, by oral communication.¹ Of the grammatical principles of language, he must have been completely ignorant; his knowledge would be confined in a great measure to the objects of his own Highland vale, and to the Scriptural lore which he would hear occasionally expounded in the parish church. He possessed, however, the genuine talent of the poet—not only that natural eloquence which supplies imagery and suggests incident and allusion, but that felicitous power of expression, which from its being alike found in the untutored Burns and the refined Horace, ought to be considered as much a native gift as any other. This poor Highlander—the reader cannot conceive any man poorer in the goods of fortune—is said to exhibit in his poetry a purity and aptitude of diction, and a harmony of versification, such as are not surpassed in the poetry of any age or country. He may not only, indeed, be introduced here as a Scotsman who has earned a respectable fame, but he might be instanced, in works more expressly devoted to the consideration of the intellectual powers of men, as a singular specimen of original and brilliant talent, altogether unfavoured by direct instruction, and going contentedly side by side for a long life with a character of the most simple and unworldly kind.

Being an excellent marksman, Duncan—or, as he was generally styled by his countrymen, Donacha Ban, (fair-haired Duncan)—was appointed forester to the earl of Breadalbane in *Coire-Cheathaich* and *Bein Dourain*, and thereafter to the duke of Argyle, in *Buachill-Gie*. In 1768, a volume of his poems was

¹ There was not a printed book in the Gaelic language which contained any sort of poetry except the Psalms, until Alexander Macdonald published his Gaelic Songs in 1751.

published at Edinburgh, under the descriptive title of "Orain Ghaidhealach, le Donacha Mac-an-t-soir;"² it was reprinted in 1790, and again in 1804,³ and has long been out of print. One of the poems in this volume was "Oran na Briogais," or, as it may be freely rendered, "The Anathema of the Breeks," being a pretty open expression of the most disloyal sentiment on the part of the author, respecting the abolition of the Highland, and the substitution of the Lowland dress, which formed one of the measures of the government for breaking the Jacobite spirit, after the rebellion of 1745. It is well known that the Highlanders in general resented this measure very bitterly, and none more so than such as, like Macintyre, had been loyal to the king during the late broils. They deemed the breeches at once a literal and emblematic restraint—a thing unsuited to their habits as well as tastes—and, as is plainly intimated by Donacha Ban, a sufficient cause of offence to cause a *universal* rising in favour of prince Charles, should he ever again appear in the country. Of the spirit of this poem we can give no fair specimen—though the first stanza has been cleverly rendered in the following terms:—

My curse upon the grey breeks,
That bind our supple limbs so light
We're fetter-bound in slavery;
And right is now o'ercome by might.
Had we been faithful to our king,
We ne'er should have to dree such thing,
But light's a bird upon the wing
Might be each free-born mountain wight.

When by the exertions of the marquis of Graham, the act for abolishing the Highland dress was repealed (1782), Macintyre celebrated the event in a pæan of clamorous joy, such as would have done honour to a repelled invasion or a liberated country. These poems, with an English translation, are to be found in the Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine for October, 1833.

In 1793, the poet, though advanced to a considerable age, became a private in a fencible regiment then raised by the earl of Breadalbane, in which situation he continued till the corps was disbanded in 1799. It is probably to a period antecedent to either of these dates, that we are to ascribe an anecdote of Macintyre, which was related to the editor of this dictionary by the late Mr Alexander Campbell, editor of Albyn's Anthology. The earl of Breadalbane, being anxious to provide permanently for the latter life of his ingenious dependent, consulted the poet himself, as to the way in which he thought that object might be best accomplished. Macintyre, whose whole life had been passed in the humblest obscurity, undisturbed by so much as a wish for any thing better, took some time to consider the matter, and to make inquiries, and then came to his lordship with a request that he would exert his influence to procure a place for him in the city-guard of Edinburgh, a military police whom Sir Walter Scott has since rendered classical by his pen; but who were then the alternate scoff and terror of their fellow townsmen at *sixpence a day!* Into this antiquated corps—for such it was, both in its general character, and in respect of the age of most of its members—Macintyre was accordingly transplanted;⁴ thus exchanging the Highland solitude, whence the inspiration and enjoyment of his whole life had been derived, for the duties of a peace-officer in one of the most crowded streets in the world, where every object must have been to him artificial

² "Gaelic Songs by Duncan Macintyre."

³ With some additional poems composed during these intervals.

⁴ He composed a poem in Edinburgh, in which he shows the poetical talent of nice observation, describing every remarkable or novel object, but without any expression of surprise.

and strange. It is an affecting illustration, however, of the pleasure which unambitious minds may derive from humble sources, that the poet wrote upon this occasion a self-gratulatory ode, in which he expresses quite as bounding a transport at his accession to a salary of sixpence a day, as Napoleon could have done at the addition of a kingdom to his dominions. We have thought this poem so extraordinary a curiosity in its way, as to make a translation of it, with which we have been furnished by an obliging friend, the example to be presented in this place of the style of Macintyre, so far as the unavoidable formality and tameness of a literal English version can exemplify the exquisite graces of the Gaelic bard.

TRANSLATION OF VERSES TO HIS MUSKET

BY DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

Many a turn of fortune may happen to a man,
He may fall in love with one he may not get—
I devoted twenty years to the first I fancied,
But she forsook me and I was left alone.

I came to Edinburgh to seek a sweetheart :
Said captain Campbell in the town guard,
That he knew a widow in a secret place,
And would endeavour to put her in my way ;

He did, as he was wont, fulfill his promise ;
He gave her to me by the hand, and her portion with her.
Whoever may ask her name or surname,
They call her Janet,⁶ and George was her grandsire,

She is quiet and affable, without gloom or vexing look,
And as high in rank as any lady in the land ;
She is the means of my support since she joined me—
Great is the cause of grief to him who has not got her.

I have forsaken Nic-Coshum,⁷ tho' she still lives,
And allowed the crested stags to wander where they please ;
I have chosen a young wife, which I do not repent ;
I am not without wealth since I espoused the fair one.

I pass my word that she is most excellent,
And that I never discovered any hidden fault in her ;
She is stately, fine, straight, and sound,
Without defect or blemish, twist or bend.

When needy folks are pinched for money,
George's daughter will not let my pocket be empty ;
She keeps me in drink in the alehouses,
And pays every stoup that I call for.

She does every lurn as I bid her,
She tells me no lie nor false story ;
She keeps my family as well as I could wish,
Though I do no labour nor dirty work.

I worked laboriously though I amassed no wealth,
I vowed that I would disdain to be a menial ;
I have ceased to toil since I have remarked
That the idle man endures longest.

It is my loving wife who will not deceive me ;
She is able always to earn my bread,
I shall have no lack of clothes or linen,
And worldly cares now give me no concern.

⁶ A byword for a regimental firelock, but never applied to any other gun.

⁷ A favourite fowling piece to which he composed another song.

How long he remained in the situation alluded to has not been ascertained. The latter years of his life were spent in Edinburgh, and are said to have been cheered by the bounty of the earl of Breadalbane. He died in that city, October, 1812, in the 89th year of his age.

"In his young days," says the author of *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, "Macintyre was remarkably handsome, and throughout his whole life, he possessed a very easy and agreeable disposition. Although, when provoked, his enemies generally felt the effects of his pride and resentment, yet to his benefactors he was equally grateful. He was very fond of company and a cheerful glass, and was not only very agreeable over his bottle, but also very circumspect. Although Macintyre discovered an early inclination to poetry, he did not produce any thing till the memorable battle of Falkirk, a description of which forms the first song in the valuable collection published by him, wherein it is said to have been his first regular attempt at composition. The collection contains lyric, comic, epic, and religious compositions, of such merit as renders it difficult to say in what department of poetry this writer most excelled. * * His poetical talents justly entitled him to rank among the first of Celtic bards, for all good judges of Celtic poetry agree that nothing like the purity of his Gaelic, and the style of his poetry, has appeared in the Highlands.⁸ Of *Donacha Ban* it might justly be said,

'Nan leabhadh eas' òg gach òran a's sgéul,
Cha chuireadh neach beò a ghlas-ghuib air a' bhéul!"

MACKENZIE, GEORGE, first earl of Cromarty, a distinguished political and literary character, was born in the year 1630, being the eldest son of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, one of the senators of the college of justice. He succeeded his father in 1654, and acted a conspicuous part in the irregular warfare carried on at that period by general Middleton, against the forces of Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Middleton received an earldom, and was appointed to the direction of Scottish affairs, Sir George Mackenzie became his principal confidant, and had a prominent share in the transactions connected with the celebrated *billeting act*, which ended in the common disgrace of the earl and Sir George. The latter, consequently, remained unemployed throughout the whole administration of the duke of Lauderdale. He afterwards obtained that promotion to which his extraordinary talents entitled him. In 1678, he was appointed justice general for Scotland, and, in 1681, a lord of session, and lord register. In 1685, James II. created him viscount of Tarbat, by which name he is best known. Though an active and unscrupulous agent of the two last Stuarts, he

⁸ *Note by a correspondent.*—All this must be taken in a very qualified sense. There is nothing approaching to sublimity in the whole range of Macintyre's compositions. His poem in praise of Bendourain is in somewhat of a heroic strain; but it scarcely deserves the name of Epic. Alexander Macdonald was far superior to him in what is usually understood by the term genius; but from his classical education he was less scrupulous about the purity of his style, and his works abound in classical allusions. It is to the purity of his language, and the harmony of his numbers, that Macintyre owes his fame in a great measure. In these qualities he is almost equalled if not rivalled by Mary Macleod, an untutored poetess, but her compositions are not so numerous, and she had not the varied talent of Macintyre. As already said, his poetry is chiefly of a descriptive character, and Dr Johnson's criticism on Thomson's Seasons may be applied to him, with this qualification, that his comprehension of the vast was not equal to his attention to the minute. His love songs are remarkable for delicacy of sentiment—and his descriptions of the chase are very animated. Here he was quite at home. Some of his pieces are valuable as descriptive of country manners, now almost extinct. He may be called the Pope of the Highlands, as Macdonald was the Byron, and William Ross the Burns. Macdonald had more originality of genius than any of the Highland poets; but it was irregular and not under proper restraint—Ross, for tenderness and sensibility, was what Burns may be supposed to have been if he had been born and bred in the Highlands. Macintyre was more agreeable.

had no objection to continue in employment under the system of things established at the Revolution. But king William, to whom he lost no time in paying his respects, did not think proper to employ him till 1692, when his lordship was restored to his office of lord register.

Here the evil habits he had contracted under the late government appear to have still clung to him. The spirit which induced Charles II. to say, that, though Lauderdale was complained of by the *people*, he did not seem to have done any thing contrary to the interests of the *sovereign*, was what animated this veteran instrument of arbitrary authority. Having been accused of falsifying the minutes of parliament for private objects, he does not appear to have paid the least regard to the truth or falsity of the charge: in his defence, addressed to Mr Carstairs, he dwells only on the malice which animated his accusers, and on the constancy of his own attachment to the king. He found it necessary, however, to retire upon a pension of £400 a-year. In a subsequent letter, he is found petitioning for a remission, and in such terms as gives a curious idea of the state of moral feeling among politicians in that age:—"I wish," says he, "to have a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fish't for in others upon as great grounds. If it comes, let it contain *treason, perduellion, and a general of all crimes*; though, on all that's sacred, I know not myself guilty, nor do I fear any thing on this side Irish witnesses or evidence." At the accession of queen Anne, this able statesman was made secretary of state for Scotland; an office which he resigned in 1704, for that of justice general. In 1703, he was elevated to the dignity of earl of Cromarty. Having resigned the justice generalship in 1710, he retired some years after, to his seat of New Tarbat, in Ross-shire, intending, without any apparent regard to his advanced age, to live there in an economical manner for six years, in order that he might be subsequently enabled to reside in London. The design was almost at the very outset interrupted by death; his lordship expiring, August 17, 1714. He has an elegant obelisk erected to his memory in the neighbourhood of Dingwall.

The earl of Cromarty, notwithstanding the faults already alluded to, is acknowledged to have been a good-natured man, "possessed of a great measure of polite learning, and good parts, and master of an extraordinary gift of pleasing and diverting conversation, which rendered him one of the most entertaining companions in the world. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and reckoned among the ablest members of that learned body; in the Philosophical Transactions, many papers of his lordship may be seen. His other publications, arranged in chronological order are, 1. A Vindication of king Robert III. from the imputation of Bastardy, Edin. 1695, 4to.—2. The mistaken Advantage of Raising of Money, Edin. 1695, 4to.—3. Letter to the Earl of Wemyss, concerning the Union with England, 1706, 4to.—4. Friendly Response to a Letter concerning Sir George Mackenzie's and Sir John Nisbet's Observations and Response on the matter of the Union, 1706, 4to.—5. Synopsis Apocalyptica, or, a Short and Plain Explication of Daniel's Prophecy, and of St John's Revelation in concert with it, 1707, 4to.—6. Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig, against king James VI., 1713, 8vo.—7. A Vindication of the same from the Mistakes of Mr John Anderson, Preacher of Dumbarton, in his Defence of Presbytery, 1714, 8vo.

MACKENZIE, (SIR) GEORGE, a celebrated lawyer and state officer, and perhaps the first Scotsman who wrote the English language in a style approaching to purity, was born at Dundee, in 1636. His father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, brother of the earl of Seaforth, and his mother Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Dr Peter Bruce, principal of St Leonard's college, St Andrews. His progress at school was so rapid, that in his tenth year he was master of

all the classical authors usually taught in schools. He afterwards studied Greek and philosophy in the universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and civil law in that of Bourges in France; and, in January, 1659, before the termination of his twenty-third year, entered as an advocate at the Scottish bar.

In 1660, he published his *Aretina*, or *Serious Romance*, in which, according to his kind biographer, Ruddiman, he gives "a very bright specimen of his gay and exuberant genius." His talents must have been early observed and appreciated, for in 1661, his third year at the bar, he was selected as one of the counsel of the marquis of Argyle, then tried by a commission of parliament for high treason. On this occasion, he acted with so much firmness, and even boldness, as at once established his character. As the counsel for Argyle were appointed by parliament, they presented a petition under form of protest, that in the defence of their client, they might not be made responsible for every expression they might utter, but that a latitude and freedom of expression, suitable to the extent and difficulty of the charges they were called upon to canvass, might be allowed them. This being peremptorily refused, Sir George and his associates took such steps, in consequence, as subjected them to the imminent risk of a charge of treason: "it is impossible to plead for a traitor," said the young lawyer, "without speaking treason!" an antithesis certainly more bold than true, but calculated to make a considerable impression upon the multitude. The counsel only escaped from the consequences of their rashness by the special mercy of the court.

The purely literary labours of this eminent person, appear to have been chiefly executed during his earlier years. His "*Religio Stoici*, or a short Discourse upon several divine and moral subjects," appeared in 1663. Two years afterwards, he published his *Moral Essay upon Solitude*, preferring it to public employment, with all its appendages, such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c. This production was answered by the celebrated Evelyn, in a Panegyric on Active Life. "It seems singular," says the Edinburgh Review, "that Mackenzie, plunged in the hardest labours of ambition, should be the advocate of retirement, and that Evelyn, comparatively a recluse, should have commended that mode of life which he did not choose."¹ But it is probable that each could write most freshly on circumstances disconnected with the daily events of his life, while speculative ingenuity was all they cared to reach in their arguments. "You had reason to be astonished," says Evelyn, writing to Cowley, "that I, who had so much celebrated recess, should become an advocate for the enemy. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and there is no person who can do more honour, and breathe more after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but as those who praised dirt, a flea, or the gout, so have I public employment, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonists, as by that alone it would appear, that I neither was nor could be serious." In 1667, Mackenzie published his *Moral Gallantry*, one of the reflective treatises of the period, intending to prove the gentlemanliness of virtue, and the possibility of establishing all moral duties on principles of honour—a theory supported by arguments which, had any of the nicer metaphysical minds of the succeeding age thought fit to drive to their ultimate principles, they might have found to be somewhat inimical to the author's hearty church of England feelings, or even the principles of Christianity. But Mr Mackenzie was not a metaphysician, and religion required to be plainly spoken, in terms of presbyterianism or papistry, before it attracted his legal attention. To this production he added a *Consolation against Calumnies*. The fiery course of politics which he had afterwards to run, made

¹ xxxvi. 5.

a hiatus of considerable extent, in the elegant literary pursuits of Mackenzie; but after his retirement from public life, he wrote another work which may be classified with those just mentioned—*The Moral History of Frugality*; nor in this classification must we omit his *Essay on Reason*. Mackenzie had associated himself with the elegant wits of England, and his opportunities enabled him, if he was inferior in the actual bullion of genius to many of his countrymen who had gone before him, to give it a more elegant, or, at least, fashionable form. It is probable that any direct imitation, on the part of Mackenzie, may have been from the writings of Cowley, who, in the youth of the ambitious Scottish author, was the acknowledged leader of refinement in English composition. From his opponent Evelyn, he may also have derived facilities in composition; but it is probable that the best tone he assumed was imparted by the colloquial influence of Dryden. Of Mackenzie, that great man has left an interesting memorial:—"Had I time, I could enlarge on the beautiful turns of words and thoughts, which are as requisite in this, as in heroic poetry itself. With these beautiful turns I confess myself to have been unacquainted, till about twenty years ago, in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie. He asked me why I did not imitate, in my verse, the turns of Mr Waller and Sir John Denham, of whom he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, these two fathers of our English poetry, but had not seriously enough considered their beauties, which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinkling of this sort I had also formerly in my plays, but they were casual and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seek for the supply of them in other English authors." This is given by Dryden in his *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire*, prefixed to his *Juvenal*, published two years after Mackenzie's death. Mackenzie is characterized by the *Edinburgh Review*, as having been in his style not exempt from Scotticisms: "but he is perfectly free from those, perhaps, more disagreeable vices, into which more celebrated Scottish writers have been betrayed, by a constant fear of Scotticism. He composes easily and freely, and his style is that of a man who writes his native language." Meanwhile, along with his elegant prose, he found time and inclination to dabble in poetry. Sometime during his early years, at the bar, he wrote "*Celias' Country House and Closet*," a poem in English epics, and written in a manner more nearly akin to the style of Pope and his contemporaries, than that which flourished in the author's own time. Such a passage as the following will enable the reader to comprehend at once the merit of the work, and, taking into consideration the political life of the author, its artificial feeling:—

"O happy country life, pure as its air;
Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care;
Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
And are at once secure and innocent.
No passion here but love: here is no wound,
But that by which lovers their names confound
On barks of trees, whilst with a smiling face,
They see those letters as themselves embrace."

Country life, and love in the midst of it, were standing characteristics of the fashionable poetry of the period, and the stormy politician, anxious, like Richelieu, to distinguish himself in song, must submit to them, as absolutely as the love-sick swain, to whom they are a natural habit. The author seems to have been apprehensive that the fruit of his more elegant studies would not give the

world a favourable opinion of his professional attainments. "The multitude," he says in the conclusion to his *Religious Stoic*, "(which, albeit, it hath ever been allowed many heads, yet hath never been allowed any brains.) will doubtless accuse my studies of adultery, for hugging contemplations so eccentric to my employment. To these my return is, that these papers are but the parings of my other studies, and because they were but parings, I have flung them out into the streets. I wrote them in my retirements, when I wanted both books and employment; and I resolve, that this shall be the last inroad I shall ever make into foreign contemplations."

Let us now turn from his literature to the political and professional advancement, which interfered with its progress, or at least changed its course. Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed a justice-depute, or assistant to the justiciar or chief justice; a situation, the duties of which were almost equivalent to that of an English puisne judge of the present day, in criminal matters. He must have received the appointment very early in life, as in 1661, he and his colleagues were appointed to repair "once in the week at least to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, and to try and judge such persons as are ther or therabout delated of witchcraft;" and the experience in the dark sciences, obtained by him in this occupation, provided him with much grave and learned matter for his work on the criminal law of Scotland. Within a few years after this period, (the time is not particularly ascertained,) he was knighted. In 1669, he represented the county of Ross, where the influence of his family was extensive, in parliament. During that year, the letter of Charles, proposing the immediate consideration of a plan for an incorporating union of the two kingdoms, was read in parliament. Sir George, an enemy to every thing which struck at the individual consequence and hereditary greatness of the country, in which he held a stake, opposed the proposition. He tells us, in his amusing memoirs of the period, that when the commissioner proposed an answer, closing with the king's proposals, and entitling him to the election of the commissioner, he moved, that the parliament should have a day for the consideration of so serious a matter, as there might be questions about succession to be discussed, "whereupon the commissioner rose in a great passion, and told that he consented that the parliament should deliberate upon the letter now read till to-morrow; but that he understood not, how any member of parliament could be so bold as to inquire into the succession, upon a supposition that his majesty, and all the present royal line, should fail." Next day, Sir George came prepared with a speech on the subject. Of this somewhat interesting effort, he has given us a transcript, which is generally understood to be the earliest authentically reported specimen of legislative eloquence in Scotland. It is compact, clear, accurate, well composed, without flights of ardour, and, therefore, destitute of the burning impetuosity which afterwards distinguished Fletcher and Beihaven. On the whole, it appears, in its present form at least, to have been composed in the closet. His reasoning, when the aim is considered, was prudent and cautious—he considered and doubted "whether it was suitable to our honour, to advance in this union those steps, before England met us in one: and that we have done so in this letter, appears from this, that to treat of an union is one step; the second is to name commissioners; the third is to appoint their quorum, time, and place of their meeting: all which are several steps because they behoved, if they had been concluded in parliament, to have had several votes and conclusions." He also doubted, "whether it were fitter for his majesty's service, and the intended treaty, that the nomination of the commissioners should be referred to his majesty, or rather that they should be nominated in parliament." His speech gave great offence to those who had peculiar grounds for objecting to

long harangues. "About the close of his discourse, he was interrupted by the earl of Tweeddale, who said, that such long discourses were intolerable, especially where they intended to persuade the parliament not to comply with his majesty's desires—which interruption was generally looked upon as a breach of privilege—and it was desired by duke Hamilton, that the earl of Tweeddale should go to the bar; but the gentleman who was interrupted declared, that he had not been interrupted, but had finished his discourse; and, thereupon, that motion took no further effect." Sir George sought distinction in his course through parliament by popular measures. In 1669, an act had been passed, compelling merchants to make oath as to their having paid duties on their merchandise. "The commissioner had that day said, that the stealing of the king's customs was a crime, which was to be provided against: whereupon, Sir George Mackenzie replied, that if it was a crime, no man could be forced to swear for it; for by no law under heaven was it ever ordained that a man should swear in what was criminal. This, and all other passages of that day, joined with Sir George owning the burghs, in which it was alleged he had no proper interest, made his grace swear, in his return from the parliament, that he would have that factious young man removed from the parliament: to effectuate which, he called a council of his favourites, and it was there contrived, that his election should be quarrelled, because he held only lands of the bishop of Ross, but not of his majesty, and so was not a free baron. But they were at last diverted from this resolution by the register, who assured them, that this would make the people jealous of some close design to overturn their liberties, which, as they believed, that gentleman defended upon all occasions; and that he would glory in his exclusion, because it would be believed that they could not effectuate their intentions, if he were allowed to keep his place in parliament." Such is his own account of his parliamentary conduct,—it may be correct in point of fact, and he has abstained from any mention of the motives. He opposed the act of forfeiture against the western rebels, insisting that no man ought to be found or proved guilty in absence. His account of the opposition of the advocates on the subject of appeals, along with his somewhat suspicious conduct towards his rival Lockhart, have been already detailed.² Sir George Mackenzie would have gone to the grave with the character of a patriot, had he not been placed in a position where serving a king was more beneficial than serving the people. On the 23d of August, 1677, he was named king's advocate, on the dismissal of Sir John Nisbet. The object of the change was a subject of deep and well founded suspicion. Sir George states that his precursor, "a person of deep and universal learning, having disoblged my lord Hatton, he procured a letter to the lords of session, ordaining them to make inquiry into his having consulted *pro et con.* in the case of the lord chancellor and lord Melville, concerning the tailzie of the estate of Leven," and Sir George amiably represents himself as having persuaded Nisbet to stand to his defence. Wodrow observes that he was appointed, "some say upon a very sordid reason;" and Burnet distinctly states, that it was for the purpose of prosecuting Mitchell, who had been pardoned four years before for the attempted murder of Sharpe: at all events this was his first duty in his high office—it was one which on the whole required some address. Mackenzie had prepared himself, by having been counsel for Mitchell when he was previously tried. "He was a very great instrument," says Wodrow, "in the hands of the presbyterians, and was scarce ever guilty of moderating any harsh proceedings against them, in the eyes of the prelates themselves." As the trial of the earl of Argyll in 1661, was the first important political case in which he had tried his powers as

² In the Life of Sir George Lockhart.

a defender, so was that of his son in 1681, the first which exercised his abilities as a state prosecutor. In the father's case he had to resist the oppressive fictions of the crown lawyers, but all he suffered was amply repaid on the son. After this celebrated trial, he appears to have obtained, as part of the spoil, a gift of the barony of Bute, ratified by the parliament of 1681.³ On the recapture of the earl after his escape, Mackenzie was one of those who objected to a new trial, and he accordingly recommended his suffering on his former sentence; he is alleged to have done so from the probability, that, owing to the extreme injustice of the sentence, his heirs might probably be restored to their heritage. If such was indeed his motive, no man was ever more improvident of his own fame, or disinterested in sacrificing it for others; but Mr Laing has shrewdly observed, "no doubt Sir George at the Revolution would assume that merit with Argyle's son, when they sat together in the convention parliament. But he was the man who procured, when king's advocate, that illegal sentence, on which he moved for Argyle's execution."⁴ Meanwhile his professional ingenuity had been employed in the case of the lawburrows, by which a legal form, useful in the defence of the subject against lawless aggression, was, by adding to its natural power the weight of the royal influence, made an engine of oppression. It would be a vain task to enumerate the minor state prosecutions, which, in this eventful period, gave full employment to this active servant of government—most of them are well known, and they were at any rate numerous enough to stamp him in the minds of his opponents with a character which must live with his name—"The blood-thirsty advocate." In the year 1680, he tried the celebrated Cargill, who, among other acts of inefficacious spiritual authority, had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the lord advocate. When the indictment was read, bearing, in the ordinary terms, that the accused "having cast off all fear of God," &c., the clerk was interrupted by Cargill, who said, "The man who hath caused this paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my infancy; but that man, I say, who took the holy Bible in his hand, and said it would never be well with the land till that book was destroyed, I say, *he* is the man who hath cast off all fear of God." In 1684, after the escape of Sir Hugh Campbell, it being felt necessary that Baillie of Jerviswood should suffer, Mackenzie's energies were exercised on the occasion; and he gained the gratitude of the court, by doing what was wanted. Fountainhall has a characteristic note about his proceedings at this period. "Sir William Scott, of Harden, fined in 1500 lb. sterling, for his ladie's being at a conventicle, and being at one himself. It was said the king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, got a previous gift of this fine, for journeys to London."⁵ Sir George found it necessary to attempt a vindication of his acts, under the title of "A Vindication of the Government of Charles II.," which, lord Woodhouselee calmly observes, "will fully justify his conduct in the breast of every man whose judgment is not perverted by the same prejudices, hostile to all government, which led those infatuated offenders to the doom they merited."⁶ Sir George was a calm and thinking man, and his vindication bears the aspect of candour; but it is deficient in conclusiveness. "No age," he says, "did see so many thousands pardoned, nor so many indemnities granted, as was in his time: which, as it must be principally ascribed to the extraordinary clemency of the kings he served, so it may be in some measure imputed to the bias which Sir George had to the merciful hand." Sir George leaves out of view, that it is possible for one lord advocate so far to exceed another in the number of his prosecutions,

³ Acts, viii. 679.

⁴ History, ii. 151.

⁵ Fountainhall's Notes, 70.

⁶ Life of Kames, i. Ap. 12.

as both to acquit and sacrifice more than the whole number accused by his brethren. It was not those who were forgiven, but those who were not forgiven, that fix upon the reign of Charles II., and also upon his Scottish advocate, the indelible character of oppression and blood-thirstiness. It must, at the same time, be allowed, that the acute mind of Sir George Mackenzie was never asleep to practical improvements in jurisprudence, although the lust of power was sufficient to subdue his efforts, or turn them into another course. While he wielded the sword of persecution himself, he did much to unfit it for the use of others. He countenanced and cherished a principle, which called for the examination of all witnesses in criminal cases, in presence of the accused, instead of the secret chamber of the privy council. A frightful fiction of the law of both countries, by which no evidence could be led by a prisoner in opposition to the assertions of the libel made by the prosecutor, as representing the king, was removed by Sir George, forty years before it ceased to exist in England; and he put a stop to the system of permitting the clerk of court to be enclosed with the king, for the purpose of assisting him. This was done with a view to preserve the independence of jurymen; but let it be remarked, that in his work on criminal law, he advises the total abolition of trial by jury. In 1686, Mackenzie showed that he had a feeling of conscience, and that his religion, if entirely political, was not accurately squared to personal aggrandizement, by suffering himself to be dismissed for not agreeing to the catholic projects of James II. In 1688, however, he was restored, on the advancement of his successor, Dalrymple, to the presidency of the court of session.⁷ The Revolution terminated his political career. At this feverish moment of struggle and disappointment, he could so far abstract his mind from politics, as to perform the greatest public service which is even now connected with his name, by founding the Advocates' Library. The inaugural speech which was pronounced on the occasion, is preserved in his works. The institution has flourished, and redeems Scotland from the imputation of not possessing an extensive public library. After the Revolution, Sir George threw himself into the arms of the university of Oxford, the fittest receptacle for so excellent a vindicator of the old laws of divine right. He was admitted a student on the 2nd of June, 1690; but he did not long live to feel the blessings of the retirement he had praised, and for the first time experienced. He died at St James's on the 2nd May, 1691. He was still remembered in the national feeling as a great man, and his funeral was one of unusual pomp. He lay several days in state in the abbey of Holyrood House, whence his body was conveyed to the Grey Friars' churchyard, attended by a procession, consisting of the council, the nobility, the college of justice, the college of physicians, the university, the clergy, and many others.

Sir George wrote several works of a more laborious cast than those to which we have referred. His *Institute of the Law of Scotland* is well arranged, but, in comparison with the profoundness of Dalrymple, is meagre, and its brevity makes it of little use. His *Laws and Customs in Matters Criminal*, is full of useful information, and is the earliest arrangement (though not a very clear one) of our criminal code. His "Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry as part of the Law of Nations," is esteemed by heralds. When Stillingfleet and Lloyd made their critical attacks on the fabulous history of Scotland, Sir George, who seemed to consider it a very serious matter to deprive his majesty of forty ancestors, wrote in 1680 "A Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," in which he comes forward as his majesty's advocate, and distinctly hints to the contemners of the royal line,

⁷ Fountainhall, 267.

that, had they written in Scotland, he might have had occasion to put his authority in force against them. These works, along with the observations on the acts of parliament, and some other minor productions, were edited by Ruddiman, in two handsome folio volumes, in 1722. His "Memoirs," or account of his own times, certainly the most interesting of all his works, though promised at that time, was withheld through the timidity of his friends. When long lost sight of, the greater part of it has of late years been recovered to the world. It is full of graphic pictures of the state of the times; and if not so descriptive in character as Clarendon or Burnet, is often more lively in the detail of incident, and more acute in perceiving the selfish motives of the actors.

MACKENZIE, HENRY, one of the most illustrious names connected with polite literature in Scotland. He was born at Edinburgh in August 1745, while the citizens were preparing, by ineffectual fortifications, for the dreaded attack of prince Charles Stuart, then collecting his army in the Highlands.¹ The nativity of Mr Mackenzie was fixed by himself, at a public meeting which he attended late in life, upon the venerable alley denominated *Liberton's Wynd*, now removed in order to admit of a bridge for the connexion of the High Street with the southern districts of the city. His father was Dr Joshua, or (as his name is spelt in the Scots Magazine for 1800, where his death is recorded) Josiah Mackenzie, an eminent physician. Dr Mackenzie was, we believe, a native of Fortrose, upon the Moray frith, but had removed in early life to Edinburgh, where he acquired an extensive practice as a physician, and distinguished himself in the world of letters as author of a volume of Medical and Literary Essays.² The mother of the author of the *Man of Feeling* was Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr Rose of Kilravock, a gentleman of ancient family in Nairnshire.

After being educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie, by the advice of some friends of his father, was articled to Mr Inglis of Redhall, in order to acquire a knowledge of the business of the Exchequer, a law department, in which he was likely to have fewer competitors than in any other in Scotland. To this, though not perfectly compatible with the literary taste which he very early displayed, he applied with due diligence; and, in 1765, went to London to study the modes of English Exchequer practice, which, as well as the constitution of the court, were similar in both countries. While there, his talents induced a friend to solicit his remaining in London, and qualifying himself for the English bar. But the anxious wishes of his family that he should reside with them, and the moderation of an unambitious mind, decided his return to Edinburgh; where he became, first, partner, and afterwards successor, to Mr Inglis, in the office of attorney for the crown.

His professional labour, however, did not prevent his attachment to literary pursuits. When in London, he sketched some part of his first and very popular work, *The Man of Feeling*, which was published in 1771, without his name,

¹ Sir Walter Scott, in the memoir of Mr Mackenzie, prefixed to his novels in Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, states that his birth took place "on the same day on which prince Charles landed." This, however, is incompatible with the fact of Mr M. having been born in August, as the prince landed on the 25th of July. We may here also mention, that the original source of the memoir itself was not, as implied by Sir Walter, a Paris edition of the *Man of Feeling*, but a publication, entitled "The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits."

² "We have heard that some of Harley's feelings were taken from those of the author himself, when, at his first entrance on the dry and barbarous study of municipal law, he was looking back, like Blackstone, on the land of the Muses, which he was condemned to leave behind him. It has also been said, that the fine sketch of Miss Walton was taken from the heiress of a family of distinction, who ranked at that time high in the Scottish fashionable world. But such surmises are little worth the tracing; for we believe no original character was ever composed by any author, without the idea having been previously suggested by

and was so much a favourite with the public, as to become, a few years after, the occasion of a remarkable fraud. A Mr Eccles of Bath, observing the continued mystery as to the author, laid claim to the work as his own, and, in order to support his pretensions, transcribed the whole with his own hand, with an appropriate allowance of blottings, interlineations, and corrections. So plausibly was this claim put forward, and so pertinaciously was it adhered to, that Messrs Cadell and Strachan, the publishers, found it necessary to undeceive the public by a formal contradiction.

Though Mr Mackenzie preserved the anonymity of the *Man of Feeling* for some years, (probably from prudential motives with reference to his business,) he did not scruple to indulge, both before and after this period, in the literary society with which the Scottish capital abounded. He informs us in his *Life of Home*, that he was admitted in boyhood as a kind of page to the tea-drinkings which then constituted the principal festive entertainment of the more polished people in Edinburgh; and his early acquaintance with Home, Smith, Robertson, Blair, and the rest of the literary galaxy, then in the ascendant, is evidenced from the same source. He was an early intimate of the ingenious blind poet, Dr Blacklock; and at the house of that gentleman, as we have been informed by a survivor of the party, then a youthful boarder in the house, met Dr Johnson and Boswell, when the former was passing through Edinburgh on his journey to the Hebrides. To quote the words of our informant—"Several strangers had been invited on the occasion, (it was to breakfast;) and, amongst others, Dr Mackenzie, and his son, the late Mr Henry Mackenzie. These gentlemen went away before Dr Johnson; and Mrs Blacklock took the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric upon the father and son, which she concluded by saying, that though Dr Mackenzie had a large family, and was married to a lady who was his son's step-mother, nevertheless the son lived with his own wife and family in the same house,³ and the greatest harmony obtained among all the parties. On this Dr Johnson said, 'That's wrong, madam;' and stated a reason, which it were as well to leave unchronicled. This settled Mrs Blacklock's opinion of the doctor. Several years ago, on calling to remembrance the particulars of this breakfast with Mr Henry Mackenzie, he said there was another reason for Mrs Blacklock's dislike: she had filled no less than twenty-two cups of tea to Dr Johnson at this breakfast; which, I told Mr M., was too many, for Mrs Blacklock had appointed me to number them, and I made them only *nineteen!*"⁴

Some years after the publication of the *Man of Feeling*, Mr Mackenzie published his *Man of the World*, which was intended as a counterpart to the other. In his former fiction, he imagined a hero constantly obedient to every

something which he had observed in nature."—*Sir Walter Scott, in Ballantyne's Novelists' Library.*

³ Their residence was in one of the floors of a tall house at the junction of the Cowgate and Grassmarket, either above or below a floor occupied by Mrs Syme, the maternal grandmother of Lord Brougham.

⁴ Our correspondent's introduction to this anecdote may be deemed worthy of the reader's notice. "I was twice in company with Dr Johnson, when he came to Edinburgh, on his journey to the Hebrides. Being then a boarder in Dr Blacklock's, my request to be present at the breakfast given to Dr Johnson was readily granted. The impression which I then received of him can never be effaced; but it was not of an unpleasant nature. He did not appear to me to be that savage which some of my college companions had described him: on the contrary, there was much suavity and kindness in his manner and address to Dr Blacklock. The blind poet generally stood in company, rocking from one side to another; he had remarkably small white hands, which Dr Johnson held in his great paws during the most part of the time they conversed together, caressing and stroking them, as he might have done those of a pretty child." It is necessary to mention, that the great moralist was, by Boswell's showing, in one of his gentlest moods on this occasion.

emotion of his moral sense. In the *Man of the World*, he exhibited, on the contrary, a person rushing headlong into misery and ruin, and spreading misery all around him, by pursuing a happiness which he expected to obtain in defiance of the moral sense. His next production was *Julia de Roubigné*, a novel in a series of letters, designed, in its turn, as a counterpart to the *Man of the World*. "A friend of the author," says Sir Walter Scott, "the celebrated Lord Kames, we believe, had represented to Mr Mackenzie, in how many poems, plays, and novels, the distress of the piece is made to turn upon the designing villany of some one of the dramatis personæ. On considering his observations, the author undertook, as a task fit for his genius, the composition of a story, in which the characters should be all naturally virtuous, and where the calamities of the catastrophe should arise, as frequently happens in actual life, not out of schemes of premeditated villany, but from the excess and over-indulgence of passions and feelings in themselves blameless, nay, praiseworthy, but which, encouraged to a morbid excess, and coming into fatal and fortuitous concourse with each other, lead to the most disastrous consequences. Mr Mackenzie executed his purpose; and as the plan fell in most happily with the views of a writer, whose object was less to describe external objects, than to read a lesson to the human heart, he has produced one of the most heart-wringing histories which has ever been written. The very circumstances which palliate the errors of the sufferers, in whose distress we interest ourselves, point out to the reader that there is neither hope, remedy, nor revenge."

In 1777 or 1778, a number of young men of literary taste, chiefly connected with the Scottish bar, formed themselves into an association for the prosecution of their favourite studies, which came to bear the name of the *Mirror Club*. An account of this fraternity, of its members, and of the way in which they conducted their meetings, has already been given under the article "*WILLIAM CRAIG*," being derived from the oral information of Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, the latest survivor of the society.⁵ Of the *Mirror Club*, Mr Mackenzie was readily acknowledged chief; and, accordingly, when it was resolved to issue their literary essays in a small weekly paper, resembling the *Spectator*, he was appointed to undertake the duties connected with the publication. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, in the shape of a small folio sheet, price three halfpence, and terminated on the 27th of May, 1780; having latterly been issued twice a-week. Of the one hundred and ten papers to which the *Mirror* extended, forty-two were contributed by Mr Mackenzie, including *La Roche*, and several others of the most admired of his minor pieces. The sale, during the progress of the publication, never ex-

⁵ Sir William Macleod Bannatyne was born, January 26, 1743, O. S., and died November 30, 1833, in his ninety-first year. He was the son of Mr Roderick Macleod, W. S., whose sister, lady Clanranald, for protecting Prince Charles in his wanderings, was made prisoner, and kept for some time in confinement in London. The "young Clanranald," who led out his clan in 1745, and took the town of Dundee, was therefore cousin-german to Sir William. The venerable subject of this note, passed advocate, January 22, 1765, and was the intimate friend of the first lord Melville, when at the bar, and of several other eminent persons in that profession, with whom he used to meet regularly for mutual improvement in forensic and legal business. His contributions to the *Mirror* were five papers, which are pointed out in the latest edition. On the resignation of lord Swinton, in 1799, he was raised to the bench, where he performed the duties of a judge till 1823. On his retirement, he received the honour of knighthood. The remainder of his life was spent by Sir William in a cheerful and hospitable leisure at his residence in Whiteford House, near the bottom of the Canongate, where he was for many years the only surviving specimen of the *old town* gentleman. Sir William was full of anecdote and information respecting the political history of Scotland during the last century, and showed, in conversation with the present writer, as intimate an acquaintance, and as lively a recollection of the secrets of the Walpole and Bute administrations, as could be displayed by any living man, respecting that of Mr Canning or the Duke of Wellington.

ceeded four hundred copies ; but this was more than sufficient to bring it under the notice of a wide and influential circle, and to found the reputation it has since enjoyed. When re-published in duodecimo volumes, a considerable sum was realized from the copyright, out of which the proprietors presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and treated themselves to a hogshhead of claret, to be drunk at their ensuing meetings.

The *Lounger*, a work of exactly the same character, was commenced by the same writers, and under the same editorship, February 6, 1785, and continued once a-week till the 6th of January, 1787 ; out of the hundred and one papers to which it extended, fifty-seven are the production of Mackenzie. One of the latter papers the editor devoted to a generous and adventurous critique on the poems of Burns, which were just then published, and had not yet been approved by the public voice. As might have been expected, Mackenzie dwells most fondly on the Addresses to the Mouse and the Mountain Daisy, which struck a tone nearest to that prevailing in his own mind.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie became one of the members ; and amongst the papers with which he enriched its transactions, are an elegant tribute to the memory of his friend lord Abercromby, and a memoir on German tragedy ; the latter of which bestows high praise on the *Emelia Galotti* of Lessing, and on the *Robbers* by Schiller. For this memoir he had procured the materials through the medium of a French work ; but desiring afterwards to enjoy the native beauties of German poetry, he took lessons in German from a Dr Okely, who was at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh. The fruits of his attention to German literature appeared further in the year 1791, in a small volume, containing translations of the *Set of Horses* by Lessing, and of two or three other dramatic pieces. But the most remarkable result of his studies in this department, was certainly the effect which his memoir produced on the mind of Sir Walter Scott, then a very young man. It gave a direction to the genius of this illustrious person, at a time when it was groping about for something on which to employ itself ; and, harmonizing with the native legendary lore with which he was already replete, decided, perhaps, that Scott was to strike out a new path for himself, instead of following tamely on in the already beaten walks of literature.

Mr Mackenzie was also an original member of the Highland Society ; and by him were published the volumes of their *Transactions*, to which he prefixed an account of the institution, and the principal proceedings of the society. In these *Transactions* is also to be found his view of the controversy respecting Ossian's Poems, and an interesting account of Gaelic poetry.

Among Mackenzie's compositions are several political pamphlets, all upon the Tory side ; the first being " An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784," in which he strongly defended the views of his friend, Mr Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville. At the time of the French Revolution, he wrote various tracts, with the design of counteracting the progress of liberal principles in his own country. These services, with the friendship of Lord Melville and Mr George Rose, obtained for him, in 1804, the lucrative office of comptroller of taxes for Scotland, which he held till his death.

In 1793, Mr Mackenzie wrote the life of Dr Blacklock, prefixed to a quarto edition of the blind poet's works, which was published for the benefit of his widow. Mr Mackenzie's intimacy with Blacklock, gave him an opportunity of knowing the habits of his life, the bent of his mind, and the feelings peculiar to the privation of sight under which Blacklock laboured. In 1812, he read to the Royal Society his *Life of John Home*, which was some years after prefixed to an edition of that poet's works, and also published separately. At the time he

read this paper to the Society, he also laid before them, in connexion with it, some *Critical Essays*, chiefly relative to dramatic poetry, which have not been published.

Mackenzie was himself a dramatic writer, though not a successful one. A tragedy, written by him in early life, under the name of *The Spanish Father*, was never represented; in consequence of Mr Garrick's opinion, that the catastrophe was of too shocking a kind for the modern stage; although he owned the merit of the poetry, the force of some of the scenes, and the scope for fine acting in the character of Alphonso, the leading person in the drama. In 1773, Mr Mackenzie produced a tragedy under the title of *The Prince of Tunis*, which, with Mrs. Yates as its heroine, was performed with applause for six nights, at the Edinburgh theatre. Of three other dramatic pieces by Mr Mackenzie, the next was *The Shipwreck*, or *Fatal Curiosity*, which might be described as an alteration of Lilly's play under the latter of the two names. The comedies entitled the *Force of Fashion*, and *The White Hypocrite*, both of which were unsuccessful, complete the list. Mr Mackenzie's grand deficiency as a dramatic author was his inability to draw forcible characters. His novels and tales charm by other means altogether; but in the drama, striking characters, and a skilful management of them, are indispensable.

In 1808, Mackenzie published a complete edition of his works in eight volumes. From that period, and indeed from one considerably antecedent to it, he might be said to have abandoned literature, though, to use his own affecting image, as employed at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, the old stump would still occasionally send forth a few green shoots. The patronage of the government was unfortunately extended in a somewhat improper shape, in as far as the office bestowed upon him, though lucrative, required unremitting personal labour. He was thus unable, even if he had been willing, to cultivate literature to any considerable purpose. Such leisure as he possessed, he spent chiefly in healthy recreations—in shooting, particularly, and angling, to which he was devotedly attached, and the former of which he had practised in early life, on the ground now occupied by the New Town of Edinburgh. He thus protracted his days to a healthy old age, until he finally stood amidst his fellow men, like Noah amongst his descendants, a sole-surviving specimen of a race of literary men, all of whom had long been consigned to the dust. His recollections of the great men who lived in his youth, were most distinct and interesting; but it is to be regretted, that with the exception of what he has given in his *Life of Home*, he never could be prevailed upon to commit them to paper. The sole physical failing of his latter years was a slight deafness, which, however, seemed only to give him the greater power of speech, as, by a natural deception of the mind, he probably conceived, that what was inaudible to himself, was so, or ran the risk of being so, to his hearers also. At length, after a comparatively brief period of decline, he died, January 14, 1831, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

By his wife, Miss Penuel Grant, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant, of Grant, Bart., and lady Mary Ogilvie, Mr Mackenzie had eleven children, the eldest of whom was a judge of the courts of session and justiciary—and a younger, Mr Holt Mackenzie, one of the members of the privy council.

As a novelist and essayist, Mackenzie still ranks in the first class, though, perhaps, rather by a reflection of his former fame, than through any active or sincere appreciation of his writings by the present generation. It is, perhaps, unfair to judge of the intellectual efforts of an author, by any other age than his own, seeing that, as Johnson well remarks, the most of men content themselves if they only can, in some degree, outstrip their predecessors. Yet it is impos-

sible to overlook that Mr Mackenzie's works are not of a kind to retain the highest degree of popularity beyond the age in which they were written, and that they have been surpassed by many later writers, who, from the greater competition which they had to contend with, have not attained nearly so high an eminence. Mr Mackenzie lived in an age, when to attain certain proprieties in language, was looked upon as almost the *summum bonum* of authorship of any kind: men had not yet become sufficiently at ease about the vehicle of their thoughts, to direct their attention solely, or even chiefly, as they do now, to the sense which is conveyed. Hence, we find, in his works, a faultless sweetness and delicacy of diction, which, however, is only a mannerism, though not exactly that of an individual—while the whole scenery, incidents, and characters, instead of being taken directly from nature, are little more than a vivification of what have been the stock of fictitious writers from the commencement of the art. The *real life* with which Mr Mackenzie was acquainted, must have been, in a great measure, the same from which Sir Walter Scott afterwards fashioned his immortal narratives; but this, to Mackenzie, fashion had forbidden, and he had not the force to break through the rules of that tawdry deity. He was content to take all his materials at second-hand, to grapple only with that literary human nature, which, like certain dresses on the stage, runs through all books from perhaps some successful model of antiquity, without ever gathering a spark of the genuine article of the living world in its course. Dexterously, we allow, is the mosaic composed, and beautiful is the crust of sentiment in which it was presented. As works of art, the novels and minor stories of Mackenzie are exquisite; but, nevertheless, they could never have attained so great a celebrity, if they had not appeared at a time when mere art was chiefly regarded by the public, and when, as yet, men esteemed nature as something not exactly fitted for drawing-room intercourse.

While we thus, with great deference, express an unfavourable opinion of his merits as a writer of fiction, we allow to Mr Mackenzie the highest credit as a moralist, and also as a composer of language, which is to be esteemed as no mean accomplishment, and depends more upon native gifts than is generally supposed. The moral sense of Mackenzie was in the highest degree pure, tender, and graceful; and has imbued his writings with a character for which they can hardly ever fail to be esteemed. "The principal object of all his novels," says Sir Walter Scott, "has been to reach and sustain a tone of moral pathos, by representing the effect of incidents, whether important or trifling, upon the human mind, and especially on those which were not only just, honourable, and intelligent, but so framed as to be responsive to those finer feelings to which ordinary hearts are callous." The sweet collocation of the words in which all these efforts are made, combines to render the effect, to an extraordinary degree, soothing, refining, and agreeable.

MACKINTOSH, (SIR) JAMES, a distinguished historian and statesman, was born on the 24th of October, 1765, at Alldowie, the residence of his grandmother, situated on the banks of Loch Ness, about seven miles from Inverness. He was in his own person, being the eldest of three children, the representative of the Killochy branch of the family of Mackintosh, (a property which they acquired in the fifteenth century,) and was the eleventh in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, the tenth chief of the clan, who was one of the leaders in the celebrated battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411. The lairds of Killochy, as the eldest branch of the Mackintoshes extant, were always captains of the watch (a feudal military appointment) to the chief of the clan, and acted in this capacity in all the hostilities in which he happened to be engaged.

John Mackintosh of Killochy, father to the subject of this memoir, held a

commission for several years in Campbell's Highlanders, and was wounded in the Seven Years' War in Germany. He was afterwards a captain in the 68th regiment, and served with this corps for a considerable time in Gibraltar, and other places abroad. He was a man of amiable manners and disposition, and much esteemed by all who knew him, amongst the most remarkable of whom was major Mercer, the author of a volume of pleasing poetry, who thus speaks of him, sixteen years after his death, in a letter to lord Glenbervie:—"We lived together," says this gentleman, "for two years in the same tent, without one unkind word or look. John Mackintosh was one of the liveliest, most good-humoured, gallant lads I ever knew."

Sir James's mother, Marjory Macgilvray, who died at Gibraltar, while he was yet a child, was a daughter of Alexander Macgilvray, Esq. of the state of Carolina.

From a very early period of life the subject of this memoir discovered a singular propensity to reading; a passion which his father, who had been himself accustomed to an active life, and who desired that his son's pursuits should be of a more stirring kind, endeavoured, but in vain, to subdue. Little foreseeing the eminence to which this studious disposition was one day to raise him, he twitted the boy with his sedentary and monotonous life; telling him, with the view of rousing him to an interest in what was passing around him, and of directing his inclinations into a livelier channel, that he would become a mere pedant. His attachment to books, however, was too deeply seated in his nature to be removed by such sarcasms, and his father's opposition had the effect only of driving him to do that by stealth and in secret which he had done before openly. He rose at midnight when the family had retired to rest, lighted his candle, and pursued his solitary studies unmolested till the approach of morning.

In consequence of his father's being much abroad, the care of young Mackintosh devolved chiefly upon his grandmother, a woman of superior endowments, and to whom he was in a great measure indebted for the early discipline which his mind received. When of sufficient age to leave home, the future historian and statesman was sent to the academy of Fortrose, then the most distinguished seminary in that part of Scotland, and placed under the tuition of Mr Stalker, one of the masters. Here young Mackintosh rapidly acquired, and continued to maintain, a marked superiority over all his schoolfellows for ability and application. In this remote corner of the world, and at the early period of his life, his future fame was shadowed forth in a local reputation which gave to "Jamie Mackintosh" the character of a prodigy of learning and talent. His master entertained a similar opinion of him, and, as a proof of his confidence in his acquirements and abilities, devolved upon him, while yet a mere boy, nearly the entire management of the classical department of the school. At this period, too, he began to discover that talent for oratory and declamation by which he so eminently distinguished himself in after life. The eloquence, however, on which latterly "listening senates hung" was at this period poured out from the top of the grave stones in the churchyard of Fortrose, on which the young orator used to mount in moments of enthusiasm, and declaim from Shakspeare and Milton to a wondering, gaping, and admiring audience of his schoolfellows. The political opinions which distinguished Mr Mackintosh throughout his life were also very early formed. He was said by a lady, a relative of his own, to have been "born a whig," but he certainly was not this by inheritance, for his friends and connexions were all staunch tories and Jacobites, and they did not view without regret and sorrow the apostasy of this scion of the house of Killochy. The youthful fancy, however, of the young

heir to that venerable title had been captivated by the fluency and sentimental descriptions of the democracies of Greece and Rome, which he found in his favourite classics, and he formed opinions of his own on the subject of political freedom with but little reference to the creed of his family. Pym, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney, were the objects of his idolatry; their example excited his imagination, and their writings imbued him with those political principles which "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." The Utopian notions, however, which so often mislead men of weak minds, had no such effect on Mr Mackintosh. He saw the necessity of sobering down all such fanciful theories to the level of real life, and of pruning and adapting them to the passions and weaknesses of human nature. He was above all impressed with the necessity of circumscribing his ideas of political freedom, which had before run wild, by the great outlines of the British constitution. In his own impressive and figurative language, he desired, that the light which might break in on England should be, "through well-contrived, and well-disposed windows, and not through flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms of our ruin."

The singular talents which young Mackintosh discovered while at Fortrose, and the extraordinary proficiency which he made in his studies, determined his friends to bestow upon him a university education, and he was accordingly, through the kindness of a relative, placed in King's college, Aberdeen, under Mr Leslie. He here also attended the lectures of James Dunbar, LL.D., professor of moral philosophy, and Mr William Ogilvie, professor of humanity.

While at Aberdeen he formed an acquaintance and intimacy with the late Rev. Robert Hall of Leicester, which continued throughout their future lives. They were inseparable while at college, and a biographical sketch of his deceased friend was amongst the last literary efforts of Mackintosh. It was intended for the new edition of Mr Hall's works published by Dr Gregory.

Having acquired a complete knowledge of Greek and mathematics, Mr Mackintosh, who had now determined on adopting the medical profession, repaired to Edinburgh to complete his education at the university of that city. Here he attended the lectures of Dr Cullen and professor Black, preparatory to his taking the degree of doctor of medicine, and applying himself to regular practice in that profession. He also joined the well known literary club called the Speculative Society, instituted in 1764, in which he became a keen debater, and distinguished himself by the boldness of his opinions, and the ability and eloquence with which he expounded and maintained them. Amongst his associates at this period were Mr, afterwards lord Gillies, Mr, afterwards lord Moncrieff, and the late earl of Lauderdale, and amongst the number of his friends, the illustrious author of the "Wealth of Nations," who early discovered, and warmly encouraged, the promising talents of the young orator.

It was at this period that Mr Mackintosh's mind became seriously directed towards general literature, and to moral, political, and speculative philosophy, the result of his studying, which he did with the most serious attention, the works of Robertson, Smith, Clark, and Brown, who were then in the zenith of their fame. Having received his medical degree, although he had now determined to abandon that profession, to which, indeed, he had never been attached, he set out for London in the year 1787, in company with the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant, who had, about this period, become knight of the shire for the county of Moray. Undetermined as to his future pursuits, he lingered idly about the metropolis for some time, made a short visit to the continent, and finally returned to study law, having fairly parted with physic. In the year following, viz. 1788, he succeeded, by the death of his father, to the estate of Killochy, now worth about £900 per annum. Method and economy, however, were

not, at this period, amongst the number of Mr Mackintosh's virtues, and the consequence was, that notwithstanding this handsome accession to his means, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties of so extensive and urgent a kind as compelled him to part with his patrimonial inheritance for the very inadequate sum of £9000. Still but loosely attached to his professional studies, he now permitted his attention to be diverted to the science of politics, and in 1789, published a pamphlet on the Regency Question, in which he asserted the constitutional right of the heir-apparent to supply his father's place in the circumstances which then gave rise to the discussion. Pitt's theory, however, prevailed, and thus the first published literary essay of Mr Mackintosh was found upon the losing side. Hitherto he had attracted but little public notice, and had been foiled in his attempt to obtain political celebrity. Both of these, however, were awaiting him, and on no distant day. In 1791, he published his celebrated work entitled "Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or a defence of the French Revolution and its English admirers, against the accusations of the right honourable Edmund Burke; including some strictures on the late production of Monsieur de Calonne," an octavo volume of 379 pages. This work he sold, while yet but partly written, for a trifling sum; but the merits and success of the production induced the publisher to depart from the original contract, and to give its author triple the sum stipulated for. The first two editions were disposed of within four months; and a third appeared in the end of August, 1791. The extraordinary talent which this work displayed, procured Mr Mackintosh an extensive and illustrious circle of acquaintances, in which were, amongst others, Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, the duke of Bedford, and his celebrated antagonist, Burke himself, who soon after the appearance of the "Vindiciæ," opened a correspondence with him, and it is said succeeded in changing and modifying to a considerable extent many of the opinions of its author.

Mr Mackintosh now (1792) entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1795, was called to the bar by that society; but did not, for several years thereafter, attain any considerable practice. He attended the courts, however, and went the Norfolk circuits, but without much improvement to his business.

With the view of enlarging his income, which the want of professional success kept within narrow bounds, he, in the year 1798, announced his intention of delivering a course of lectures on "The Law of Nature and of Nations." A suspicion of his motives in a political point of view raised some obstacles in the way of this attempt; but these being effectually removed by his Introductory Lecture, which was printed under the title of "A Discourse on the Law of Nature and of Nations," and which drew the most flattering eulogiums from both Mr Fox and Mr Pitt, he was permitted to proceed, and delivered his course in Lincoln's Inn hall to a large and respectable audience. These "Discourses" are allowed by all to comprehend nearly every excellency which human sagacity and human intelligence can bring to bear on such subjects; profundity and felicity of thought, high intellectual power, and chaste and elegant language.

After the general election of 1802, Mr Mackintosh was retained as counsel in several controverted cases, and acquitted himself with great ability before committees of the house of commons, but still without attracting much public notice as a barrister. Next year, however, a case was put into his hands which at once gained him the highest professional reputation. This was the defence of M. Peltier, editor of "The Anibigu," a French journal, for a libel against Bonaparte, then first consul of France, and at that time at peace with this country. The trial took place on the 21st of February, 1803, in the court of King's Bench. Mr Mackintosh stood alone and unsupported in the defence of Peltier,

against an array of talent on the opposite side which would have appalled any man of less resolution, and which nothing but a strong confidence in his own abilities and intellectual researches could have enabled him to encounter. His principal antagonists in this case were Mr Perceval, at that period attorney general, afterwards prime minister, and Mr Abbot, afterwards lord Tenterden. Mr Mackintosh's pleading on this celebrated trial was one of the most masterly efforts of the kind which had ever been witnessed. It was one continued strain of powerful, impressive, and classical eloquence. His whole energies were concentrated in the effort, and the whole stores of his vast and retentive memory, and of his elegant and felicitous fancy were brought forth and mingled with the current of his eloquence, imparting to it a richness and splendour of tint, which great and original minds only can produce. His speech on this occasion was declared by lord Ellenborough to be "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." A still more flattering compliment was paid the orator by Madame de Stael, who translated the speech into French, in which shape it was circulated throughout Europe.

Mr Mackintosh was at this period professor of general polity and the laws in the East India college at Hertford, an appointment which the reputation he had acquired from his "Lectures on the Law of Nature and of Nations" had obtained for him; but the splendid display of talent which he had exhibited in his defence of Peltier procured him much more powerful patronage, and opened up to him prospects more commensurate to his deserts. He now attracted the notice of the government, by which he was considered a person who might be profitably employed in some official situation connected with the state, and he was accordingly offered in the same year the recordership of Bombay. This appointment he accepted, though not without some hesitation, and before setting out he received the honour of knighthood. He remained in Bombay for seven years, discharging the grave and important duties of a chief judge with an uprightness, integrity, and ability unsurpassed in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. Faithful to the high trust reposed in him, he yet tempered the severity of the laws by mingling, whenever it was possible to do so, some drops of mercy in the cups of bitterness, which duty to his country and to society compelled him to administer. A well judged and discriminate lenity, that lenity which makes the laws not an object of contempt and ridicule, but of love and reverence, and which leaves no room for grudge or reflection at their awards, formed one of the most prominent and god-like features in the judicial character of Sir James Mackintosh. A remarkable and beautiful instance of his application of this principle occurred during his recordership in Bombay. Two young natives were brought before him, tried, and convicted of having conspired to waylay and murder a Dutchman from Cochin. The penalty attached to the crime by the law was death. Some circumstances in the case, however, afforded Sir James an opportunity of extending mercy to them so far as to save their lives, and he availed himself of it. The prisoners were in the mean time withdrawn from the bar, and during this interval came to a resolution, between themselves, of murdering their judge when they should be called up to receive, as they expected, sentence of death, and for this purpose they provided themselves with knives. The design of the ruffians was most providentially discovered in sufficient time to prevent its being carried into effect. The sequel, a story worthy of the best days of Rome, and of the noblest and best of her citizens, will be best told in the language which Sir James himself addressed to the culprits, when they were brought again before him to receive the commuted sentence which his lenity had procured for them. "I was employed," he said, addressing the prisoners, "in considering the mildest judgment which public duty would allow me to pronounce on you,

when I learned from undoubted authority, that your thoughts towards me were not of the same nature. I was credibly, or rather certainly informed, that you had admitted into your minds the desperate project of destroying your own lives at the bar where you stand, and of signaling your suicide by the previous destruction of at least one of your judges. If that murderous project had been executed, I should have been the first British magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. But I could never have died better than in the discharge of my duty. When I accepted the office of a minister of justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity and slander, and even death itself. Thank God I do despise them; and I solemnly assure you, that I feel more compassion for the gloomy and desperate state of mind which could harbour such projects, than resentment for that part of them which was directed against myself. I should consider myself as indelibly disgraced, if a thought of your projects against me were to influence my judgment." He then passed sentence on them to be imprisoned for twelve months, the exact amount of punishment he had originally proposed.

During his residence in India, Sir James contributed a number of valuable papers to the "Asiatic Register," and supplied the late Dr Buchanan with a large quantity of material for his voluminous works on India. His return to England was hastened by a severe illness. He left Bombay in November 1811, retiring from the Recordership with a pension of £1200 per annum.

In July 1813, a little more than twelvemonths after his arrival in his native country, he was elected, through the interest of lord Cawdor, as representative for the county of Nairn; an occasion which called him to visit the friends and the scenes of his youth; and no man could enjoy the happiness, or be more feelingly alive to all the romantic, endearing, and delightful recollections and associations, which the contemplation of objects familiar to our boyhood, and from which we have been long absent, is calculated to produce. He was, as all men of noble and generous minds are, an enthusiastic admirer of the external beauties of nature, and his native district afforded ample inducements to the indulgence of this pure and exalted taste; a taste which he himself has beautifully said, "preserves those habits of reflection and sensibility which receive so many rude shocks in the coarse contests of the world."

In 1818, he was elected for Knaresborough in Yorkshire, through the influence of the duke of Devonshire, and was re-chosen at the subsequent elections of 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831. He was also elected Lord Rector of the university of Glasgow in 1822, and again in 1823. Sir James was now become a person to whom a national importance and consideration were attached, one of the marked and elevated characters of the country, who had acquired a conventional right from the soundness and capacity of his judgment, and the extraordinary splendour of his abilities, to take an active and prominent part in the management of her affairs, and a conviction of this truth prevailing in those high quarters where it could be acted upon, he was appointed in 1828, one of his majesty's privy council, and on the formation of the Earl Grey administration in 1830, he was made on the 1st December a commissioner for Indian affairs.

In parliament Sir James took a prominent part in all questions connected with foreign policy, and international law; but more especially distinguished himself in the discussions on the alien bill, the liberty of the press, religious toleration, the slave trade, the settlement of Greece, reform in parliament, and on the right of our colonies to self-government. But a question still more congenial to his philanthropic disposition and benevolent nature, than any of these, devolved upon him on the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. This was the consideration of

the best means of amending the criminal law—a code which he had always thought much too sanguinary, and, therefore, but ill adapted for the ends to which all laws ought to be directed. He thought with Goldsmith, that “a man might see his last crime without dying for it; and that very little blood would serve to cement our security.”

His speeches on this subject are full of the most enlightened and statesmanlike views, and combine, in a wonderful degree, all the beauties of eloquence with profound reasoning, and just and noble sentiment. So beautiful, indeed, are his orations on this subject, and so powerful the arguments which form their frame-work, that it excites a feeling of surprise in the reader to find, that they did not instantly accomplish the object for whose attainment they were constructed. They appear irresistible, and seem to comprehend every argument on the point at issue which human ingenuity could devise. As chairman of a committee of the house of commons, on the criminal law, in 1819, Sir James Mackintosh introduced six bills in the course of May, 1820. But three only of these were at the time persisted in, and in the commutation of punishment bill, seven of the eleven offences which it was intended to commute, were expunged in the house of lords, four only being suffered to remain.

Sir James Mackintosh, as already noticed, was in politics a whig, and all his votes and speeches in parliament were in favour of the opinions and sentiments of that party; but he was, perhaps, one of the most moderate and tolerant politicians that ever existed, as the natural mildness and benevolence of his disposition never failed to mingle largely in whatever character he assumed, whether author, statesman, or judge. In all he was the same—amiable, forbearing, and conciliating.

One of Sir James's last speeches in parliament, was on the bill relating to anatomical dissections, in which he strenuously advocated the propriety, nay, necessity of affording to the profession every facility for obtaining subjects for the dissecting table. His speech, on this occasion, was remarkable for all that elegance of diction, and cogency of argument which distinguished his rhetorical effusions; and indicated, besides, a love of science on the part of the speaker, and a zeal for the welfare of mankind, worthy of a great statesman and of a great philanthropist.

Great as Sir James Mackintosh certainly was as an orator, he was yet greater as an author, and the fame which he derives from the latter character, stands on still higher and firmer ground than that on which the former is rested. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published when the author was only in the twenty-sixth year of his age, is an eloquent and powerful political treatise. On all the grand points on which he meets Mr Burke—the expediency and necessity of a revolution in France—the character of the national assembly—the popular excesses which attended the revolution, &c.—it may be safely assumed, that he obtains the mastery in truth and cogency of argument. It ought to be remembered, that the French Revolution had not, at this time, put on its worst aspect. The great change which had taken place, promised to regenerate France, and to renovate civil society; and Sir James Mackintosh, like his master Fox, in his exultation at the dawn of so bright a prospect, could not foresee that it would terminate in bloodshed and tyranny.

Both works are written in a style too ornate and artificial. The rich and fertile genius of Burke, and his vast and multifarious stores of learning, crowded his pages with illustrations from all sources—from history, philosophy, and poetry—and he was not over-solicitous as to their being apposite and correct. On the other hand, Sir James Mackintosh, fresh from his books and burning with zeal, was also ambitious of display, and chastity and purity of diction were

neglected by both. Such a contest, however—so splendid a specimen of the literary *duello*, on so magnificent an arena, may not again occur for a considerable length of time. The defence of Peltier is also a masterly performance; but the dissertation in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his life of Sir Thomas More, in Dr Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, are perhaps the most finished of the acknowledged productions of Sir James Mackintosh. The two volumes of his abridged History of England, serve rather to show the views he took of certain points of English history, and the philosophy he was able to bring to the task, with his habitual carelessness in minor details, than his talent at composing a connected, consecutive work. These two little volumes,¹ however, contain some striking passages and disquisitions. But in the opinion of Mr Campbell, who knew Sir James Mackintosh intimately, they were merely the expansion of the prefatory matter which he intended for a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution, and which he had contemplated for several years, and in part written, but was too much impeded in his progress, both by his parliamentary duties and the infirm state of his health, to bring to a conclusion. His labours were, nevertheless, given to the world in 1834, in the form of a disquisition on the causes of the Revolution of 1688, exemplifying in its style an excellent dogma of the author, that history ought to be written with feeling, but without passion. He also contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* in its earlier days. An edition of his works, in three volumes, (with the exception of the History of England,) was published in 1846, containing his ethical and historical dissertations, a number of essays on political and literary topics, reviews, and other contributions to periodical publications, and speeches on a variety of subjects delivered at the bar and in parliament.

After what has been said of Sir James Mackintosh's public life and character, it is almost unnecessary to add, that in private life, he displayed all the domestic virtues, and all the better qualities of human nature. He was mild, benevolent, generous, humane, and unaffected. Ready at all times to succour the unfortunate and the distressed, he bestowed on all who sought it, that assistance which their circumstances required; whether it was his time, his purse, or his advice; and to all three, if desired, the applicant was welcome. The most pleasing characteristic of Hume—that almost infantine simplicity which his friends remarked in his intercourse with them—mingled also in the character of Mackintosh, contrasting finely with its nobler parts. His conversational powers were of the very first order, and never failed to delight all who had the good fortune to enjoy his society. His person was well formed, and above the middle stature. His countenance was intelligent, and exhibited a pleasing compound of grave and gay expression, indicative of a readiness to sympathize with either of these feelings, as chance might direct their appeals to him.

Sir James was in an indifferent state of health for some time previous to his death, but that melancholy event was finally brought on by an accident. While at dinner, about the beginning of March, 1832, a portion of the breast of a fowl, with a fragment of bone in it, which he had attempted to swallow, stuck in his throat, and, though afterwards extracted without producing any immediate serious consequences, the accident completely unsettled his general health. His debility from that hour daily increased, till the 30th of May, when he died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at his house in Langham Place, having anticipated and met the hour of his dissolution with a firmness and resignation worthy of his past life. He was buried at Hampstead.

Sir James Mackintosh was twice married; first in 1789, to Miss Catherine

¹ The greater part of a third volume was written by Sir James: he breaks off at the era of the Bartholomew massacre.

Stewart of Gerrard Street, Soho, sister to the Messieurs Stewart, formerly proprietors of the "Morning Post," by whom he had issue a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters—viz., Mary, married to Claudius James Rich, Esq., of Bombay—Maitland, married to W. Erskine, Esq.—and Catherine, married to Sir W. Wiseman, Bart. Mrs Mackintosh died in 1797.—He was afterwards married to Catharine, daughter of J. B. Allen, Esq. of Cressella, in Pembrokeshire. By this lady, who died at Chesne, near Genoa, on the 6th May, 1830, he had one son and a daughter; viz., Robert Mackintosh, Esq., B.A., fellow of New College, Oxford; and Frances, married to H. Wedgewood, Esq., Staffordshire.

MACKNIGHT, (Dr) JAMES, a learned scriptural commentator, was born on the 17th of September, 1721. His father, Mr William Macknight, minister at Irvine, was a native of Ireland, where his ancestors, descended from the family of McNaughtane, in the Highlands of Scotland, had resided for more than a century. Mr William Macknight early displayed very popular talents as a preacher; and having, it is said, accidentally officiated in the church of Irvine, sometime after the death of the former incumbent, he gave^s so much satisfaction to the hearers, that, in consequence of a general wish expressed by the parishioners to the patron, he was soon appointed to supply the vacant charge. In this situation he continued during life, universally esteemed for genuine piety, purity of morals, and integrity of character.

Mr James Macknight, the subject of this memoir, received the rudiments of education at the school of Irvine; and about the age of fourteen, was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he studied with great approbation from his teachers, on account of his diligence and proficiency. The notes he then took from the lectures on logic and moral philosophy, before he was sixteen, still remain among his papers, and afford remarkable indications of the same acuteness and soundness of judgment, which afterwards characterized his theological writings.

Having completed the usual course of academical discipline at Glasgow, Mr Macknight went to Leyden, in order to prosecute the study of theology, to which he had shown an early attachment. While he remained in Holland, he had an opportunity of procuring many valuable books, written by foreign divines, which afterwards assisted his own labours in explaining Scripture. After his return to Scotland, having received from the presbytery of Irvine a license to preach the gospel, he was chosen to officiate at the Gorbals, a district of Glasgow; a situation which at that time could be held by a licentiate of the church, before being ordained to the pastoral function. On this occasion, one of the candidates was Mr Robert Henry, afterwards the well known historian of Great Britain. It chanced that the gentlemen who were thus placed in competition with each other at the commencement of life, were at last, after an interval of many years, associated as colleagues in the charge of the Old Church parish of Edinburgh.

From the Gorbals, Mr Macknight went to Kilwinning, in consequence of an invitation from Mr Fergusson, then minister of that place; and acted for some time as his assistant in the charge of the parish. Here he conducted himself with such propriety, that his character began to be established; and on the death of Mr Fisher, at Maybole, he obtained the vacant living there, with the concurring wish of the heritors and people. Of this charge, accordingly, he was ordained as minister, on the 10th of May, 1753. At Maybole, Mr Macknight continued sixteen years; and discharged the duties of the pastoral office with such assiduity and kindness, that, when he left it, he carried with him the affections and regret of all his flock. It may be mentioned, as a pleasing evidence of attachment, that when he proposed accepting a presentation to the living of Jedburgh, many respectable inhabitants of the parish of Maybole, joined toge-

ther in earnestly soliciting him to remain as their pastor; and in order to obtain his compliance with this request, they offered, not only to augment the value of his income, but to provide him an assistant, should the state of his health render it necessary. This generous proposal, however, he judged it proper from prudential considerations, to decline.

It was at Maybole, that, amidst his professional occupations in a populous charge, Dr Macknight composed the first and second of his works. Of the former, indeed, or the *Harmony of the Gospels*, it appears from his papers, that the plan had been conceived by him so early as the third or fourth year of his attendance at the university; and from that time he began to collect materials for the publication. The first edition of this book was published in 1756. Although the plan of it differed considerably from that of former *Harmonies*, in supposing that the Evangelists have not neglected the order of time in the narration of events, the reception it met with from most competent judges was so favourable, that the author was encouraged to undertake a second edition, with considerable improvements and additions. This edition appeared in 1763. In the same year, was also published by Dr Macknight, another performance of great merit, entitled the *Truth of the Gospel History*, which had been the fruit of the author's studies during the interval between the first and second editions of his *Harmony*. Its object is, to illustrate and confirm, both by argument and by appeal to the testimony of ancient authors, what are commonly arranged under the three great titles of the *Internal*, the *Collateral*, and the *Direct Evidences of the Gospel History*.

By these publications, Dr Macknight soon obtained a high reputation for theological learning. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him (among the first who obtained that distinction in Scotland) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was, in 1769, chosen moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland. During the course of the same year, he was translated to the parochial charge of Jedburgh; in which he remained about three years, and where he received from his people the most flattering tokens of respect and kindness. In 1772, he was elected one of the ministers of Edinburgh; a preferment for which he was chiefly indebted to the long-continued and steady friendship of the very respectable and highly esteemed family of Kilkerran. His first charge in Edinburgh was the parish of Lady Yester's; from which he was translated, in 1778, to the Old Church, where he continued during the remainder of his life.

Besides performing the ordinary duties of the pastoral function, a minister of Edinburgh, in virtue of his office, is much occupied with public meetings on business of various kinds, especially the management of the different charitable foundations, which have long been the boast of the capital of Scotland. On these, accordingly, Dr Macknight, though he entertained some doubts respecting the good effects of such institutions, bestowed much of his attention; and his judicious counsels of management, were undoubtedly productive, at that time, of considerable benefit, in maintaining the strictness of their discipline, as well as the purity of their administration. Among other objects of such official care, is the fund established by act of parliament for a provision to the widows and children of ministers in the church of Scotland. As one of the trustees appointed by the act, he had long taken a leading part in conducting the business of this Charity; and after the death of Dr Webster, he was appointed joint collector with Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart.

In the church courts he acted steadily on that system of ecclesiastical policy, which for many years had guided the decisions of the General Assembly. At the same time, he firmly resisted whatever appeared to him as any infringement on the constitutional law or practice of the church; and, accordingly,

when some of his moderate friends wished for the abolition of Calls, as an unnecessary form in the settlement of ministers, he moved and carried a resolution of the Assembly of 1782, (relative to certain overtures on the subject, then under the discussion of the house,) "declaring, that the moderation of a Call in settling ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this church, and that it ought to be continued:" a resolution which was afterwards converted into a declaratory act, and printed as such in the proceedings of the Assembly for that year.

But what chiefly engaged his mind, and occupied his time, after he became a minister of Edinburgh, was the execution of his last and greatest work on the Apostolical Epistles; which was published in 1795, in four volumes quarto. Respecting this work, it is perhaps not unworthy of being told, that it was the result of the unremitting labour of almost thirty years; that, notwithstanding his numerous professional avocations, the author, while composing it, was seldom less than eleven hours every day employed in study; and that before it came to the press, the whole manuscript had been written no less than five times with his own hand.—At the time of publishing "The New Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes," Dr Macknight was highly indebted to the patronage of the duke of Grafton; and after the work made its appearance, he received the most honourable testimonies of approbation from many of the bishops and respectable dignitaries of the church of England, as well as from the ablest divines of all descriptions.

After the publication of this work, Dr Macknight considered himself as having accomplished the greatest object of his life; and, wishing to enjoy at the end of his days, some relief from the labour of study, he resisted the repeated solicitations of his friends, who earnestly urged him to undertake the illustration of the Book of the Acts, on the same plan which he had so successfully followed in explaining other parts of the New Testament.—But soon after this period, from the want of their usual exercise, a sensible decline of his faculties, particularly a failure of his memory, was observed by his family. This fact is a striking instance of the analogy between the powers of the body and those of the mind, both of which suffer by inaction; and it furnishes a useful caution to those who have been long habituated to any regular exertion of mind, against at once desisting entirely from its usual efforts; since the effect, in the course of nature, is not only to create languor, but to hasten the progress of debility and failure.

As yet, however, (1796,) Dr Macknight's bodily vigour seemed to be but little impaired. In early life, he was afflicted with frequent headaches; but after he had reached the age of thirty, they seldom returned: and he afforded a singular instance of a sedentary life long continued, with hardly any of those complaints which it usually induces. This uninterrupted enjoyment of health he owed, under Providence, to a naturally robust make, and a constitution of body uncommonly sound and vigorous, along with regular habits of temperance, and of taking exercise, which he did by walking nearly three hours every day.

Having finished the task he had prescribed to himself as an author, he mingled frequently in the society of his friends, from which, at intervals, he had always received much enjoyment; and long retained the same cheerfulness of temper, for which at the hours of relaxation from severe study, he had been remarkable, when in the company of those whom he esteemed. Even after the symptoms of his decline were become visible, (1798,) his natural sagacity and strength of judgment, as well as his extensive and familiar knowledge of the Scriptures, were still to be discerned in his conversation and public appearances. And so habitual was his anxiety to discharge his duty, that he insisted on officiating for a considerable time after his friends had wished him to with-

draw from public labour. It was not, indeed, without much entreaty, that he at last consented to accept the services of an assistant.

The disease which terminated his life was the peripneumonia notha, occasioned by an incautious exposure to the severity of the weather, about the end of December, 1799. This distemper, in its progress and issue, resisted the ablest and most assiduous efforts of medical skill.—During his illness, his mind was composed, tranquil, and resigned; he never complained; and on the morning of the 13th of January, 1800, he expired without a struggle. As in the course of the preceding night he slept but little, the time was employed in hearing passages from the Psalms and Evangelists, which by his own desire were read to him by one of his family.—Thus, having spent his life in illustrating Scripture, and exerted the last efforts of his attention in listening with delight to its precious words, he may be truly said to have slept in Jesus.

As a clergyman, the sentiments and conduct of Dr Macknight were equally characterized by consistency and propriety. In the discharge of every public and private duty of religion, with a constant reliance on divine aid, he was regular and steady. He knew and felt what became the sacred office which he held; and never departed, on any occasion, from the dignity or decorum of his professional character. Having given himself wholly to the meditation of divine things, he continued in them: in the work of his Master he was steadfast and faithful to the end.—His piety was at once sincere, rational, and without ostentation. To be useful in the cause of truth and virtue, was his highest ambition; and with all the means of attaining this end which the resources of a well-informed and liberal mind could supply, he united a zeal for the interests of Christianity, which terminated only with his life.

When engaged, either in private controversy or in the public debates of the church courts, he was always remarkable for speaking strictly to the point at issue. He was likewise distinguished by coolness, discretion, and command of temper; he listened with patience to the arguments of his opponents; and in delivering his opinions, he showed himself uniformly open, candid, and explicit. At the same time, his talent was rather that of business than of address; he appeared to be better fitted for deciding on the merits of a question in debate, than for soothing the passions, or managing the humours of mankind,—a qualification rarely possessed but by minds of a superior order.

On various subjects, besides those embraced by his profession, his range of knowledge was ample and profound. He perused the writers of antiquity with critical skill; and of his acquaintance with the Greek language, especially the original of the New Testament, his observations on the force of the particles, in his Commentary, are a sufficient proof. In the speculations, also, of metaphysical, moral, and mathematical science, he was a considerable proficient. The fact is, his powers were such as might have been turned with advantage to any department of knowledge or learning.

It may further be noticed, that in conducting the ordinary affairs of life, he displayed uncommon prudence and sagacity. He was one of those who are generally attentive to small concerns, but on proper occasions show themselves liberal to a high degree. Of this, different instances occurred in the course of his transactions with his friends; and he was enabled to act on such a principle of generosity, by his usual habits of economy and prudence.—Dr Macknight's external appearance was sufficiently expressive of his character. His countenance was manly and commanding, and his gait remarkably erect and firm.

Dr Macknight's "Harmony of the Gospels" has long been esteemed a work of standard excellence for the students of evangelical knowledge. His "Truth of the

Gospel History" has hitherto attracted the notice of the public less than any of his other productions; but it well deserves to be more generally read; since of what it proposes to establish, it contains the most satisfying views that can be suggested by learning, acuteness, and good sense, and is admitted by the best judges to be a performance as useful and instructive as any we have on that important subject. It is, in fact, a kind of storehouse, from which subsequent writers on the same subject, have borrowed largely in point of argument and illustration.

The "Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles" is now held in peculiar estimation; and it may be doubted whether the scope of the sacred authors of these writings was ever, in any former age of Christianity, more fully, clearly, and happily stated, than has been done by Dr. Macknight, in the general views and illustrations which he has prefixed to the several chapters of the Epistles.

The Life of the Apostle Paul, which concludes the fourth volume of "The Translation and Commentary," is an excellent compendium of the apostolical history, and may be considered as the author's view and illustration of the Acts of the Apostles—the only part of the New Testament writings (besides the Revelation of St John) to which the labours of Dr Macknight, as a commentator, were not directed.—In all his writings, his style, though unambitious of elegance or ornament, is perspicuous, and appropriate to the subject.

All Dr Macknight's works were originally printed in quarto. Of the "Harmony" and the "Epistles" many editions have since been published in octavo. To show the respect which has been paid in England to his various works, the following passage from the "Library Companion" of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, may be quoted. After recommending to the young theologian the works of Lardner, Doddridge, and Watts, Mr Dibdin says, "Nor let the name of Macknight be forgotten. His works, indeed, are the more exclusive property of the *disciplined theological student*; but the *general reader* will do well to secure his inviting quartos upon the *Gospels and Epistles* of the New Testament. In these he will find learning without pedantry, and piety without enthusiasm. In short, no theological collection can be perfect without them. If any man may be said to have exhausted his subject, it is Macknight."

Soon after the time of his being ordained, Dr Macknight married Elizabeth M'Cormick, eldest daughter of Samuel M'Cormick, Esq., general examiner of the excise in Scotland. Of his family the only one remaining became a clergyman of the church of Scotland.

MACLAURIN, COLIN, an eminent mathematician and philosopher, was descended from an ancient and respectable family, which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, a solitary but comparatively fertile member of the Hebridean range. His grandfather, Daniel M'Laurin, removed thence to Inverary, and contributed greatly to restore that town, which was nearly ruined in the civil wars. He wrote some memoirs of his own times, and appears to have been a man of superior abilities. John, the son of Daniel, and father of Colin, was minister of the parish of Glenderule, where he was greatly beloved as a faithful and diligent pastor; he completed a version of the Psalms in *Irish*, which was generally used in those parts of the country where divine service was performed in that language. He married a lady of the name of Cameron, by whom he had three sons. John, the eldest, was for many years one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow, and well known as the author of several essays and sermons; he was also one of the most popular preachers of his day. Daniel, the second son, died at an early age, after having given proofs of surprising genius; and Colin, born at Kilmoddan, in the month of February, 1698. His father died six weeks after; but the loss to the family was not so severely felt

as it otherwise might have been, on account of the kind advice and benevolent attention of a worthy uncle, the reverend Daniel Maclaurin, minister of Killfinnan, and the careful economy and exemplary virtues of their mother. After remaining in Argyleshire for some time, on a small patrimonial estate, which was divided between Mrs Maclaurin and her sisters, she removed to Dumbarton, for the more convenient education of her children; but dying in 1707, the entire charge of the orphans devolved upon their uncle. Colin, at this time, was nine years old; and, although of a delicate constitution, he was remarkable for the quickness of his apprehension, and the retentiveness of his memory; he was passionately fond of learning, and pursued his studies with so much zeal and satisfaction, as to be fully qualified to enter the university of Glasgow, in two years after his mother's death. He was accordingly placed there under the direction of Mr Carmichael, an admirable public teacher, who took the greatest pains in superintending his education, and for whom Mr Maclaurin, ever after in life, evinced the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. His proficiency in every branch of elementary learning was so rapid, and his application to study so intense, that his teachers were astonished at the ease and quickness with which he distanced, not only those who were commencing the same class with himself, but those who had the advantage of attending for many sessions before him. His youthful imagination entered with great delight into the beauties of the writings of the ancients, and a taste for classical learning never forsook him during the whole course of his life, notwithstanding the predominant bent of his wonderful genius for the cultivation and improvement of mathematical science. From the time he entered college, he kept a diary, in which he carefully noted down the beginning and success of every particular study, inquiry, or investigation, his conversations with learned men, the subjects of those, and the arguments on either side. This was found among his oldest manuscripts, and in it might be read the names of the celebrated Mr Robert Simpson, Dr Johnson, and several other gentlemen of learning and worth, who all seemed anxious who should most encourage our young philosopher, by opening to him their libraries, and admitting him into their most intimate society and friendship. His genius for mathematical learning discovered itself so early as twelve years of age, when, having accidentally met with a copy of Euclid, in a friend's chamber, he became master, in a few days, of the first six books, without any assistance; and having accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, his predilection for the science of quantity was determined for life. He now made an extraordinary progress, as we very soon after find him engaged in solving the most curious and difficult problems.

At fifteen years of age, Mr Maclaurin took his degree of master of arts, having passed through the *curriculum*, or public course of lectures appointed by the university, which must be attended before this honour can be gained. The subject he selected for his *thesis*, was, the "Power of Gravity," and this, according to the custom of the times, it was necessary for him to defend publicly. It may be necessary to observe, for the information of those who are acquainted with the manner in which such disputations were conducted in Scotland, that the candidate was left free to select for this ordeal any literary or scientific subject he thought proper. The depth and boldness of the topic proposed by young Maclaurin at once revealed what kind of studies had engaged his attention while at the university, and excited the wonder and admiration of all present. In most instances, the subjects of disputation were of a trifling kind, and adapted chiefly to afford the candidate an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity and acquaintance with the mood and figure of the school of logic. But the mind of our youthful philosopher disdained to stoop to any thing puerile or com-

mon-place, and the sublimity of his subject showed at once the nature of his studies and the depth of his erudition. At that time the philosophy of Newton was comparatively unknown, and even men the most distinguished in science were slow to comprehend the great and important truths it contained. None but those profoundly skilled in geometry could fully comprehend his doctrines, and that of itself excluded many from the study; whilst others were bound in the trammels of the scholastic jargon of Aristotle, or the imaginary vortices of Des Cartes. When, therefore, young Maclaurin chose the "Power of Gravity" as the subject of his thesis, it was a presupposition that he was fully acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Newton's discoveries, and upon this occasion he acquitted himself to the wonder and delight of his auditors. He afterwards illustrated the same subject in a most beautiful manner, in the last two books of his account of the philosophical discoveries of Sir Isaac. There is only one instance more, in the whole range of literature, that we are acquainted with, of such extraordinary and precocious talent where a predisposition for mathematical science was any thing like so strong, and that is in the person of Pascal, whom Bayle calls the divine—nearly at the same age, though not exceeding that of our youthful philosopher. He, too, by the force of his irresistible genius, in secret and by stealth, may be said to have invented a system of geometrical science, which, to keep him in ignorance of, his father had sacrificed both fame and fortune. It might be invidious to compare the philosophic acquirements of these great men in after life, further than their mutual fondness for classic literature, in which they both proved themselves elegant writers. They had both a strong sense of religion on their minds, and to those who have perused their works, their most anxious desire must appear to have been to apply the theoretical propositions which were known, or they themselves had demonstrated, so as to promote the real benefit of mankind.

Maclaurin having made such an extraordinary progress in the study of geometry, and having, with little trouble, conquered difficulties which, in general, are looked upon as so formidable, passed at once to the higher branches of that science, and, instead of being deterred from exertion by the intricacy of the demonstrations which necessarily met him at every step as he proceeded in the investigation of difficult propositions, his energies seemed to acquire new life and vigour to enable him to surmount every obstacle in his way. Nothing delighted him more than to be engaged in difficult and curious problems, and this much is certain, that in his sixteenth year he had already invented many of the finest propositions afterwards published under the title of *Geometria Organica*.

At the beginning of the session in 1714, immediately subsequent to taking his degree, he entered himself as a student of divinity, but he only attended the college for one year longer, when, becoming disgusted at the dissensions that at that time had crept into the church, he relinquished all ideas of becoming a clergyman, and, happily for science, determined to devote himself to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He quitted the university and retired to his uncle's house, at Kilfinnan, in a sequestered part of the country. That good man having, at all times, acted as a father to him, he determined to wait with patience until some secular employment should occur. In this happy seclusion, he continued his favourite researches, still cultivating his mind by a perusal of the best classic authors, for which he had naturally the most refined taste. The sublime scenery amidst which he lived, would, at proper intervals, invite him to wander through the lofty mountains and lonely glens, to consider the numberless natural curiosities with which they abound; and here his fancy being warned by the grand scenes which presented themselves, he would sometimes break

out in an ode, or hymn, on the beauties of nature, and the perfection of its Author. Of these, some fragments were preserved by his friends, and although we know not if they were ever published, still they must have possessed considerable interest, as serving to develope the openings and improvements of a mind like that of Maclaurin.

When Mr Maclaurin was only nineteen years old, in the autumn of 1717, a vacancy occurred in the professorship of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. For this he presented himself as a candidate, and carried along with him the most ample testimonials from his friends at Glasgow, where he had distinguished himself so eminently. A very able competitor appeared in the field against him, but after a competition, or comparative trial of excellence, which lasted for ten days, Mr Maclaurin was declared the successful candidate. Being now fixed in his chair, he quickly revived the taste for mathematical learning, and raised it higher than it had ever been in that university. He continued at Aberdeen discharging the duties of his office, and had the happiness to perceive his usefulness increasing, and his popularity as a public professor greatly extended. In the vacations of 1717 and 1719, he went to London, with the view of extending his information, and of being introduced to the illustrious men there. As mathematical knowledge was never in so great request, nor its professors so much honoured at any period in the history of Britain, his fame had already gone before him; but, independent of that, he was furnished with letters of introduction from professor Simpson and Dr Clark, to the first philosophers of that or any other age. It was this first journey to London that laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes in life. Besides Dr Hoadly, then bishop of Bangor, Dr Samuel Clark, and several other eminent men, he became acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, who not only patronized him as a young man of genius, and possessed of a singular turn of mind for mathematical investigation, but seems to have formed for him a stronger degree of attachment than he was ever known to exhibit towards any one of the numerous candidates for his patronage. This kind preference, Mr Maclaurin ever after considered the greatest honour and happiness of his life. Long before he meditated his journey to London, he was an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophy of Newton, and of the almost superhuman genius of its inventor. To him he therefore submitted his treatise on the "Power of Gravity," which he brought with him, in manuscript, to London, and, on its receiving the sanction of him who had done more to extend the boundaries of mathematical science than almost all mankind, Mr Maclaurin's triumph was complete. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society when only twenty-one years of age, and two of his papers were, about the same time, inserted in the transactions of that learned body, and his book, entitled *Geometria Organica*, was published with the approbation of their president. In his second journey, he became acquainted with Martin Folks, Esq., who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as president of the Royal Society, and with whom he thenceforth cultivated a most entire and unreserved friendship. This great patron of scientific men frequently corresponded with him, communicating to him all his views and improvements in the sciences, and encouraging him to proceed in his philosophical studies.

In 1722, lord Polwarth, ambassador from the court of St James's to the congress of Cambray, had been for some time looking out for a proper person to accompany his son, Mr Hume, on his travels. His lordship was fond of literature and the company of literary men; he had frequent opportunities of observing Mr Maclaurin's behaviour, who at this time, from his consummate abilities, was admitted into the highest circles of society in London. His lordship being deeply prepossessed in favour of our youthful philosopher, engaged

him as companion and tutor to his son. Maclaurin having procured a proper person to fill his place for a time at the college of Aberdeen, and feeling a strong desire to gratify his curiosity by visiting foreign countries, he accordingly with his friend and scholar set out for France, and proceeded at once to the capital, where they took up their abode. After remaining a short time at Paris, they visited several of the chief towns in France, and finally fixed upon Lorraine for their residence. Here they had the advantage of a good academy, besides the introduction to one of the most polite courts in Europe. Mr Maclaurin had now an opportunity of improving that easy and genteel address which was at all times natural to him, and with his graceful person and great erudition, he excited the admiration, and gained the esteem of the most distinguished persons of both sexes. Here he wrote his essay on the percussion of bodies, which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1724. The substance of this tract is inserted in his Treatise of Fluxions.

On leaving Lorraine with his pupil on a tour through the southern provinces of France, and arriving at Montpellier, Mr Hume was seized with a fever which quickly terminated his life. This dreadful calamity affected Mr Maclaurin in the deepest manner and overwhelmed him with grief. In some letters written on that melancholy occasion, he seemed almost inconsolable for the loss of his pupil, companion, and friend, and his sympathy with a family to which he owed great obligations, and which had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this hopeful young nobleman, rendered him unhappy beyond expression. Travelling and all other things being now distasteful, he set out immediately on his return to his profession at Aberdeen.

Having by this time justly earned the distinction of one of the first men of his country, the curators of the university of Edinburgh were desirous of engaging him to supply the place of Mr James Gregory, whose age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of teaching; but several difficulties retarded the design for some time. A gentleman eminent for mathematical abilities, but whose name is now forgotten, had succeeded in gaining over some of the patrons, who promised him their interest for the appointment, until a recommendatory letter from Sir Isaac Newton completely turned the balance in Mr Maclaurin's favour. Sir Isaac first addressed Mr Maclaurin, with allowance to show it to the patrons of the university, and expresses himself as follows:—"I am very glad to hear that you have a prospect of being joined to Mr James Gregory in the professorship of mathematics at Edinburgh, not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematics as with the former state of those sciences; I heartily wish you good success, and shall be very glad of hearing of your being elected; I am, with all sincerity, your faithful friend, and most humble servant." In a second letter to the lord provost of Edinburgh, which Mr Maclaurin knew nothing of till some years after Sir Isaac's death, he thus writes: "I am glad to understand that Mr Maclaurin is in good repute amongst you for his skill in mathematics, for I think he deserves it very well, and to satisfy you that I do not flatter him, and also to encourage him to accept the place of assisting Mr Gregory, in order to succeed him, I am ready (if you please to give me leave,) to contribute twenty pounds per annum towards a provision for him till Mr Gregory's place becomes void, if I live so long, and I will pay it to his order in London." The town council, however, with becoming pride, respectfully declined this generous offer, and the business was finally arranged that Mr Gregory was to retain his salary during life; his family in case of their father's death were secured in it for seven years from the date of Mr Maclaurin's being inducted as joint professor, who was promised fifty

pounds per annum, besides the fees he received from the students attending the class, upon condition of performing all the duties of the office. On the 3d November, 1725, he was introduced to the university, as was at the same time his learned colleague and intimate friend, Dr Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy. The subjects which Mr Maclaurin introduced into the different courses of lectures on mathematics were very miscellaneous, and the classes soon became unusually numerous, there being upwards of a hundred young gentlemen attending his lectures, who being of different standings and proficiency, he was obliged to divide them into four or five classes, in each of which he employed a full hour every day, from the 1st of November to the 1st of June. In the first or lowest class, (sometimes divided into two,) he taught the first six books of Euclid's Elements, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, the elements of fortification, and an introduction to Algebra. The second class repeated the Algebra again from its principles, and advanced farther in it, then proceeded to the theory of mensuration of solids, spherical trigonometry, the doctrine of the Sphere, dialling, and other practical parts. After this he gave the doctrine of the conic sections, with the theory of gunnery, and concluded with the elements of astronomy and optics. In the third class he went on in astronomy and perspective, prelected on Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and explained the direct and inverse method of fluxions. At a separate hour he began a class of experimental philosophy about the middle of December, which continued thrice every week till the beginning of April, and at proper hours of the night described the constellations and showed the planets by telescopes of various kinds. All Mr Maclaurin's lectures on these different subjects were given with such perspicuity of method and language, that his demonstrations seldom stood in need of being repeated. Such, however, was his anxiety for the improvement of his scholars, that if at any time he found they could not comprehend his meaning, or if upon examining them he found they could not readily demonstrate the propositions which he had proved, he was apt rather to suspect that his own expressions had been obscure than their want of genius or attention. He, therefore, would resume the demonstration in some other method, in order to try, if, by presenting it in a different light, he could give them a better view of it. Besides the labours of his public profession, he had frequently many other employments and avocations. If an uncommon experiment was said to have been made any where, the curious were desirous of having it repeated by Mr Maclaurin. On all momentous occasions he was the first to be applied to; and if an eclipse or comet was to be observed, his telescopes were always in readiness. Such was the elegance and amenity of his manners, that the ladies took the liveliest interest in his experiments and observations, and were delighted and surprised at finding how easily and familiarly he would resolve the questions they put to him; and to those gentlemen who had been his pupils his advice and assistance were never wanting; nor was admittance refused to any except in his teaching hours, which were devoted to that purpose alone. The ingenious of all ranks courted his acquaintance and friendship, and so anxious and pressing were they to enjoy the pleasure of his company and conversation after his usual avocations were over, that he was obliged to take from the ordinary hours of repose what he bestowed on his scholars and friends, and by persevering in deep and severe study, he exhausted his strength and greatly impaired his health. About this time, at the beginning of the year 1728, Sir Isaac Newton died, and his nephew, Mr Conduitt, proposed to publish an account of his life, for which purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance, who out of gratitude to his great benefactor readily undertook the task, and finished the history of the progress which philosophy had made before Sir

Isaac's time. When the first draught of that work was sent up to London it was shown to some eminent judges, and met with their highest approbation. Among the rest Dr Rundle, afterwards bishop of Derry, was so pleased with the design that he mentioned it as particularly worthy of the Queen's notice, who, after attentively perusing it, was so highly gratified that she expressed a desire to see it published; but Mr Conduitt's death having prevented the execution of his part of the proposed work, Mr Maclaurin's manuscript was returned to him. To this he afterwards added the more recent proofs and examples given by himself and others on the subjects treated by Sir Isaac, and left it in the state in which it now appears. Mr Maclaurin continued to live single till the year 1733, when, having a mind equally formed for the social endearments of refined society as those of the profoundest philosophy, he married Anne, daughter of Mr Walter Stewart, solicitor-general for Scotland to George the first, by whom he had seven children.

Dr Buckley, bishop of Cloyne, having taken occasion, from some disputes that had arisen concerning the grounds of the fluxionary method, in a treatise, entitled the *Analyst*, published in 1734, to explode the method itself, and at the same time to charge mathematicians in general with infidelity in religion, Mr Maclaurin entered the lists of disputation with him, eager to defend his favourite study and repel an accusation in which he was most unjustly included. He commenced his reply to the bishop's book; but as he entered more deeply into the subject, so many discoveries, so many new theories and problems occurred to him, that, instead of a vindictory pamphlet, his work, when finished, presented a complete system of fluxions, with their application to the most considerable problems in geometry and natural philosophy. This work was published in Edinburgh in 1742, in two volumes quarto, in which we are at a loss what most to admire—his solid, unexceptionable demonstrations of the grounds of the method itself, or its application to such a variety of curious and useful problems. A society had for many years subsisted in Edinburgh, for the advancement of medical knowledge; Mr Maclaurin, on reviewing their plan of proceedings, and not thinking it sufficiently extensive, proposed to take in all parts of physics, together with the antiquities of the country. This was readily agreed to, and Mr Maclaurin's influence engaged several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and character, to join themselves for that purpose to the members of the former society. The earl of Morton did them the honour to accept of the office of president. Dr Plummer, professor of chemistry, and Mr Maclaurin, were appointed secretaries; and several gentlemen of distinction, English and foreigners, desired to be admitted members. At the monthly meetings of the society, Mr Maclaurin generally read some treatise of his own, or communicated the contents of his letters from foreign parts; by which means the society were informed of every new discovery or improvement in the sciences. Several of the papers read before this society, are printed in the 5th and 6th volumes of the *Medical Essays*; some of them are also published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and Mr Maclaurin had occasion to insert a great many more in his *Treatise of Fluxions*, and in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. He was the first who proposed the building of an astronomical observatory, and a convenient school for experiments, in the university of Edinburgh, of which he drew an elegant and well contrived plan; and, as this work was to be carried on by private subscription, he used all his influence to raise money for that purpose with so much success, that, had not the Rebellion intervened in Scotland, the work would have been speedily completed. The earl of Morton, on visiting his estates in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in 1739, wanted at the same time to settle the geography of these islands, which was very er-

rouncously laid down on all our maps, to examine their natural history, to survey the coasts, and take the measure of a degree of the meridian,—and for this purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance; but his domestic affairs not permitting him to undertake the journey, he drew up a plan of what he thought necessary to be observed, furnished the proper instruments, and recommended Mr Short, the celebrated optician, as a fit operator for managing them. The accounts Mr Maclaurin afterwards received of this voyage, made him still more sensible of the erroneous geography we had of those parts, by which so many shipwrecks had been occasioned, and he therefore employed several of his scholars, who were then settled in the northern counties, to survey the coasts.

Mr Maclaurin had still more extensive views for the improvement of geography and navigation over all the surface of the globe. After carefully perusing all the accounts of voyages, both in the South and North Seas, he was of opinion that the sea was most probably to be found open from Greenland to the South Sea, by the North Pole; and, when schemes for finding out such a passage were submitted to parliament in 1744, he was consulted concerning them by several persons of high rank and influence; but before he could finish the memorials which he proposed to have sent, the premium was limited to the discovery of a north-west passage, and Mr Maclaurin used to regret that the word *west* was inserted, because he thought a passage, if at all to be found, must lie not far from the pole. Of this he appeared to be so deeply persuaded, that he has been heard to say, if his situation could admit of such adventures, he would gladly undertake the voyage, even at his own cost.

Such was the zeal this amiable and celebrated man evinced on every occasion for the public good: the last and most remarkable instance, is that which we shall now relate.

In 1745, when the Highland army had got between Edinburgh and the king's troops, Mr Maclaurin was the first to rouse the friends of the existing government from the security in which they had hitherto continued; and though he was aware that the city was not long defensible, or able to resist even the undisciplined and ill-armed host that was advancing to attack it, yet as he foresaw how much might be gained by the insurgents' possessing themselves of the capital, and the king's forces, under Sir John Cope, being daily expected, he made plans of the walls, proposed the several trenches, barricades, batteries, and all such defences as he thought could be thrown up before the arrival of the enemy, earnestly hoping that the town might thus hold out till relieved. The whole burden, not only of contriving, but also of overseeing the execution of this hasty defence, fell to Mr Maclaurin's share. He was indefatigable in his exertions, employed both night and day in drawing plans, and running from place to place; so that the anxiety, fatigue, and cold to which he was thus exposed, affecting a constitution naturally weak, laid the foundation of the disease of which he died. It is not properly connected with our subject to inquire how Mr Maclaurin's plans were neglected or defeated, or by what means prince Charles got possession of Edinburgh; but, after defeating the king's troops at Prestonpans, he found himself in such strength as to issue several very arbitrary orders, among which was one commanding all who had been volunteers in the defence of the city, before a stated time, to wait on his secretary, to subscribe a recantation of what they had done, and a promise of submission to the new government, under the pain of being deemed and treated as rebels. Mr Maclaurin had acted too conspicuous a part as a volunteer, to hope to escape their vengeance, if he once fell into their hands; he therefore privately withdrew into England, before the last day of receiving the submissions, but not before he

contrived means to convey a good telescope into the castle, and to supply the garrison with provisions.

Dr Thomas Herring, then archbishop of York, hearing that Mr Maclaurin had taken refuge in the north of England, invited him in the most friendly manner to reside with him during his stay in that part of the country. Mr Maclaurin gladly accepted the invitation, and soon after expresses himself thus in a letter to a friend :—" Here," says he, " I live as happily as a man can do who is ignorant of the state of his family, and who sees the ruin of his country." His grace of York, of whose talents and goodness Mr Maclaurin ever retained the highest veneration, held a frequent correspondence with him ; and when it was suspected that the rebels might again enter Edinburgh on their retreat from England, he invited his former guest, for ease and security, to his hospitable mansion. While at York, it was remarked that Mr Maclaurin appeared more than usually meagre and sickly ; but he, at that time, feeling no apprehension of danger, did not consider it necessary to call in medical aid. Having fallen from his horse, however, on his journey southward, and, when the Pretender's army entered England, having, on his return home, been exposed to excessive cold and tempestuous weather, he complained upon his arrival of being seriously indisposed. His disease was soon discovered to be a dropsy in the abdomen, to remove which a variety of medicines were prescribed by the most eminent physicians of the day, and threeappings were resorted to, with little or no effect. While suffering under this painful malady, his behaviour was such as became a philosopher and Christian ; calm, cheerful, and resigned ; retaining his senses and judgment in their full vigour, till within a few hours of his death. Then, for the first time, while engaged in dictating to his amanuensis the last part of the last chapter of his Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, in which he proves the goodness of God, his amanuensis perceived him to falter. Dr Monro came in shortly afterwards, and he conversed with him after his accustomed manner, and requested him to account for flashes of fire, as it were, darting from his eyes, though his sight was gradually decaying, so that he could scarcely distinguish one object from another. His hands and feet were already cold, and no pulse could be traced in any part of his body. In a short time he desired to be laid upon his bed, where he breathed his last, on the 14th June, 1746, aged forty-eight years and four months. His wife, two sons, and three daughters, survived him. John, the eldest son, studied the law, and after making a distinguished figure at the bar, was promoted to the bench, 17th January, 1789, under the designation of lord Dreghorn. He was an excellent scholar, and erected a monument to his father in the Grey Friars' churchyard, with an inscription which has often been quoted for its simple and expressive eloquence. Lord Dreghorn also published various pieces in prose and verse, which, in their day, enjoyed some reputation, and have been oftener than once printed.

Colin Maclaurin was not only distinguished by his great genius and learning, but by the qualities of his heart, his universal benevolence, and unaffected piety. Dr Monro, in an oration spoken at the first meeting of the university after his death, (from which much of the foregoing account is taken.) draws a sublime and affecting picture of his friend's great qualities, and professes that, after an intimacy with him for so many years, he had but half known his worth, which only disclosed itself in its full lustre, when it came to suffer the severe test of that distressful situation in which every man must at last find himself, and which only minds prepared like his, armed with virtue, can bear with dignity.

If we look back upon the numerous writings of Mr Maclaurin, and the

deep researches he had been engaged in, his patience and assiduity will be equally astonishing with his genius. His favourite studies were mathematics, which he cultivated with wonderful success, influenced by a disinterested love of truth, and aiming constantly at improvement and utility. The further he advanced in the knowledge of geometry and of nature, the greater his aversion grew to perfect systems, hypotheses, and dogmatizing. Without being dissatisfied with the attainments we can arrive at, or the uses which they serve, he saw that there lay infinitely more beyond our reach, and used to call our highest discoveries but a dawn of knowledge, suited to our circumstances and wants in life, in which, however, we ought thankfully to acquiesce for the present, in hopes that it will be improved in a happier and more perfect state. To a view of general utility, all his studies were accommodated; and we find in many places of his works, an application even of the most abstruse theories, to the perfecting of mechanical arts. He had resolved, for the same purpose, to compose a course of practical mathematics, and to rescue several branches of the science from the bad treatment which they often meet with in less skilful hands. But all those designs were frustrated by his death, unless we may reckon as a part of his intended work, the Translation of Dr David Gregory's Practical Geometry, which he revised and published, with additions, in the year 1745. In his lifetime, however, he often had the pleasure to serve his friends and country, by his superior skill. Whatever difficulty occurred concerning the construction or perfecting of machines, the working of mines, the improvement of manufactures, the conveying of water, or the execution of any public work, Mr Maclaurin was at hand to resolve it. He was likewise employed to terminate some disputes of consequence, that had arisen at Glasgow, concerning the gauging of vessels; and for that purpose presented to the commissioners of excise two memorials containing rules (by which the officers afterwards acted,) with their demonstrations. But what must have given his philanthropic mind a higher source of pleasure than any thing else of the kind, were the calculations he made relative to that wise and humane provision, which is established by law, for the children and widows of the Scottish clergy, and of the professors in the universities, entitling them to certain annuities and sums, upon the voluntary annual payment of a certain sum by the incumbent. On the contrivance and adjustment of this scheme, Mr Maclaurin bestowed great labour, and contributed not a little to bring it to perfection.

To find that his knowledge rendered him thus eminently useful to a late posterity, must have been a delightful enjoyment. But what still more endeared his studies to him, was the use they were of in demonstrating the being and attributes of the Almighty Creator, and establishing the principles of natural religion on a solid foundation, equally secure against the idle sophistry of Epicureans, and the dangerous refinements of modern metaphysicians.

To this use Mr Maclaurin frequently applied them; and he was equally zealous in the defence of revealed religion, which he would warnly undertake, whenever he found it attacked, either in conversation or writing. How firm his own persuasion of its truth was, appears from the support which it afforded him in his last hours.

Among Mr Maclaurin's productions, besides the articles already specified, was a paper sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, in the year 1740, on account of which he shared the prize of the Academy with the celebrated D. Bernouilli and Euler, for resolving the problems relating to the motion of the tides, from the theory of gravity—a question which had been given out during the former year, without receiving any solution. Having only ten days in which to draw up this paper, he had not leisure to transcribe a fair

copy of it; so that the Paris edition of it is incorrect. Afterwards, however, he revised the whole, and inserted it in his *Treatise of Fluxions*. His contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*, may be seen in different volumes of these collections, from No. 30 to No. 42, both inclusive, and treat on the following subjects:—"Of the Construction and Measure of Curves,"—"A New Method of describing all kinds of Curves,"—"On Equations with impossible Roots,"—"On the Description of Curves, with an Account of further Improvements, &c."—"An Account of the Annular Eclipse of the Sun at Edinburgh, January 27, 1742-3,"—"A Rule for finding the Meridional Parts of a Spheroid, with the same exactness as of a Sphere,"—And "Of the Bases of the Cells wherein the Bees deposit their Honey." These papers conclude the list of our author's writings, which were published during his lifetime. After his death, the friends, to whose judgment he submitted the disposal of his MSS., gave directions for publishing his "*Treatise of Algebra*," and his "*Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*." The first of these works, which appeared in 1748, though it had not the advantage to be finished by his own hands, is yet allowed to be excellent in its kind; containing, in one volume, octavo, of a moderate size, a complete elementary treatise of the science of algebra, as far as it had been hitherto carried. Subjoined to it, by way of appendix, is a Latin tract, "*De Linearum Geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus*," which appears to have been, in our author's judgment, one of the best of his performances, and in which he employed some of the latest hours that he could give to such studies, revising it for the press, as his last legacy to the sciences and the public.

MACNEIL, HECTOR, a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Rosebank, near Roslin, in the year 1746. His father had been in the army, where he was patronized by the duke of Argyle, and had mingled in the best company; but, having offended his patron by selling out without his advice, he was left afterwards to his own resources. He took a farm at Rosebank; but some imprudences, and the habit of living in a manner above his income, completely ruined his prospects. As his family was then large, it became necessary that the sons should, as soon as possible, be made independent of him. The only expectation for Hector was from a cousin, who carried on a mercantile concern in Bristol. The father, therefore, confined his education to the mercantile branches, dreading, from his own example, the effect of more refined and classical instruction. The youth discovered excellent parts, with an elegance of taste which seemed to mark him for a different destination from that intended. At the age of eleven, he had written a species of drama, in imitation of Gay. His master earnestly entreated to be allowed to give him some of the higher branches; but on this his father put a decided negative. The attachment, however, of the teacher to his pupil, induced him to impart secretly some elements of this forbidden knowledge. From the father, meantime, young Macneil received many anecdotes of the world, a high sense of honour, and the feelings of a gentleman.

As soon as he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent off to his cousin at Bristol. On his way, he spent some months at Glasgow, where he completed himself in several branches of his education. His cousin was a rough, boisterous, West India captain, who could not estimate the genius of Macneil, but was pleased with some instances of his spirit. He first proposed to Hector an expedition in a slave ship to the coast of Guinea; but was diverted from it by some female friends, who rightly judged this destination wholly unsuited to the youth's disposition. He was, therefore, sent on a voyage to St Christopher's, with the view of making the sea his profession, if he liked it; otherwise, he was

furnished with an introduction to a mercantile house. On his arrival, being completely disgusted with the sea, he hesitated not in accepting the latter alternative. It is probably to this period of his life, that we are to fix an event of a singular nature which is stated to have entirely altered his prospects in life. His master had married a lady much younger than himself, and of great personal attractions; and young Macneil was upon terms of equal intimacy with both. One day, while he was sitting upon a garden chair with the lady, and reading with her from the same book, the ardent feelings of one-and-twenty prompted him to express his admiration of her beauty, by snatching a kiss. It proved the knell of his departing fortune. Notwithstanding his instant penitence, and entreaties for forgiveness, the lady conceived it necessary to inform her husband of what had happened; and the immediate consequence was, the dismissal of Macneil, and a termination to the prospects that were brightening around him. He continued for many years in the West Indies, but does not appear to have ever after known what could be called prosperity. At one time, if not during the whole remaining period of his residence in those colonies, this hapless bard had to stoop to the ungenial employment of a negro-driver. While in this situation, he became a strenuous advocate for the system of West India slavery, and wrote a pamphlet in its defence. The only thing which he allowed to be necessary to make the condition of slavery agreeable, was an improvement in the moral conduct of the masters: a subsequent age has seen slavery brought to an end before this improvement was accomplished.

When above forty years of age, Macneil returned to Scotland, in a wretched state of health, and without having earned even a moderate independence. In these circumstances, notwithstanding that he had many good connexions, and still preserved the feelings of a gentleman and a poet, his situation was of a truly deplorable kind. He, nevertheless, began to exercise the intellectual faculties, which, though so early displayed, had been kept in a kind of abeyance during the intervening period of his life. In 1789, he published "The Harp, a Legendary Tale," which brought him into some notice in the literary circles. In 1795, appeared his principal poetical composition, "Scotland's Skaith, or the History o' Will and Jean; ower true a Tale," followed next year by a sequel, entitled "The Waes o' War." Its excellent intention and tendency, with the strokes of sweet and beautiful pathos with which it abounds, render this one of the most admired productions of the Doric muse of Scotland. Except for a simplicity, occasionally degenerating into baldness, which characterizes this as well as other productions of Macneil, "Will and Jean" might safely be compared with the happiest efforts of any other Scottish poet. The enchanting influence of village potations and politics—the deterioration of a worthy rustic character by such means—the consequent despair and degradation of an originally amiable wife—besides the distresses of the Flemish campaign of 1793, and the subsequent restoration of the ruined family to partial comfort, are all delineated in most masterly style. About the same time, Macneil produced "The Links of Forth; or a parting Peep at the Carse of Stirling." This is a descriptive poem; but, though not devoid of merit, it is more laboured and less pleasing. He wrote also a number of songs, some of which possess much pathos and delicacy of sentiment. Not being able, however, to find any means of providing a subsistence, necessity compelled him to seek again the burning climate of the West Indies. After a residence there of only a year and a half, Mr Graham, an intimate friend, died, and left him an annuity of £100, with which he immediately returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy, with this humble independence, the sweets of literary leisure and society. His reputation and manners procured him ready admittance into the most respectable circles; he enjoyed par-

ticularly the intimacy of Mrs Hamilton, authoress of "The Cottagers of Glenburnie" and other esteemed works of fancy. He was then a tall, fine-looking old man, with a very sallow complexion, and a dignified and somewhat austere expression of countenance. His conversation was graceful and agreeable, seasoned with a somewhat lively and poignant satire. Having probably found in his own case, that devotion to the muses did not tend to promote his success in life, he gave no encouragement to it in others, and earnestly exhorted all who wrote poetry that appeared to him at all middling, to betake themselves to some more substantial occupation. In 1800, he published, anonymously, a novel, or the first part of one, entitled "The Memoirs of Charles Macpherson," which is understood to contain a pretty accurate account of the early part of his own life. In 1801, his poetical works were collected into two volumes, foolscap 8vo, and passed through several editions. In 1809, he published "The Pastoral, or Lyric Muse of Scotland," in 4to, a work which did not draw much attention. About the same time, he published, anonymously, "Town Fashions, or Modern Manners Delineated;" and also, "By-gone Times, and Late-come Changes." These pieces, like almost every thing he wrote, had a moral object; but the present one was tinged with his feelings as an old man. It appeared to him, that all the changes which had taken place in society, the increase of luxury, even the diffusion of knowledge, were manifest corruptions; and all his anxiety was to inspire a taste for the old style of living. Wishing to suit the style to the matter, he affected a very homely phraseology; and as this was not natural to him, he overdid it, and disgusted rather than persuaded. Yet he clung very fondly to these hantlings of his old age, and even rated them higher than the more elegant productions of his former pen. Their only real beauty, though he was insensible of it, consisted in a few pathetic passages. Our author also wrote, with the same views, and too much in the same style, a novel, entitled "The Scottish Adventurers, or the Way to Rise," 2 vols. 8vo, 1812. Throughout the earlier years of the century, he contributed many minor pieces, in prose and verse, to the Scots Magazine, of which he was at one time editor.

After a long life of penury, aggravated by ill health, Mr Macneil died of jaundice, March 15, 1818, not leaving behind him wherewithal to defray his funeral expenses.

MACPHERSON, JAMES, a literary character of celebrity, was born at Ruthven, in the county of Inverness, in the latter end of the year 1738. His family was one of the most ancient in that part of the country, and of high respectability. The earlier rudiments of education he received at home, and was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Inverness. At this period he began to discover a degree of talent which induced his family, contrary to their original intention, to bring him up to a learned profession. With this view he was sent, after completing an initiatory course at Inverness, to the university of Aberdeen, and afterwards to that of Edinburgh, where he finished his studies.

Young Macpherson had already begun to exercise his poetical talents; and, while at the university, gave some specimens of his powers in that department of literature, but with very indifferent success. Hitherto, however, he had confined his muse to such short and desultory flights, as young men of poetical temperament usually begin with; but, in 1758, he made a bolder essay, by producing a poem in six cantos, entitled the "Highlander." This work was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, in the year above named. Though not without some excellences, the "Highlander," as a whole, is an exceedingly poor production, and must be considered so, even with every allowance for the youth of its author, who was yet only in the twentieth year of his age. The public was of a similar opinion with regard to its merits,

and it almost instantly sank into oblivion. It must, however, be recorded, to the credit of the poet, that he very soon became sensible of its defects and deficiencies, and made every endeavour to suppress it. About this time, also, he wrote an ode on the arrival of the earl Marischal in Scotland, which he entitled "An Attempt in the manner of Pindar." This ode, though it certainly does not possess much poetical merit, is yet, on the whole, considerably above mediocrity. From this period, there is no more heard of Macpherson's poetical compositions, until he appeared as the translator of those singular poems on which his celebrity is founded.

It was intended by his friends that he should, on completing his studies, enter the church; but it is not certainly known whether he ever actually did take orders or not. He is, however, spoken of about this time, 1760, as a "young clergyman;" and is described by Hume, the celebrated historian, as "a modest, sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr Graham of Balgowan's family; a way of life which he is not fond of." The notice of Mr Hume was thus directed to Macpherson, in consequence of the appearance of a work bearing the title of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic, or Erse Language," the production of Macpherson, and the first presentation of that literary novelty which was afterwards to attract so large a portion of the world's notice, and to excite so much discussion and dissension in its literary circles.

The "Fragments" were declared to be genuine remains of ancient Celtic poetry; and were, as well from that circumstance, as their own intrinsic merit, received with the utmost enthusiasm and delight. Every one read them, and every one admired them; and, altogether, a sensation was created in the world of letters, which it had known but on few occasions before. As it was intimated that other specimens of this ancient poetry might be recovered, a subscription was immediately begun, to enable Macpherson to quit his employment as a family preceptor, and to undertake a mission into the Highlands to secure them. With the wishes of his patrons on this occasion, the principal of whom were Dr Blair, Dr Robertson, Dr Carlyle, and Mr Hume, Macpherson readily complied, and lost no time in proceeding in quest of more "Fragments;" having been furnished previously to his setting out with various letters of recommendation and introduction, from the influential persons just named, to gentlemen resident in the Highlands.

After making an extensive tour through the mainland and isles, he returned to Edinburgh, and in 1762 presented to the world the first portion of the results, real or pretended, of his mission. This was "Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in 6 books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal: translated from the Gaelic," 4to. These poems were received with equal, if not yet greater applause, than that which had hailed the first specimen Macpherson had given of Celtic poetry. The demand for the work was immense, and the fame of the translator and saviour, as he was deemed, of these presumed relics of ancient literature, was rapidly spread, not only over Britain, but over all Europe. They were almost immediately translated into nearly every language spoken on the continent; and in each of these translations, Macpherson was alluded to in terms, "that might," as he himself says, "flatter the vanity of one fond of fame,"—a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to him, for he was fond of fame, even inordinately so, and was known to have been under the influence of a violent passion for literary repute, from a very early period of his life.

In the following year, viz., 1763, the poem of Fingal, &c., was succeeded by "Temora, in eight books, with other Poems, by Ossian," 4to. This was also well received, but scarcely with the same degree of enthusiasm which had marked the reception of the preceding poems. A change had taken place, both with regard to Macpherson himself, personally, and his poetry. A suspicion as to the authenticity of the latter, was now beginning to steal over the public mind; and the former, from being a modest man, as he was represented to be by Mr Hume, had become insolent and arrogant. Whether this last was the result of the operation of extraordinary success on an ill-regulated mind, or the effect of frequent irritation from the attacks of the sceptical, to which Macpherson was now certainly subjected, it would not, perhaps, be easy to determine. It probably arose partly from both. The likelihood that the latter consideration had, at any rate, some share in producing this change of demeanour is considerable, when the nature of Macpherson's disposition, which was ardent, haughty, impatient and irascible, is taken into account. That such a change, however, had taken place, is certain; and the circumstance derives no little interest from the person by whom, and the manner in which it is marked. "You must not mind," says Mr Hume, in a letter to Dr Blair on the subject of the poems of Ossian, "so strange and heteroclitic a mortal, (Macpherson,) than whom I have scarce ever known a man more perverse and unamiable." This was Mr Hume's opinion of him in 1763; and it will be remarked how oddly it contrasts with that which he expressed regarding him in 1760. That Mr Hume, however, saw sufficient reason in Macpherson's conduct, thus to alter his opinion of him, no man can doubt, who knows any thing of the character of the illustrious historian, himself one of the most amiable of men.

In 1764, the year following that in which Temora appeared, Macpherson obtained the appointment of secretary to governor Johnstone, then about to set out for the settlement of Pensacola, of which he was made chief. After a short residence in the colony, during which he had assisted in the construction and arrangement of its civil government, a difference arose between Macpherson and the governor, and they parted. The former left the settlement, visited several of the West India islands, and some provinces of North America, and finally returned to England in 1766.

He now took up his residence in London, and shortly after resumed his literary pursuits; these, however, as the Ossianic Poems were now exhausted, were of an entirely different nature from those which had hitherto employed him. His first public appearance again as an author, was in 1771, when he produced a work, entitled "An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland," 4to. This work, he says himself, he composed merely for private amusement. Whatever were the incitements which led to its production, necessity, at any rate, could not have been amongst the number; for Macpherson, if not already comparatively wealthy, was rapidly becoming so by the extensive sale of the poems. Whether written, however, for amusement, or with a view to fame, the author of the "Introduction" had no reason to congratulate himself on the result of its publication. Both the book and the writer were attacked from various quarters with much bitterness of invective, and a controversy regarding its merits and the opinions it promulgated, arose, which was but little calculated to improve the irritable temper of its author, or to add to his happiness. Nor was this treatment compensated by any success to the work itself. It made a sufficient noise; but yielded neither fame nor profit. The former was the result of its author's celebrity; the latter, it is to be feared, of his incapacity.

In an evil hour for his literary reputation, Macpherson, with more confidence than wisdom, began a translation of the *Iliad* of Homer. This work he completed, and gave to the world in 1773. Its reception was mortifying in the extreme. Men of learning laughed at it, critics abused it; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, particularly Sir John Elliot, it finally sank under one universal shout of execration and contempt. The finishing blow to this production was inflicted by the *Critical Review*, in which it was ably and fatally criticised.

"There is nothing," says one of the most able and elegant of Macpherson's commentators, Dr Graham, the late learned minister of Aberfoyle, "there is nothing which serves to set Macpherson's character and powers in a stronger light than his egregious attempt to render the great father of poetry into prose, however natural it might have been for him to have made this attempt, after his success in doing the same office to Ossian." The temerity of this attempt will not be deemed a little enhanced by the consideration that Pope's elegant translation was already before the world, nor will the awkwardness of its failure be thought lessened by a recollection of the sentiment its author himself expressed on another occasion, viz., that he "would not deign to translate what he could not imitate, or even equal." This unguarded language was now recollected to his prejudice, and carefully employed by his enemies to increase the disgrace of his failure.

To add to the literary mortifications under which Macpherson was now suffering, he found himself attacked by Dr Johnson in his celebrated *Tour to the Hebrides*, published in 1773, on the subject of the authenticity of his translations of Ossian. The remarks of the great moralist, as is well known, are not confined, in this case, to an abstract discussion of the question, but include some severe, though certainly not unmerited personal reflections on the translator.

These the latter resented so highly that he immediately wrote a threatening letter to their author, who replied in spirited and still more severe and sarcastic language than he had employed in his published strictures, saying amongst other humiliating things, "your abilities since your Homer are not so formidable." To this letter Macpherson wisely made no reply, and is not known to have taken any further notice of it than by assisting M'Nicol in his "*Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour*," printed in 1774. Even of this, however, he is only suspected, there being no positive proof that he actually had any share in that production.

Although thus thanklessly acknowledged, Macpherson still continued his literary labours, and in 1775, published "*The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover*," in 2 vols. 4to.

Soon after the publication of this work another favourable change took place in the fortunes of its author, and opened up to him a new source of emolument. He was selected by the government, at this time embarrassed by the resistance of the American colonies to its authority, to defend and give force to the reasons which influenced its proceedings with regard to that country. In the discharge of this duty, he wrote a pamphlet entitled, "*The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of the Colonies*," 8vo. 1776. This pamphlet was circulated with great industry, and ran through several editions. He also wrote "*A Short History of the Opposition during the last session of parliament*," 8vo. 1779. The merit of this last production was so remarkable, that it was, at the time, generally ascribed to the pen of Gibbon, a compliment which, however, it is very questionable if its real author appreciated.

About this period Macpherson's good fortune was still further increased by

his being appointed agent to the Nabob of Arcot, in behalf of whom he made several effective appeals to the public, and amongst others published "Letters from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the court of Directors. To which is annexed a State of facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of original papers," 4to. 1777. He is also supposed to have been the author of "The History and Management of the East India Company, from its origin in 1600, to the present times; vol. i. containing the affairs of the Carnatic, in which the rights of the Nabob are explained, and the injustice of the Company proved," 4to. 1779.

It was now thought advisable that Macpherson, in capacity of agent to the Nabob, should be provided with a seat in parliament, and he was accordingly returned member for Camelford in 1780, and was re-elected for the same place in 1784 and 1790. He, however, never made any attempt to speak in the house, so that the cause of the eastern potentate, whatever it may have gained from his influence abstractly as a member of parliament, was nothing forwarded by his oratory. The period, however, was now rapidly approaching when this and all other earthly matters were no longer to be of any concernment to him. His health now began gradually to fail, and continued to decline till the year 1796, when he became so seriously ill, that it was thought advisable, as all other means were found unavailing, that he should return to his native country, and try the effect of a change of air. He accordingly proceeded to Scotland; but died in the same year, on the 17th February, at his seat of Bellville in the shire of Inverness, in the 58th year of his age.

Macpherson died in opulent circumstances, leaving by his will, dated June 1793, legacies and annuities to various persons to a large amount. Amongst his other bequests there is one of particular interest from its connexion with the celebrated works to which he owes his celebrity, and from its bearing on a circumstance which created one of the most memorable civil wars, in the literary world, upon record—the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems.

This bequest comprised the sum of £1000, payable to John Mackenzie of Fig-tree Court, in the Temple, to defray the expense of printing and publishing Ossian in the original. Macpherson also directed by his will, that the sum of £300 should be expended in erecting a monument to his memory in some conspicuous situation at Bellville, and that his body should be carried to London and be interred in Westminster Abbey. This was complied with, and he was buried in Poet's Corner.

The preceding sketch, brief as it is, comprehends nearly all of any interest with which the life of Macpherson presents us, and affords in that brevity another instance of the utter disproportion which is so often found to exist between the bulk of a man's personal history and that of his fame,—how much may be afforded in one and the same life, to the essayist, philosopher, or moralist, and how little to the biographer.

One point of interest in Macpherson's life, however, and without some allusion to which any account of it would be incomplete, has been hitherto left all but untouched in this sketch, and that purposely; as it was thought better to give it a distinct and separate place at the conclusion than to interrupt the biographical narrative by its earlier introduction.

The circumstance alluded to is the celebrated controversy regarding the authenticity of Macpherson's translations of the Poems of Ossian,—a controversy which, whether its voluminous amount is considered, the extremely opposite and conflicting testimony by which it is supported, or the various and widely scattered members of which it is composed, cannot be approached without hesitation. The fervour with which it was once attended has long since altogether dis-

appeared, and but little now remains even of the interest with which the mooted point was associated. Few, in short, now care any thing at all about the matter, and even though it were desirable, it would be impossible to resuscitate the intense feeling with which it was once contemplated. This apathy, however, singularly contrasts with the violent commotion and furious zeal which the discussion of the momentous question excited in the public mind some fifty or sixty years since. It was then an universal topic of conversation in private circles, while the literary arena was crowded with combatants eager for the contest, and inspired, if their feelings may be judged by their language, with the most cordial hatred towards each other. Fresh champions of the opposite creeds followed each other in endless succession, as their predecessors retired, exhausted or defeated, from the lists.

At one moment the authenticity of the poems seemed established beyond all doubt; in the next it was made still more clear that they were the most impudent forgeries that were ever imposed upon the credulity of the literary world. These were the results of the labours of the more active and zealous partisans of the denying and believing factions; but there were others again, who did not strictly belong to either, and these, taking arguments from both sides, succeeded, with much ingenuity, in involving the question in an obscurity from which it has not emerged to this day.

The Ossianic controversy, like all other controversies, soon became personal, and in nearly every case the discussion of the point exhibited fully as much abuse as arguments. During all this time Macpherson himself, the cause of all this bitterness of spirit and uncharitableness, and the only person who could have allayed it, kept sullenly aloof, and refused to produce that evidence which alone could restore the peace of the literary world, and which he yet declared he possessed. Notwithstanding the celebrity, however, which he was thus acquiring, his situation, in other respects, was by no means an enviable one. By those who did not believe in the authenticity of the poems, he was reviled as an impudent, unprincipled impostor; by those who did, he was charged with being a bungling, unskilful translator; and by both he was abused for his obstinacy in refusing to come forward with his testimony in the cause in dispute.

Before proceeding to take a nearer view of the Ossianic controversy itself, there will be no impropriety in alluding to certain opinions, regarding the subject of it, which have now pretty generally obtained. These are, that it is of little moment whether the poems are genuine or not, and that they are not, after all, worthy, in point of merit, of the notice they have attracted, or of the discussion and dissension they have created. With regard to the last, it is matter of opinion, and must always remain so, since it cannot be decided by any rule of taste. The first, again, involves a sentiment more specious perhaps than profound; for, besides the consideration that truth is at all times and in all cases better than falsehood, and possesses an intrinsic value which in almost every instance renders it worthy of being sought for, the investigation into the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian involves, in the language of the ingenious commentator already named, matter of importance to the "general history of literature, and even that of the human race."

Whatever weight, however, may be allowed to these considerations, it is certain that Macpherson's Poems of Ossian have lost a very large portion of the popularity which they once enjoyed, and are evidently losing more every day. The rising generation do not seem to have that relish for their beauties, or rather do not see those beauties in them which captivated their fathers, and this can be ascribed only, either to a change in literary taste, or to some defect or

defects in the poems themselves, which improved intellectual culture has detected; for it is the result of an opinion formed on their abstract merits as literary compositions, and is wholly unconnected with the question of their authenticity, that now being considered a point of such indifference, as to be but rarely taken into account in the decision. The book is now taken up, without a thought being wasted on the consideration whether it be the production of Ossian or Macpherson, and is judged of by its own intrinsic value; and tested in this way, it would appear that it has been found wanting; a result which seems to show that the greatest charm of the poems, even at the time when they were most appreciated, co-existed with the belief that they were genuine relics of antiquity; that it was inseparable from this belief, that it was born of it, fostered by it, and perished with it; that, in short, it lived and died with it, and was exactly proportioned to its strength and its weakness.

Of the controversialists in this celebrated literary war the list is both long and illustrious, and comprehends some of the proudest names of which this country has to boast. Amongst these occur those of Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, lord Kames, Hume, and Dr Johnson. The most remarkable next to these were, Dr Smith of Campbelltown, Dr Graham of Aberfoyle, Sir John Sinclair, Mr Laing, author of "Notes and Illustrations" introduced into an edition of Ossian's Poems, published in Edinburgh in 1805; Mr Alexander Macdonald, author of a work entitled "Some of Ossian's lesser poems rendered into verse, with a preliminary discourse in answer to Mr Laing's Critical and Historical Dissertations on the antiquity of Ossian's Poems," 8vo, Liverpool, 1805; and W. Shaw, A.M., author of "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," London, 1781. There were besides these a host of others, but of lesser note. Of those just named, there were six who may be said, generally speaking, to have been in favour of the authenticity of the poems, and five against it. The former were Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, lord Kames, Dr Graham, Sir John Sinclair, and Mr Macdonald. The latter, Mr Hume, Dr Johnson, Mr Laing, Dr Smith, and Mr Shaw.

Here, then, we are startled at the very outset by the near approach to equality in the amount of intelligence and talent which appears arrayed on either side; nor is this feeling greatly lessened in comparing the evidence adduced by each party in support of their opposite opinions, and in confutation of those of their opponents. Both seem conclusive when taken separately, and both defective when placed in juxta-position.

Although, however, two classes only of controversialists have been made above, there were actually four, or rather the two given are found on closer inquiry to be again subdivided—of the believers, into those whose opinion of the authenticity of the poems was unqualified, and those again who believed them to be authentic only to a certain extent, while the remainder were interpolations by the translator. Of the former were Blair, Gregory, lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, and Macdonald. Of the latter was Dr Graham, and though only one, he was yet the representative of a large body who entertained a similar opinion. Of the disbelievers, again, there were those who utterly denied their authenticity; and those who, entertaining strong doubts, did not yet go the whole length of rejecting them as spurious. Of the first were Dr Johnson, Laing, and Shaw. Of the last, Mr Hume, and Dr Smith.

The controversy thus stands altogether upon four separate and distinct grounds. These are, first, an entire and unqualified belief in the authenticity of the poems; second, a belief that they are in part genuine, and in part spurious, including a charge of interpolation and false translation; third, much doubt, but no certainty; and, fourth, a thorough conviction of their being wholly forgeries.

The principal arguments adduced in support of the first opinion, are—that the poems bear internal evidence of antiquity;—that their originals are or were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat large portions of them; that Macpherson's talents, judging by his own original works, the Highlander, Translation of the Iliad, &c., were not equal to the production of poems of such transcendent merit as those ascribed to Ossian; that many credible witnesses were present, on various occasions, when Macpherson was put in possession of these poems, orally and by MS.; and, lastly, that the originals themselves are now before the world.

With regard to the internal evidence of the genuineness of these poems, it is to be feared that this is a thing more ingenious than sound; and, like the imaginary figures that present themselves in the fire, is more easily described than pointed out. It will, at any rate, scarcely be deemed sufficient proof, that the poems in question are ancient, merely because they bear no likeness to any that are modern.

Dr Blair's celebrated dissertation on this subject, and on the authenticity of the poems generally, is much more elegant, ingenious, and learned, than convincing; and appears, after all, to establish little more, indeed little more seems aimed at, than that the poems may and should be ancient, not that they are. To those who think that the absence of all modern allusion in the poems, and the exclusive use which is made of natural imagery, without one single exception, is a proof of their antiquity, the argument of internal evidence will have, no doubt, considerable weight; but there are others who see in this circumstance only caution and dexterity on the part of Macpherson, and who, in consequence, instead of reckoning it an evidence of his veracity, consider it but as a proof of his ingenuity.

As to the assertion, again, that the originals were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat them. This, on inquiry, turns out to mean only, that fragments of Gaelic poetry,—not entire poems, as given by Macpherson, but certainly, such as they were, of undoubted antiquity,—were to be met with in the Highlands. That such were, and probably are to be found there even to this day, is undeniable; but, in the first place, they have been in no instance found in the complete state in which they appear in the translations, but disjointed and disconnected, and, still worse, bearing only in a few instances any more than a resemblance to the English poems. In large portions, even this is entirely wanting. The originals, then, in the only sense in which that word ought to be used, cannot, with truth, be said to have existed in the Highlands. Fragments of ancient poetry, as already said, did indeed exist there, but not the mass of poetry given to the world by Macpherson as the Poems of Ossian, and said by him to have been collected in the Highlands. The assertion, therefore, has been made, either with a view to deceive, or without a due consideration of the meaning of the terms in which it is conveyed.

The argument deduced from Macpherson's talents, as exhibited in his original works, to show that he could not be the author of the poems in question, is plausible; but the premises on which it is founded, are by no means of so incontrovertible a nature as to give us implicit confidence in the conclusion. That a literary man may utterly fail in one or more instances, and be eminently successful in another, is perfectly consistent with experience. It has often happened, and is, therefore, not more extraordinary in Macpherson's case, supposing him to be the author, and not merely the translator of the poems ascribed to Ossian, than in many others that could be named. Besides, something like a reason is to be found for his success in this species of composition, in the

fact that, from his earliest years he was an enthusiastic admirer of Celtic lore ; and that its poetry, in particular, was one of his constant and most agreeable studies. This argument, then, can have no great weight, unless it be deemed an impossibility, that a man who had failed in one or more literary attempts, should be successful in another ; an assertion which, it is believed, few will be hardy enough to venture, and which, it is certain, fewer still will be able to make good.

With regard to that part of the controversy where evidence is produced by credible, and, in several of the instances, certainly highly respectable witnesses, of Macpherson's having been put in possession, in their presence, of various poems ascribed to Ossian, both oral and written ;—without questioning the credibility of these witnesses, an important objection may be fairly brought against the nature of their evidence. It is liable to that charge of generality which Mr Hume thought, and every impartial person must think, ought to be considered “ as being of no authority.” In no single instance is any particular poem, or any particular part of a poem, distinctly traced by such evidence from its original possessor to the pages of Macpherson's volumes. Not one of them has stated the results of what came under his own observation, in any thing like such plain terms as “ I saw, or heard Macpherson put in possession of the first duan of Cath-loda ; I read it over carefully at the time, and I assert that the English poem of that name which he has given, is a translation of the same.” The witnesses alluded to, have said nothing like this. The amount of their evidence is, that it consists with their knowledge that Macpherson did obtain Gaelic poems, when in the Highlands. They saw him get some in MS., and they were present when others were recited to him. But here their testimony terminates ; and in no case have the poems been further identified in the English dress with those which he procured on these occasions, than as bearing, in some instances, a general resemblance to them. The extent to which Macpherson made use of what they saw him get, or, indeed, what use he made of it at all, they have not said, because they could not ; for, although he carried away the originals, they did not, and could not, therefore, ascertain, by the only process by which it could with certainty be ascertained, by collation, what he had omitted, or what he had retained ; what he had changed, or what he had left unaltered.

We come now to the last proof exhibited in support of the authenticity of the English poems of Ossian, and it is by far the most startling of the whole. It would seem, indeed, were it adopted without examination, to set the question for ever at rest, and to place it beyond the reach of all further controversy. This proof is the “ Originals” published by Sir John Sinclair in 1806, an evidence which certainly appears, at first sight, conclusive ; but what is the fact ? They are not originals, in so far as the written poetry which Macpherson obtained is concerned ; for they are all in his own hand-writing, or that of his amanuensis. The term *original*, therefore, in this case, can only be applied to what he wrote down from oral communication ; and it will at once be perceived how much their evidence is already weakened by this limitation of the meaning of the word *original*, as employed by Sir John Sinclair. How far, again, it may be relied upon as applied to the oral communications which Macpherson received, must entirely depend upon the degree of faith which is put in his integrity. He has said that they are the originals, but this is all we have for it, and by many, we suspect, it will scarcely be deemed sufficient. He had a control over these documents which greatly lessens, if it does not wholly destroy all faith in them as evidences ; while his interest in producing them, must lay them open, under all circumstances, to the strongest

suspicious. But it is said, that it is not likely that he would be at the trouble of going through so laborious a process as this, merely to support an imposture—that, though willing, he was, from his want of skill in the Gaelic language, unfit for the task, and could not have produced poems in that language of such merit as those which he gave as originals—that the Gaelic poems are superior to the English—and lastly, that from impartial and critical examination, the former must have been anterior to the latter. With regard to the first of these assertions, it seems to be merely gratuitous, as it rests upon a question which Macpherson himself alone could determine, and can, therefore, be of no weight as an argument. That Macpherson was greatly deficient in critical knowledge of the Gaelic language, and that he could not consequently produce poems in that language of such merit as those which he represents as the originals of Ossian, is certain, because it is established by the clearest evidence, and by the concurring testimony of several eminent Gaelic scholars; but although he could not do this himself, he could employ others to do it, and it is well known that he was intimate, and in close correspondence with several persons critically skilled in the Gaelic language, of whose services he availed himself frequently, and largely, when preparing his “Translations.” Might he not have had recourse to the same aid in translating from the English to the Gaelic? Dr Johnson thought so. “I am far from certain,” says the sagacious moralist, “that some translations have not been lately made that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work.” In truth, the presumption that Macpherson did procure Gaelic translations to be made from the English, is exceedingly strong, as will appear from various circumstances yet to be alluded to. At all events, it does not seem by any means an inevitable conclusion, that because he was not himself capable of writing what are called the originals, they are, therefore, original. But the strongest part of the argument in favour of their originality yet remains. It is said that the Gaelic is superior to the English, and that on an impartial and critical examination, it appears that the former must have been anterior to the latter. Now, the first of these is again matter of opinion, and as such, entitled to no more consideration than opinions generally deserve. To many their merits will appear on the whole pretty equal; to others, the Gaelic will, in some instances, seem the more beautiful; and in some, again, the English. The second assertion, however, is not of this description. It is not founded on opinion, but on an alleged positive internal evidence. It is to be regretted, however, that that evidence had not been pointed out in more specific terms than those employed—that it had not been distinctly said what are those particular circumstances which, on a perusal, establish the relative ages of the Gaelic and English versions; for, on an impartial and critical examination lately made by a person eminently skilled in the Gaelic language, for the express purpose of furnishing information for this article, it does not appear, at least from any thing he could discover, that the Gaelic poems must, of necessity, have preceded the English. They certainly contain nothing that shows the contrary—nothing that discovers them to be of modern composition; but neither do Macpherson’s English poems of Ossian. Neither of them betray themselves by any slip or inadvertency, and this, negative as it is, is yet all that can be said of both as to internal evidence.

What has just been said, includes nearly all the leading and direct arguments which have been employed in the defence of the authenticity of Macpherson’s translations of the Poems of Ossian, and nearly all that can be urged against that belief, with the exception of that which may be deduced from Macpherson’s own conduct in relation to the question, and which shall be afterwards referred to.

We come now to consider the grounds of the belief, that the poems are in part genuine, and in part spurious; including a charge of interpolation, and of false translation. What has been already said having necessarily included all the ramifications of the controversy, the consideration of this point need not detain us long, for happily the evidence is not only quite at hand, but of the most conclusive and satisfactory description. That some portion of Macpherson's English poems are genuine, at least in so far as that can be considered genuine, of which the utmost that the committee of the Highland Society found themselves warranted in saying, after much and careful inquiry, was, that it bore a strong *resemblance* to certain fragments which they themselves had obtained, is beyond doubt. Macpherson, as before said, certainly did gather some scraps of poetry in the Highlands, and as certainly did make some use of them in the composition of his poems. But that he introduced a great deal of his own, that he interpolated, and that he translated falsely the little he got, is equally certain. The fact is incontrovertibly established by Dr Graham, to whose able work on the subject, entitled "An Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," we refer the reader for more full information, and is thus confirmed by the committee of the Highland Society, who, after stating in their Report that they had "not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title or tenor with the poems published by him," proceed to say, "It (the committee) is inclined to believe that he (Macpherson) was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what, *in his opinion*, was below the standard of good poetry." What immediately follows this sentence, though not relevant to the point immediately under discussion is too important to be passed over. The committee goes on to say, "To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties, it is *impossible* for the Committee to determine." Now, this means, if it means any thing, that the interpolations were such close imitations of the original, that, of the whole poems, it was impossible to distinguish which was Ossian's and which Macpherson's; therefore, that the poetry of the latter was as good as that of the former. An admission this, that would seem to settle the point of Macpherson's ability to forge the poems, a point so strongly insisted upon by the defenders of their authenticity, by showing that he *was* competent to write them, and, in accordance with this, it may be asked, if he wrote a part thus excellently, why might he not have written the whole? Dr Graham, it is true, has, in several instances, detected "Macpherson's bombast," but this only shows that Macpherson has occasionally fallen into an error, which it was next to impossible to avoid altogether in a work written in the peculiar style of Ossian's poems.

There still, however, remains one overpowering circumstance, which, if there were no other evidence against the fidelity of Macpherson, would probably be held by most unprejudiced inquirers as quite conclusive of the whole question. The "Originals" correspond exactly with the "Translations," in language, and indeed in every point. How can this be reconciled to the fact admitted by Macpherson himself, that he took certain liberties with the original Gaelic? The "Originals," when published, might have been expected to exhibit such differences with the "Translations," as would arise from Mr Macpherson's labours as an emendator and purifier of the native ideas. But they do not exhibit any traces of such difference. The unavoidable conclusion is, that the Originals, prepared by Macpherson, and published by Sir John Sinclair, were either

altogether a forgery, or were accommodated to the 'Translations, by such a process as entirely to destroy their credit, and render their publication useless.

We shall now proceed to take a view of the conduct of Macpherson himself, in so far as it relates to the controversy which he had been the means of exciting, and when we do this, we shall find that whether he really was an impostor or no, in the matter of the poems, he pursued exactly the course, with regard to them and the public, which an impostor would have done. He was accused of being guilty of an imposition. He took no steps to rebut the charge. He was solicited to give proofs of the authenticity of the poems. He refused, and for upwards of thirty years submitted to wear the dress of a bankrupt in integrity, without making any attempt to get rid of it. He affected, indeed, a virtuous indignation, on all occasions, when the slightest insinuation was made that an imposition had been practised; and, instead of calmly exhibiting the proofs of his innocence, he got into a passion, and thus silenced, in place of satisfying inquiry. "To revenge," says Dr Johnson, speaking of Macpherson's conduct in this matter, "reasonable incredulity, by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt."

A suspicion of the authenticity of the poems almost immediately followed the appearance of those published in 1762, and the first public notice taken of it by Macpherson himself, occurs in 1763, in his preface to *Temora*, published in that year. He there says, "Since the publication of the last collection of Ossian's poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. I shall probably hear more of the same kind after the present poems make their appearance. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of ignorance of facts, I shall not pretend to determine. To me they give no concern, as I have it always in my power to remove them. An incredulity of this kind is natural to persons who confine all merit to their own age and country. These are generally the weakest, as well as the most ignorant of the people. Indolently confined to a place, their ideas are very narrow and circumscribed. It is ridiculous enough to see such people as these are branding their ancestors with the despicable appellation of barbarians. Sober reason can easily discern where the title ought to be fixed with more propriety. As prejudice is always the effect of ignorance, the knowing, the men of true taste, despise and dismiss it. If the poetry is good, and the characters natural and striking, to these it is matter of indifference, whether the heroes were born in the little village of Angles, in Jutland, or natives of the barren heaths of Caledonia. That honour which nations derive from ancestors worthy or renowned, is merely ideal. It may buoy up the minds of individuals, but it contributes very little to their importance in the eyes of others. But of all those prejudices which are incident to narrow minds, that which measures the merit of performances by the vulgar opinion concerning the country which produced them, is certainly the most ridiculous. Ridiculous, however, as it is, few have the courage to reject it; and I am thoroughly convinced, that a few quaint lines of a Roman or Greek epigrammatist, if dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, would meet with more cordial and universal applause, than all the most beautiful national rhapsodies of all the Celtic bards and Scandinavian scalds that ever existed." This, it is presumed, will be thought rather an odd reply to the doubts entertained concerning the authenticity of the poems; or rather it will be thought to be no reply at all. It is all very well as to reasoning and writing; but, it will be perceived, wonderfully little to the purpose. All that he condescends to say, in this rhapsody, to the point at issue—the "doubts"—is, that he "has it always in his power to remove them." But he made no use of

this power then, nor at any period during his after life, though urged to it by motives which gentlemen and men of honour have been always accustomed to hold as sacred.

When pressed by the committee of the Highland Society of London, to publish the originals, and thus satisfy the public mind as to the authenticity of the poems, Macpherson thus replies to the secretary of that body:—"I shall adhere to the promise I made several years ago to a deputation of the same kind, [in their anxiety to have the question set at rest, they had proposed that another deputation should wait upon him for this purpose,] that is, to employ my first leisure time, and a considerable portion of time it must be, to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the Poems of Ossian, as they have come to my hands." The delay here acknowledged, a delay of several years, and the further delay bespoken, as it were, in this extract, between the promise of giving the originals to the world and its fulfilment, will seem to many suspicious circumstances, and will appear rather a necessary provision for getting up a translation from the English, than for the preparation of original documents. Nor is this suspicion lessened by his telling us, that they were yet to arrange; a process which it will be thought must of necessity have taken place before they were translated. It seems odd that the translations should be in perfect order, while the originals were in confusion. The mere disarrangement of sheets of MS., from passing through the hands of the printer, or from inattention, could scarcely warrant the formidable and cautious provision of "a considerable portion of time."

The fact of Macpherson having interpolated, although it could not have been ascertained by other evidence, would be sufficiently established by his own. When taxed by Dr Macintyre of Glenorchy with being himself the author of the greater part of the Poem of Fingal—"You are much mistaken," replied Macpherson; "I had occasion to do *less* of that than you suppose." Thus admitting the fact, and only limiting its extent.

On the whole, it seems, on a careful revision of all that has been said on this once famous controversy, beyond all doubt that Macpherson is, in nearly the strictest sense of the word, the author of the English Poems of Ossian. The skeleton was furnished him, but it was he who clothed it with flesh, endued it with life, and gave it the form it now wears. He caught the tone and spirit of the Celtic lyre, from hearing its strings vibrating in the wind. The starting note was given him, but the strain is his own. Whatever degree of merit, therefore, may be allowed to these strains, belongs to Macpherson.

MAIR, or MAJOR, JOHN, a celebrated name of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Little of the life of this eminent person is known, beyond a few incidental circumstances mentioned in his own works, and some allusions by contemporary scholars. Dr Mackenzie and other writers not to be depended on, have stated, without reference to any authority, that he was born in the year 1469. His birth-place, by his own account, was the parish of North Berwick, and is said to have been at the village of Gleghorn. In the early part of the sixteenth century he became a member of Christ's college in Cambridge.¹ "In this post," says bishop Nicholson, "he seems to have written

¹ He afterwards went to the university of Paris. Mackenzie, who has corrected his life of Major in the preface to his work, on the ground of some communications received from Paris, says he joined the university in 1493, and became master of arts in 1496. "Mr John Harvey," continues this authority, "a Scotsman and bursar, or fellow of the Scots college, being then rector of the university of Paris, he passed through all the honourable places of the faculty of arts, being first procurator and then quæstor; and designs himself thus in the Register, 'M. Joannes Mair, Glegernocensis, Diocesis S. Andrew.' He was made doctor of divinity in 1508."—*Mackenzie's Lives*, vol. ii. *Preface*, vii.

his history, which, as he acknowledges, was penned in the year 1518, the seventh of king James the fifth's age.² Mackenzie says he left Paris immediately on having written his history, and in the year mentioned we know him to have been in Scotland, as he was then incorporated a member of the university of Glasgow, and bore the titles of Canon of the chapel royal, and vicar of Dunlop, while he is termed "Doctor Parisiensis."³ In 1521, the same authority shows him to have been professor of theology in Glasgow, and one of the "Intrantes" and "Deputati Rectoris;" probably performing, in the latter capacity, the duties now performed, or presumed to be performed by the assessors of the rector. During that year his well known work, "De Gestis Scotorum," was published in Paris by Badius Ascensius, the same person who afterwards published the history of Hector Boece. He is said by Bayle to have written "stylo Sorbonico," a characteristic not intended as a compliment. The Latinity of this work has been censured by scholars; but the matter which it clothes, if not likely to repay a reader of the present age for the labour of perusal, presents us with much contempt of prejudices common to the age; considerable knowledge of the grounds of historical truth, and a mass of curious information, sometimes of that petty and domestic nature, which is valuable because it is so generally omitted by others. His notices of the state and value of provisions, and of local customs might be valuable to the political economist and antiquary. He has shown much sound sense in rejecting a mass of the fables narrated by his precursors in history, Wyntoun and Fordun, believing the tale of Cathelus coming from Greece, to have been invented for the purpose of excelling the English who brought their "Brute" or "Brutus" from Troy, the Greeks being, as all history and poetry must testify, a far more respectable source of ancestry than the Trojans. Of the race of kings, amounting to about forty-five, betwixt Fergus I. and Fergus II., now blotted from the list, he mentions, and that but slightly, only three or four. On this subject Dr Mackenzie, who wishes to speak favourably of the subject of his memoir, while he has a still higher respect for the antiquity of his native land, remarks, in a tone of chagrin, "in his account of our monarchs, of fifteen kings, that he only acknowledges to have been between Fergus I. and II., he mentions not above three or four of them; and it plainly appears," continues the doctor, drawing the proper deduction, "from the whole tract of his history, that it was not drawn out of ancient and authentic monuments, for he cites none of them, but from the historians above quoted."⁴ The views of civil liberty inculcated in this work surprise us when we consider the period and state of society at which it was written, and they would certainly at the present juncture be termed philosophically just. If a man of so original a mind as Buchanan may be supposed to have derived his political sentiments from an inferior genius, it is not improbable that the doctrines of kingly power so beautifully illustrated in the dialogue "De Jure Regni apud Scotos" may have been imbibed from the doctrines inculcated by Major, under whom Buchanan studied logic. The doctrines of Major are more boldly and broadly, if not justly, laid down than those of Grotius.⁵ Although a churchman, he was

² Scottish Hist. Library, 103.

³ According to the records of the university of Glasgow, in the Notes to Wodrow's Biographical Collection, printed some years ago by the Maitland Club, it is said that in the year 1518 "Egregius vir dictus Joannes Majoris, Doctor Parisiensis, ac principalis Regens collegii et pedagogii dicti universitatis, Canonicusque capelle regie, ac vicarius de Dunlop, &c." was incorporated along with forty-three others.

⁴ Mede, Caxton, and Froissart are Major's chief authorities.

⁵ One passage is peculiarly striking, and, had the effect of published opinions been better known at the period, might have brought persecution on the head of the author: "Populus liber primo regi dat robur, ejus potestas a toto populo dependet, quia aliud jus Fergusius primus rex Scotiæ non habuit: et ita est ubilibet, et ab orbe conditio erat communiter."

likewise peculiarly unfettered in his clerical opinions. He condemned the monkish profuseness of David I., that "sair saunt to the crown," and in a work entitled "Disputationes de Potestate Papæ et Concilii,"⁶ he afterwards uncanonically argued the necessity of excluding all spiritual dignitaries from authority in matters temporal. Mackenzie, in his corrected statement, continues, "he remained in Scotland about five years, and taught theology in the university of St Andrews." At what time he joined that university it would be difficult to discover, but it appears that he was connected with the university of Glasgow until the year 1522, when he receives in the record the several titles already attributed to him, and with the addition of "Theologiæ Professor," and "The-saurus capellæ regiæ Strevelinensis."⁷ He was, however, assuredly professor of theology in St Andrews in the year 1525, as Buchanan is said in his life, either written by himself or by Sir Peter Young, to have then studied under him, in the college of St Salvator. The celebrity of his lectures had attracted the poet's attention; and, whether as a pupil of Major, or to fulfill his previous intentions, he followed his teacher to France. The connexion was the cause of an accusation of ingratitude against Buchanan. Buchanan had afterwards penned an epigram on Major, in which he turned his name to the bitter qualification, "Solo cognomine Major." It is probable that the opportunity of so apt a witticism was the sole motive of Buchanan; but Mackenzie and Christopher Irvine maintained that Buchanan had been fed both in mind and body by the charity of Major, who had procured him a professorship in the college of St Barbe. "He who had eat his bread," observes the latter, "and lived under his discipline, both in St Andrews and in the Sorbon, the space of five years, might have afforded him an handsomer character than *solo cognomine Major*;" and concludes, "but I leave these wretches to the care of the great accuser, and go to my business."⁸ There appears to be no other foundation for the charge but the inferences which may be drawn from a passage in Buchanan's life, which does not express such a meaning.⁹ Mackenzie states that Major remained in Paris till 1530. Unfortunately little is known of the circumstances of his life during that period, nor will our limits permit an investigation among continental authors, which might provide useful matter for a more extended memoir. We know, however, that his fame was extensive and well supported. He has received high praise from such bibliographical writers as Dupin, Bel-larmin, and Vossius. He is alluded to by some of his countrymen with less praise; and Leslie and Dempster, probably displeased at his view of the antiquities of his native country, sneer at the barbarism of his style. Major was probably one of the latest commentators on that universal text book, the Sentences of Peter Lombard. In 1519, he had published "In Libros Sententiarum primum et secundum commentarium;" a work which has passed to oblivion with its subject. In 1521, he published an Introduction to Aristotle's Dialectics, and in 1529, "In Quatuor Evangelia Expositiones Luculentæ," being a discussion on the arrangement of the Gospels as to date. Mackenzie mentions that he re-

Continuing the train of reasoning, he concludes, "Tertio arguitur ad eandem conclusionem probandum: regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exauthorare sicut et primo instituit." p. 175.

⁶ Printed in the *Vindiciæ Doctrinæ Majorum Scholæ Parisiensis*, &c. of Richerius.

⁷ In the same year, "Dominus Dignus Johannes Major," is one of the "auditores com-puti," and also one of the "Intrantes," and "Deputati Rectoris."

⁸ *Nom. Scot.*, 1819 127.

⁹ *Primo vero ad finem Andræ missus est, ad Joannem Majorem audiendum, qui tum ibi dialecticam, aut verius sophisticam, in extrema senectute docebat. Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima secutus, in flammam Lutheraniæ sectæ, jam late se spargentem incidit: ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortunæ coluctatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum acitus, &c.—Vita Luch. i.*

turned to Scotland in 1530, and taught theology at St Andrews "till he came to a great age; for in the year 1547, at the national council of the church of Scotland at Linlithgow, he subscribed, by proxy, in quality of dean of theology of St Andrews, not being able to come himself by reason of his age, which was then seventy-eight, and shortly after he died."

Anthony Wood has discovered from a manuscript note of Bryan Twyne that Major was at some period of his life at Oxford, but in what house is unknown, "unless," says bishop Nicholson, "in Osney Abbey, whose melodious bells he commends." If we could suppose Wood to have mistaken a century, the following might apply to the subject of our memoir during the year when he is said by Mackenzie to have gone to France. Speaking of St John's school belonging to St John's Hospital, he says, "all that I find material of this school is, that it, with others of the same faculty, were repaired by one John Major, an Inceptor in the same faculty, anno 1426."¹⁰

MAITLAND, (SIR) RICHARD, of Lethington, the collector and preserver of our early Scottish poetry, and himself a poet of no mean rank, was the son of William Maitland of Lethington and Thirstane, and Martha, daughter of George, lord Seaton. He was born in the year 1496; but his father having perished at the calamitous battle of Flodden, he was at an early period of life deprived of paternal guidance and instruction. After going through the usual course of academical education at St Andrews, he repaired to France, then the resort of all young Scotsmen of rank, and more especially of students of law. The time of his return is altogether unknown; he is supposed by one of his biographers¹ to have been absent from his native country during the earlier part of the minority of James V.; or if he did return previous to that period, his name is not connected with any of its turmoils. Before his departure from Scotland, he is believed to have been connected with the court of James IV. We are at all events certain, that on his return he was successively employed by James V., the regent Arran, and Mary of Lorraine. To his services, during the regency of the latter, he alludes in his poem on "The Queenis Arryvale in Scotland:"—

Madam, I wes trew servand to thy mother,
And in hir favoure stude ay thankfullie
Of my estait, als well as ony other.

A passage in Knox's history has attached some suspicion to the good name of Sir Richard, at this period of his life. He is alleged to have been instrumental in procuring, for bribes, the liberation of cardinal Beaton from the custody of his kinsman, Lord Seaton. Of his share in the guilt of this transaction, such as it is, no proof exists; while there is something very like direct evidence that he was attached to the English and protestant party, and consequently, in favouring Beaton, would have been acting against sentiments which the most of men hold sacred. That evidence consists in an entry in the Criminal Record, to the following effect:—"Richard Maitland, of Lethingtoun, found George, lord Seytoun, as his surety, that he would enter within the castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, when and where it might please the lord governor, on forty-eight hours' warning: and that the said Richard shall remain a good and faithful subject, and remain within the kingdom, and have no intelligence with our ancient enemies the English, under the pain of £10,000."²

¹⁰ Wood's Antiquities of Oxford, ii. 766.

¹ Biographical Introduction to Sir Richard's Poems, printed by the Maitland Club, p. xxii.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i. 358.

We soon after find Sir Richard engaged in diplomatic transactions for the settlement of the borders. In 1552, he was appointed, along with others, to make a division of what was called the debatable land, which division was ratified in the following November;³ and in 1559, he was nominated in a commission of a similar nature. The result of the last was, the conclusion of the treaty of Upsetlington.

In 1563, he was appointed one of the commissioners to decide on the application of the act of oblivion; and in the month of December of the same year, to frame regulations for the commissaries then about to be established for the decision of consistorial causes.

While he was thus employed, he was also rising rapidly in the profession which he had more peculiarly adopted. He is mentioned on the 14th of March, 1551, as an extraordinary lord of session; and about the same period, or soon afterwards, he received the honour of knighthood. Ten years afterwards (12th November, 1561) he was admitted an ordinary lord, in the room of Sir William Hamilton of Sanguhar; and on the same day his son, William Maitland, was received as an extraordinary lord, in place of Mr Alexander Livingston of Dunipace. Sir Richard was soon afterwards made a member of the privy council; and upon the 20th of December, 1562, appointed lord privy seal, which office he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son, John, then prior of Coldinghame, and better known by his subsequent title of lord Thirlstane. When we consider that these appointments were bestowed on Sir Richard, in circumstances that seemed to oppose an almost insurmountable barrier to the performance of their duties, they will be considered as the most decided proof of the estimation in which he was held as a good man, and an able lawyer. It does not exactly appear whether his health had been impaired by the performance of the duties of his various and important offices,—it is only certain that about this period he had become blind. This calamity must have overtaken him before October, 1560, and most probably after his last appointment as a commissioner for the settlement of border disputes, in 1559. The allusion to it in his poem on “The Quenis Arryvale in Scotland,” (which must have been written in the latter part of 1561,) is clear and unquestionable.

And thech that I to serve be nocht sa abill
 As I wes wont, *becaus I may not see*;
 Yet in my hairt I sall be firme and stabill
 To thy Hiens with all fidelitie,
 Ay prayan God for thy prosperitie, &c.

The state of the administration of the laws at this period was sufficiently deplorable. The nobles and barons, while they assembled in parliament for the purpose of making statutes, felt no scruple in breaking them, on the most trifling occasions, and then appearing, when called to the bar of justice, surrounded by armed followers. So common, indeed, did this practice become, and so little regulated by the goodness or badness of the cause, that when some of the reformers were cited before Mary of Lorraine, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, a large body of their friends assembled to accompany them to Stirling, where the queen then was; and it was not till a promise of pardon (which was in the most unprincipled manner immediately violated) had been given, that they could be prevailed on to disperse. In like manner, when the borderers or Highlanders extended their depredations beyond their usual limits, it was necessary that an army should be assembled for their suppression;

³ Keith's History, p. 58.

and if the king did not accompany it in person, the command was given to some nobleman of high rank. In most cases, the nobles were by far too powerful to fear the most energetic measures of a government which, receiving as yet no support from the people, depended upon themselves for its very existence. Feeling their inability to punish the real criminals, the king and his ministers frequently wreaked their vengeance on some unfortunate individual, who, though far less guilty than his feudal lord, was too feeble to oppose the ministers of the law. In such cases, the wretched criminal was prevailed upon by intimidation, perhaps in many cases where the necessary proof of guilt could not be adduced, to "come in the king's will,"—a phrase meaning to submit without condition to the royal mercy,—or the jury were terrified into a verdict, the nature of which no one can doubt, by the threats of the king's advocate to prosecute them for wilful error, if they did not comply. No one who has looked into the publication of the "Criminal Trials, and other Proceedings before the High Court of Justiciary," by Mr Robert Pitcairn, will accuse us of over-colouring the picture which we have now drawn. "In truth," (to quote the words of an admirable review of that work, supposed to be one of the last critiques from the pen of Sir Walter Scott,) "no reader of these volumes—whatever his previous acquaintance with Scottish history may have been,—will contemplate without absolute wonder the view of society which they unveil; or find it easy to comprehend how a system, subject to such severe concussions in every part, contrived, nevertheless, to hold itself together. The whole nation would seem to have spent their time, as one malefactor expressed it, 'in drinking deep and taking deadly revenge for slight offences.'"⁵ That the judges themselves, if not exposed to the fury of the more lawless part of their countrymen from the unpopular nature of their office, were not at least exempted from it by its sacred character, the subsequent part of this sketch will sufficiently show.

Setting out of the question the calamitous nature of Sir Richard Maitland's malady, and his country's loss from being deprived of his more active services, his blindness may be supposed to have contributed much to his peace of mind. The transactions of this unhappy period,—the murder of Darnley,—the queen's marriage with Bothwell, and all the subsequent events of the different regencies, are too well known to require notice here. But although the venerable knight did not engage in these transactions, he was not spared the pain of having his lands ravaged, and his property forcibly kept from him. His lands of Blythe were overrun by the border robbers,⁶ as we know by his poem, entitled "The Blind Baronis Comfort," in which he consoles himself for his wrongs, and puns upon the name:—

Blind man, be *blyth*, althocht that thow be wrangit;
 Thocht *Blythe* be herreit, tak no melancholie.

Happy indeed must have been the man who, dismissing from his mind the misfortunes of his lot, could devote it to the pursuits of literature; and who, estimating the good things of this world at their real value, could at the same time cultivate the temper here exhibited.

It seems to have been about the same time that the king's party took possession of the castle of Lethington, which had been the temporary abode of the

⁵ See Quarterly Review, No. 88, p. 470.

⁶ This was not the first time that his property had been destroyed or carried off. "Wpoun the xiiij day" of September, 1549, "the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidington, and passed away without any battell, for the pest and hunger was rycht evill amangis thaim, quba mycht remayne na langer thairin." Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, printed by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, p. 48.

secretary Maitland, and a ready justification of this violent measure was found in the conduct of that statesman. After the death of the son, the enmity of the regent Morton was transferred to the aged and unoffending father, and his house and lands were still violently withheld from him. Although Sir Richard appears to have requested the intercession of the English court, and for that purpose to have transmitted a representation to lord Burleigh, the queen, with her usual crafty and cautious policy in regard to Scottish affairs, did not interfere: the document is thus marked—"This must be well considered before any thing is done." It was not, therefore, till the fall of Morton, that the worthy knight obtained restoration of his lands. He did not, however, droop into despondency during the long period of eleven years that he was thus "wrangit." In that period his poem of "Solace in Aige" is believed to have been written. It concludes thus:—

Thocht I be sweir to ryd or gang,
 'Thair is sunthing I've wantit lang,
 Fain have I wald
 Thaim punysit that did me wrang,
 Thocht I be auld.

Some attempt seems to have been made by Sir Richard to obtain compensation at least for his losses. There is extant a list of "the guidis tane frae y^e ald laird of Lethingtoun of his awin proper geir forthe of Blythe and y^e Twlloows;" but it is to be feared that his endeavours were unsuccessful. At a later period of his life, he renewed his application for compensation; and, although he obtained an act of parliament, recognizing his claims, and rescinding an act made in favour of captain David Hume of Fishwick, who had possessed Lethington, and intromitted with the rents of that estate, the benignity of his temper warrants our supposing, in the absence of historical evidence, that he did not pursue his rights with any violent or revengeful feelings.

The age and infirmities of Sir Richard now appear to have incapacitated him in a great measure for the performance of his duties as a judge. Throughout his career the conduct of his brother judges towards him was marked by the utmost kindness and sympathy for his distressing malady. As early as January, 1561, they had ordered the macers "to suffer one of the old laird of Lethintone's sones to come in within all the barres as oy^r pro^{rs}. doe, and to issue as they doe, for awaiting on his father for the notoriety of his father's infirmity," and he now (3d of December 1583,) obtained leave to attend court only when he pleased, with the assurance that he "should lose no part of the contribution in consequence of absence." In May 1584, he was further exempted from the examination of witnesses, "provyding he cause his sone (Thirlstane), or his goodson the laird of Whittingham, use the utter tolebooth for him in calling of matters, and reporting the interloquitors as use is." When he was at last under the necessity of retiring altogether from the bench, it was under circumstances which no less strongly show the public estimation of his character. He was allowed the privilege of nominating his successor,—a privilege of the extension of which lord Pitmedden considers this as the first instance. Accordingly on the 1st of July, 1584, he resigned in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoll, being now, as his majesty's letter to the court expresses, "sa debilitat that he is not able to mak sic continual residens as he wald give, and being movit in conscience that, be his absence, for laik of number justice may be retardit and parteis frustrat." At length, after a life, certainly not without its troubles, but supported throughout by the answer of a good conscience and by

much natural hilarity, he closed his days on the 20th of March, 1586, at the venerable age of ninety. Living in an age, marked, perhaps more strongly than any other in our history, by treachery and every vice which can debase mankind, he lived uncontaminated by the moral atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and has had the happiness,—certainly not the lot of every good man,—of being uniformly noticed, whether by friends or enemies, by his contemporaries or by posterity, with the highest respect. There is but one exception to this general tribute to his virtues,—the accusation in John Knox's History, of his having been bribed to allow cardinal Beaton to escape from imprisonment. The foundation of this charge is, however, doubtful; for, although the candour and accuracy of Knox's History cannot be impeached, it may still be admitted, from the peculiar position of the parties, that the historian's mind was liable to receive an erroneous impression of Maitland's conduct.

The works of Sir Richard Maitland exhibit him in the characters of a lawyer, a poet, and an historian. Of the work belonging to the first of these classes it is only necessary to say, that it consists of "Decisions from the 15th December 1550, to the penult July 1565;" being a continuation of the body of decisions known by the title of Sinclair's Practicks, and that a copy of it, with the additions of the viscount Kingston, is preserved in MS. in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. His poetical collections consist of two kinds,—those works which were merely collected by him, and specimens of which have long been before the public,—and his own poems, the greater portion of which have not been printed till a very late date.

If it be true, as has been often asserted, that the habits and feelings of a people are best known by their poetry, surely the collectors in that department of a nation's literature are entitled to no inconsiderable portion of its gratitude. The labours of Asloan, Maitland, and Bannatyne have especial claims on our attention, as in them are to be found nearly all that remains of the Scottish poetry composed before their times. Of the first, John Asloan,—whose collections are preserved in the Auchinleck library, but unfortunately in a mutilated state,—little or nothing can be ascertained; and of George Bannatyne a notice has already been given in this work. Our attention must therefore be directed to the collections of the subject of this memoir.

Sir Richard Maitland appears to have been engaged in forming his collections of poetry before he became blind,—probably about the year 1555,—and although one of the volumes is dated 1585, it is conjectured that it was the arrangement of them only that could have been the work of his later years. The collections consist of two volumes,—a folio, comprehending 176 articles, and a quarto of 96 pieces; the latter in the handwriting of Mary Maitland, Sir Richard's daughter. They are now preserved in the Pepysian library, Magdalene college, Cambridge; but, from the regulations prescribed by the founder of that institution, they cannot be consulted except within its walls, and although its officers afford every facility which their duty permits, it must be a subject of regret to every lover of Scottish poetry that they are not in a more accessible situation. It is true, indeed, that in 1784 or 1785, the late Mr Pinkerton was furnished by Dr Peckhard with all the means of consulting them with advantage, and that he published selections from them in his *Ancient Scottish Poems*; but the charges of interpolation which have been brought against him, must make his work a subject of doubt and suspicion.

Sir Richard Maitland did not produce any of his own poems at the period when ardour of mind or ambition for distinction may be supposed to prompt men to enter that walk of literature. They were all written after his sixtieth year. They are the tranquil productions of age, and of a mind regulated by

the purest principles. The subjects, too, correspond with the age at which they were written,—most of them being of a moral or historical description. By far the most frequent subjects of his poems are lamentations for the distracted state of his native country,—the feuds of the nobles,—the discontents of the common people,—complaints “Aganis the lang proces in the courts of justice,”—“The evillis of new found lawis,” and the depredations “Of the border robbers.” Not the least interesting of his productions—are those which he entitles Satyres: one of these, on “The Town Ladyes,” in particular presents us with a most curious picture of the habits and dispositions of the fair sex in his day, and amply demonstrates that the desire of aping the appearance and manners of the higher ranks is by no means the peculiar offspring of our degenerate age. Sir Richard’s poetical writings were for the first time printed in an entire and distinct form, in 1830, (in one 4to volume) by the Maitland Club, a society of literary antiquaries, taking its name from this distinguished collector of early Scottish poetry.

It may probably be unknown to most of our readers, that a poet from whose mortal sight the book of knowledge was no less shut out than from the eye of the poet of *Paradise Lost*, has also written a poem on the subject of—

—Man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe.

Except in the subject, however, there is no resemblance between the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and Sir Richard Maitland’s “Ballat of the Creatioun of the World, Man his Fall and Redemptioun.” From the latter poem, the following passages are selected:—

God be his Word his wark began,
To forme the erth and hevin for man,
The sie and watter deip;
The sone, the mune, the starris bricht,
The day divydit frome the nicht,
Thair coursis for to keip;
The beistis that on the grund do mufe,
And fische in to the sie,
Fowlis in the air to fle abufe,
Off ilk kind creat hee;
Sum creeping, sum fleiting
Sum fleing in the air,
So leichtly, so lichtly,
In moving heir and thair.

The workis of grit magnificence,
Perfytet be his providence,
According to his will;
Nixt maid he man; to gif him gloir.
Did with his ymage him decoir,
Gaif paradise him till;
Into that garding hevinly wrocht,
With plesouris mony one;
The beistis of every kynd war brocht,
Thair names he sowld expone;

Thame nemmyng and kennyng,
 As he list for to call;
 For pleising and cising
 Of man, subdewit thame all.

In hevynly joy man so possest,
 To be alone God thocht not best,
 Maid Evo to be his maik;
 Bad thame inress and multiplie;
 And eit of every fruit and trie,
 Thair plesour thay sowld taik,
 Except the trie of gud and ill,
 That in the middis dois stand;
 Forbad that thay sowld cum it till,
 Or twiche it with thair hand;
 Leist plucking or hucking,
 Baith thay and als thair seid,
 Seveirly, awsteirly,
 Sowld dye without remeid.

The poem thus concludes :—

Behald the stait that man was in,
 And als how it he tynt throw sin,
 And loist the same for ay;
 Yit God his promeiss dois performe,
 Send his Sone of the Virgeny borne,
 Oure ransome for to pay
 To that grit God let us gif gloir,
 To us has bene so gude,
 Quha be his death did us restoir,
 Quhairof we war denude;
 Nocht karing nor sparing;
 His body to be rent,
 Redemyng, relieving,
 Ws quhen we war all schent.

The historical writings of Sir Richard Maitland were the productions of an earlier period than his poems. The principal historical work of Sir Richard that has come down to us, is "The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surname of Seytoun, to the moneth of November, in the yeir of God, Jm. Vc. lix. yeiris; collectit, gaderit, and set furth be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, Dochteris Sonn of the said Hous." This work was printed in 1829 for the Maitland Club. Another of his works bears the following title: "Heir followis ane Brief and Compendious Tabill or Catholog of the Names of the Kingis of Scotland, France, and England, with the dait of thair Reignis; togidder with the Successioun of King Malcolme Caimmoir, and of all Kingis of Scotland sensyn, to the dait heirop; quham thay Mareit; quhat Successioun they had; with quham they war Allyat. Collectit, gatherit, and set furth be Sr. Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knyt. The yeir of God, Jm. Vc. and three scoir yeiris, the xiiij day of the moinethe of October."

By his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Cranston of Corsby, Sir Richard Maitland had a numerous family. It is said that he had seven sons, three of whom, William, John, and Thomas, rose to eminence—and four daughters—Helen, married to John Cockburn of Clerkington; Margaret, to William Douglas of Whittingham; Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hatton; and Isabel, to James Heriot of Trabroun.

MAITLAND, WILLIAM, an antiquarian writer of some note, is generally represented as having been born at Brechin in the year 1693, though there is reason to suppose the date of his birth to have been somewhat earlier. He does not appear in his writings to have been a man of liberal education. His first employment was that of a hair merchant; in the prosecution of which business, he travelled into Sweden and Denmark, to Hamburg, and other places, and appears to have realized considerable wealth. At length he settled in London, and applied himself to the study of English and Scottish antiquities. In 1733, he was elected a member of the Royal, and in 1735, a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, which latter honour he resigned in 1740, on going to reside in the country. His first publication was his *History of London*, which appeared in 1739, and was chiefly valuable for a reason little creditable to the author,—namely, its being in a great measure a reduction of the ancient and scarce work of Stow. In 1740, he retired to Scotland; and in 1753, published his “*History of Edinburgh*,” which is by far the most useful and creditable of all his works. He was not here assisted to any considerable degree by preceding authorities: the volume is chiefly compiled from original documents, and must have been accordingly a work of very great labour. In point of composition, it is very deficient. The style is mean, and the whole tone of the work that of a plain, dull old man. It also bears in some parts the traces of credulity and narrowness of understanding on the part of the author. As a compilation of facts, it is, nevertheless, very valuable. In 1757, Maitland published a “*History of Scotland*,” in two volumes folio, a work absolutely destitute of reputation. He died at Montrose, July 16, 1757, “at an advanced age,” say the obituary notices, and possessed of above £10,000.

MALCOLM, (Sir) JOHN, a distinguished soldier and diplomatist, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, on the 2nd of May, 1769. This farm was granted to the paternal grandfather of Sir John, at a low rent, by the earl of Dalkeith, in 1707; it subsequently became the residence of George Malcolm, the father of Sir John, who married Miss Pasley, daughter of James Pasley, Esq. of Craig and Burn, by whom he had seventeen children, fifteen surviving to maturity. Of these children, three attained to a high station and title; namely, Sir Pulteney, vice-admiral, R. N.; Sir James, lieutenant-colonel of marines; both of whom are Knight Companions of the Bath; and the subject of this memoir. The farm is still in possession of the family.

Sir John Malcolm entered life in 1782, as a cadet in the service of the East India Company; and a part of his success is to be ascribed to the zeal with which he applied himself at first to study the manners and languages of the east. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792, he was appointed by lord Cornwallis to the situation of Persian interpreter to an English force serving with a native prince. In 1795, on his return from a short visit to his native country, on account of his health, he performed some useful services in general Clarke's expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, for which he received the thanks of the Madras government, and was appointed secretary to the commander-in-chief. In 1797, he was made captain; and from that time to 1799, he was engaged in a variety of important services, terminating at the fall of Seringapatam, where he highly distinguished himself. He was then appointed joint secretary with captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, to the commissioners for settling the new government of Mysore. In the same year, he was selected by Lord Wellesley to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Persia, where he concluded two treaties of great importance, one political, and the other commercial; returning to Bombay in May, 1801. His services were acknowledged by his being appointed private secretary to the governor-general. In

January, 1802, he was raised to the rank of major; and on the occasion of the Persian ambassador being accidentally shot at Bombay, he was again entrusted with a mission to that empire, in order to make the requisite arrangements for the renewal of the embassy, which he accomplished in a manner that afforded the highest satisfaction to the Company. In January, 1803, he was nominated to the presidency of Mysore, and to act without special instructions; and in December, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the June of the following year, he was appointed chief agent of the governor-general, and he continued to serve in that capacity until March, 1806, having successfully concluded several very important treaties during that period.

Upon the arrival in India, in April, 1808, of the new governor-general, lord Minto, colonel Malcolm was sent by his lordship to the court of Persia on a very important mission—that of endeavouring to counteract the designs of Bonaparte, then in the zenith of his power, who threatened an invasion of India by way of Persia, supported by the Persian and Turkish governments. In this difficult embassy, colonel Malcolm did not wholly succeed. He returned to Calcutta in the following August, and soon afterwards proceeded to his residence at Mysore, after having, to use the words of lord Minto, “laid the government under additional obligations to his zeal and ability.” Early in the year 1810, he was again selected to proceed in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Persia, whence he returned upon the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley, as ambassador. So favourable was the impression which he made, on this occasion, on the Persian prince, that he was presented by him with a valuable sword and star, and, at the same time, made a khan and sepahdar of the empire; to that impression, indeed, may be ascribed much of the good understanding, both in a political and commercial point of view, which afterwards subsisted between this country and Persia. During this embassy, while at Bagdad, colonel Malcolm transmitted to the government of Bengal his final report of the affairs of Persia—a document so highly appreciated, that the government acknowledged its receipt to the secret committee in terms of unqualified praise.

In 1812, colonel Malcolm again visited his native shores. He was received by the court of directors of the East India Company, with the deepest regard and acknowledgment of his merits; and shortly afterwards he received the honour of knighthood. He returned to India in 1816, and soon became engaged in extensive political and military duties; he was attached, as political agent of the governor-general, to the force under lieutenant-general Sir T. Hislop, and appointed to command the third division of the army, with which, after taking Talym by surprise, he acted a prominent part in the celebrated battle of Mehidpoor, when the army under Mulhar Rao Holkar was completely beaten, and put to rout. His skill and valour on this occasion were the theme of general admiration. A vote of thanks was awarded him, on the proposal of Mr Canning, by the house of commons; and the prince regent expressed his regret that the circumstance of his not having attained the rank of major-general prevented his creating him a knight grand cross. The intention of his royal highness to do so was, nevertheless, recorded, and in 1821 he accordingly received the highest honour which a soldier can receive from his sovereign. After the termination of the war with the Mahrattas and Pindarees, to which colonel Malcolm's services had eminently contributed, he was employed by lord Hastings in visiting and settling the distracted territories of Mulhar Rao, which, and other services, he accomplished in a most satisfactory manner, gaining to British India a large accession of territory and treasure.

At the end of the year 1821, he resolved to return once more to England; on which occasion the general orders contained the following paragraph:—

“ Although his excellency the governor-general in council refrains from the specific mention of the many recorded services which have placed Sir John Malcolm in the first rank of those officers of the Honourable Company’s service, who have essentially contributed to the renown of the British arms and counsels in India, his lordship cannot omit this opportunity of declaring his unqualified approbation of the manner in which Sir John Malcolm has discharged the arduous and important functions of his high political and military station in Malwah. By a happy combination of qualities, which could not fail to earn the esteem and confidence, both of his own countrymen and of the native inhabitants of all classes, by the unremitting personal exertion and devotion of his time and leisure to the maintenance of the interests confided to his charge, and by an enviable talent for inspiring all who acted under his orders with his own energy and zeal, Sir John Malcolm has been enabled, in the successful performance of the duty assigned to him, in the Mulwah, to surmount difficulties of no ordinary stamp, and to lay the foundations of repose and prosperity in that extensive province, but recently reclaimed from a state of savage anarchy, and a prey to every species of rapine and devastation. The governor-general in council feels assured that the important services thus rendered to his country by Sir John Malcolm, at the close of an active and distinguished career, will be not less gratefully acknowledged by the authorities at home, than they are cordially applauded by those under whose immediate orders they have been performed.”

Sir John returned to England in April, 1822, with the rank of major-general, and soon after he was presented by those who had acted under him in the war of 1818 and 1819, with a superb vase of the value of £1500. During this visit to England, Sir John received a proud testimony of the favour of the East India Company, and acknowledgment of the utility of his public career, in a grant, passed unanimously by a general court of proprietors, of a thousand pounds per annum, in consideration of his distinguished merits and services.

Sir John had quitted India with the determination to spend the evening of his life in his native country; but the solicitations of the court of directors, and of his majesty’s ministers for India affairs, induced him again to embark in the service of his country, where experience had so fully qualified him to act with advantage. In July, 1827, he was appointed to the high and respectable situation of governor of Bombay, which post he continued to fill until 1831, when he finally returned to England, having effected, during the few years of his governorship, incalculable benefits both for this country, our Indian territories, and every class of the inhabitants there. Upon his leaving Bombay, the different bodies of the people seemed to vie with each other in giving proofs of the esteem and high consideration in which he was held. The principal European gentlemen of Bombay requested sir John to sit for his statue, afterwards executed by Chantrey, and erected in Bombay; the members of the Asiatic Society requested a bust of him, to be placed in their library; the native gentlemen of Bombay solicited his portrait, to be placed in their public room; the East India Amelioration Society voted him a service of plate; the natives, both of the presidency and the provinces addressed him as their friend and benefactor; and the United Society of Missionaries, including English, Scottish, and Americans, acknowledged with gratitude the aids they had received from him in the prosecution of their pious labours, and their deep sense of his successful endeavours to promote the interests of truth and humanity, with the welfare and prosperity of his country and his countrymen. These were apt and gratifying incidents in the closing scene of his long and arduous services in our Indian empire. But, whether at home or abroad, all parties who knew any thing of his career concurred in awarding him the highest praises, both as a civil, mili-

tary, and political character; and the brief encomium of Mr Canning in parliament, that he was "a gallant officer, whose name would be remembered in India as long as the British flag is hoisted in that country," is only in accordance with the universal opinion of his merits.

Shortly after Sir John's arrival in England in 1831, he was returned to parliament for the burgh of Launceston, and took an active part in the proceedings upon several important questions, particularly the Scottish reform bill, which he warmly opposed. He frequently addressed the house at length; and his speeches were characterized by an intimate knowledge of the history and constitution of his country, by a happy arrangement, and much elegance of expression. Upon the dissolution of parliament in 1832, Sir John became a candidate for the Dumfries district of burghs; but being too late in entering the field, and finding a majority of the electors had promised their votes, he did not persevere. He was then solicited to become a candidate for the city of Carlisle, and complied; but having been too late in coming forward, and being personally unknown in the place, the result of the first day's poll decided the election against him. Sir John then retired to his seat near Windsor, and employed himself in writing a work upon the government of India, with the view of elucidating the difficult questions relating to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of his last public acts was an able speech in the general court of proprietors of East India Stock, and the introduction of certain resolutions relative to the proposals of government respecting the charter—which resolutions were, after several adjourned discussions, adopted by a large majority. His last public address was at a meeting in the Thatched House Tavern, for the purpose of forming a subscription to buy up the mansion of Sir Walter Scott for his family; and on that occasion, his concluding sentiment was, "that when he was gone, his son might be proud to say, that his father had been among the contributors to that shrine of genius." On the day following he was struck with paralysis, the disorder which had just carried off the illustrious person on whose account this address had been made. His death took place in Prince's Street, Hanover Square, London, on the 31st of May, 1833.

As an author, the name of Sir John Malcolm will occupy no mean place in the annals of British literature. His principal works are—A Sketch of the Sikhs, a singular nation in the province of the Penjamb, in India; The History of Persia, from the earliest period to the present time; Sketches of Persia; A Memoir of Central India; and his treatise on the Administration of British India, which was published only a few weeks before his death. Sir John had also been engaged for some time before his death in writing a life of lord Clive, which afterwards appeared.

Sir John married, on the 4th of June, 1807, Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Sir Alexander Campbell, baronet, who was commander-in-chief at Madras, by whom he left five children, viz:—Margaret, married to her cousin, the present Sir Alexander Campbell; George Alexander, a captain in the Guards; Charlotte Olympia; Anne Amelia; and Catharine Wellesley.

Upon the public character of Sir John Malcolm it would be superfluous to pass any lengthened eulogium in this place, since that character is so forcibly and faithfully sketched in the facts we have just recorded. Let it suffice to say, that he was a true patriot; that the chief end and aim of his public life was to advance the prosperity of his country—to promote the condition of every class of his fellow creatures. Such is the conclusion which the records of his life enable us to draw; and his private character was in perfect keeping with it: he was warmly attached to his kindred and connexions; as a friend, he was

constant and devoted; and all his social qualities might be said to "lean to virtue's side." Last, though not least of all, he was a sincere and devout Christian; and in every part of the world where it was his fortune to be placed, and under whatever circumstances, he never shrunk from any opportunity of evincing his deep regard for the religion of his country.

MALLET, DAVID, a poet and miscellaneous writer, is said to have been a descendant of the clan Macgregor, so well known for its crimes, and persecution. When that unhappy race were proscribed by a solemn act of state, an ancestor of the poet escaped to the lowlands, and assumed the fictitious name of Malloch. James Malloch, the father of the poet, kept a small public house at Crieff, on the borders of the Highlands, where it is supposed that David was born, about the year 1700. Of his career from youth to manhood, nothing certain is known, nor whence he first derived his education, as, in after life, either through pride or prejudice, he studiously endeavoured to conceal his true name and origin.

Having studied for a time under Mr Ker, a professor in Aberdeen, he, it appears, removed to Edinburgh, where he was, in 1720, employed in the station of tutor to the children of a Mr Home; he at the same time attended the university of that city. He had while at Aberdeen early exercised himself in poetical composition; and a pastoral and some other small pieces which he wrote about this period, attracted the notice of many of the Scottish literati, by whom he was kindly sought after. Finding his situation in Mr Home's family by no means agreeable, being treated, it is said, with great illiberality, he anxiously sought to change it, and was so fortunate as to be recommended by the professors of the college to the duke of Montrose, who wanted a fit person to be tutor to his two sons, who were then going to Winchester. It is obvious that he must have conducted himself while at college with uncommon zeal and propriety, as nothing but superior ability could have procured for a youth so humbly connected, so marked a preference over the rest of his fellow students. He was most kindly received in his grace's family; and, on coming to London in the winter, attended his noble pupils to most places of public amusement, and still further improved himself in polite literature, and a knowledge of the world.

Malloch accompanied his noble pupils to the continent, and made what is usually called the grand tour. On their return to London, he still continued to reside with that illustrious family, where, from his advantageous station, he got by degrees introduced to the most polished circle of society. In 1723, in a periodical work of Aaron Hill's, called the Plain Dealer, No. 36, Malloch's pleasing ballad of William and Margaret first appeared. The beauty of the production was so highly praised, that it inspired him with courage to apply himself closely to his poetical studies, which he had for some time neglected. "Of this poem," says Dr Johnson, "he has been envied the reputation; and plagiarism has been boldly charged, but never proved,"—though "in its original state it was very different from what it is in the latter edition of his works." It is, however, evident that the idea of the ballad was taken from two much older ones, namely, William's Ghaist, and Fair Margaret. From these he borrowed largely, both in sentiment and expression. Still, notwithstanding all traces of imitation, as a modern biographer truly observes, "there is enough of Mallet's own in the ballad of William and Margaret, to justify all the poetical reputation which it procured for its author." The fame so justly acquired by his illustrious countryman, Thomson, whose friendship he had the honour to enjoy, stimulated him to imitate his style; and, in 1728, he produced a poem under the title of the Excursion. It is a collection of

poetical landscapes, sketched with some skill and elegance, in imitation of the Seasons, but much inferior in strength and sublimity. About this time he adopted the foolish conceit of changing his name from *Malloch* to Mallet, to conceal from common observation his country and origin; having, as Dr Johnson satirically remarks, "by degrees cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation, so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot, he seemed inclined to disincumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch *Malloch* to English *Mallet*, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover."

Mallet next produced a tragedy, called *Eurydice*, which he had planned some years before: it was first brought on the stage in 1737, and met with no very flattering reception. Garrick, several years afterwards, when Mallet enjoyed both fame and fortune, again introduced *Eurydice* to the public; but not even the talents of that unrivalled actor, assisted by the celebrated Mrs Cibber, could make it be tolerated for any length of time. Though so ably supported in the principal parts, so gross was the egotism of Mallet, that, as Davies tells us, he sat all the time in the orchestra, and bestowed his execrations plentifully on the players, to whom he entirely attributed the bad success of the piece.

Mallet now left the family of the duke of Montrose, and went to reside with a Mr Knight at Gosfield, probably as a teacher; but still he had made an impression, and enjoyed the esteem of the first literary characters of the day. There is a remarkable letter extant, from Pope to Mr Knight, in which he speaks of Mallet in the following affectionate terms:—"To prove to you how little essential to friendship I hold letter-writing—I have not yet written to Mr Mallet, whom I love and esteem greatly; nay, whom I know to have as tender a heart, and that feels a remembrance as long as any man." With what heartless ingratitude Mallet returned this noble expression of confident esteem, will be seen afterwards. Proud in the first instance of being honoured by the particular regard of so eminent a poet, he servilely employed his pen, by attacking Bentley, to please Pope, whose ridicule of critics and commentators he echoed in a poem, published in 1733, entitled *Verbal Criticism*. It is stuffed, as Bentley observes, "with illiberal cant about pedantry and collections of manuscripts. Real scholars will always speak with due regard of such names as the Scaligers, Salmasiuses, Heinsiuses, Burmans, Gronoviuses, Reiskiuses, Marklands, Gesners, and Heynes." Dr Johnson considered the versification above mediocrity, which is all that can be said in its praise. About this time, Frederick, prince of Wales, being at variance with his father, kept what was considered an opposition court, where he affected the patronage of men of letters, with the hope of adding to his popularity. Mallet, through the recommendation of his friends, had the good fortune to be appointed under-secretary to his royal highness, with a salary of £200 a-year. "He attended the prince of Orange to Oxford in 1734, and presented to him a copy of verses, written in the name of the university; on which occasion he was admitted to the degree of M.A. Had then the Oxford muses lost their voice? or did he assume a fictitious character, for the purpose of spontaneous adulation? The circumstance is certainly extraordinary." In 1739, he published his tragedy of *Mustapha*: it was brought on the stage under the patronage of the prince of Wales, to whom it was dedicated. The first representation of the piece is said to have been honoured with the presence of all the leading members of the opposition. The characters of Solyman the Magnificent, and Rustan his Vizier, were generally supposed to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole; notwithstanding which, it was licensed by the lord chamberlain, and performed with much applause to crowded houses. But in proportion as the public mind was diverted by

the appearance of another set of political actors than those to whom the play was said to refer, it lost its only attraction, and sunk with his *Eurydice* into oblivion, whence neither is likely to be ever called forth. In the following year, Mallet wrote, in conjunction with Thomson, by command of the prince, the masque of "Alfred," in honour of the birth-day of his eldest daughter, the princess Augusta. It was first acted in the gardens of Clifden, by a set of performers brought from London for the express purpose; and after Thomson's death, Mallet revised it for Drury Lane theatre, where it had, with the aid of music and splendid scenery, a run for a short time.

The same year he published his principal prose work, the *Life of Lord Bacon*, prefixed to a new edition of the works of that illustrious person. In point of style, it may be considered as an elegant and judicious piece of biography, but nothing more. To develop the vast treasures stored in the mighty intellect of Bacon, was a task to which the best intellects of that and a succeeding age would have failed to do justice. Of Mallet's performance, Dr Johnson merely says, that "it is known as appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned."

In 1742, Mallet made a considerable addition to his fortune by marriage. He had already buried one wife, by whom he had several children; but of her there is little or no account. His second choice was Miss Lucy Estob, the daughter of the earl of Carlisle's steward, with whom he received a portion of £10,000. From his various sources of income, Mallet may be considered as one of the most fortunate worshippers of the Muses in his day, and hence, becoming either indifferent or lazy, he allowed seven years to pass over without favouring the public with any thing from his pen. When at length his *Hermit*, or *Amyntor and Theodora*, appeared, critics were much divided in their opinions of its merits. Dr Warton, in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*, says it "exhibits a nauseous affectation, expressing every thing pompously and poetically," while Dr Johnson praises it for "copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy." Up to this period the character of Mallet stood deservedly high with the public as an author, but we now come to a part of his history when he drew down upon his head the severe but just censure of all honourable men.

Pope, who honoured Mallet with his friendship at a time when a favourable word from the bard of Twickenham was sufficient to advance the interests of any genius, however depressed by obscurity, had now introduced Mallet to lord Bolingbroke, at the time when the *Patriot King* was first written by his lordship. Only seven copies were printed, and given to some particular friends of the author, including Pope, with a positive injunction against publication, Bolingbroke assigning as a reason that the work was not finished in a style sufficiently to his satisfaction before he would consent to let it go forth to the world. Pope obliged his friend Mr Ralph Allen of Prior Park, near Bath, with the loan of his copy, stating to him at the same time the injunction of lord Bolingbroke; but that gentleman was so delighted with the work, that he pressed Pope to allow him to print a limited impression at his own cost, promising at the same time to observe the strictest caution, and not to permit a single copy to get into the hands of any individual until the consent of the author could be obtained. Under this condition Pope consented, and an edition was printed, packed up, and deposited in a ware-room, of which Pope received the key. There it remained until, by the untimely death of Pope, the transaction came to the knowledge of lord Bolingbroke, who felt or affected to feel, the highest indignation at what he called Pope's breach of faith. Mallet,

it was generally believed at the time, was the person who informed his lordship of the transaction, but it has never been sufficiently proved that he was the unworthy author. Mr George Rose, to whom all the particulars of the story were related by the earl of Marchmont, the intimate friend of Bolingbroke, gives us an account of the discovery which clears Mallet of all blame. "On the circumstance," he says, "being made known to lord Bolingbroke, who was then a guest in his own house at Battersea with lord Marchmont, to whom he had lent it for two or three years, his lordship was in great indignation; to appease which, lord Marchmont sent Mr Grevinkop to bring out the whole edition, of which a bonfire was instantly made on the Terrace at Battersea." This, however, did not by any means appease his lordship's angry feelings. He determined on revising and publishing the work himself, and employed Mallet to write a preface, in which the part that Pope had acted was to be set forth to the world in the blackest and falsest colours possible. To the lasting disgrace of his character, he was found ready to stoop to so vile and dishonourable a task. It would be vain to seek for any palliation of such egregious turpitude. He was rich, and placed beyond the craving temptation of lending himself to any one, however high in rank or interest, to defile his pen by so unworthy a task. But no compunctious visiting of honour ever once stayed his hand, or prevented him from heaping the most malignant abuse upon his departed friend, for an affair in which, it is evident, there was nothing dishonourable intended, either on the part of Pope or Allen. Every fact that could tend to exonerate Mr Pope, particularly the share his friend had in the business, and the careful suppression of the copies until Bolingbroke's permission for their publication could be procured is studiously concealed. "How far Mallet was acquainted with all these circumstances we cannot pretend to affirm." Nor need any one care about the proportions in which they divide the infamy between them.

The unmitigated resentment of lord Bolingbroke, for the evidently unintentional error of a friend whom he almost worshipped while living, is endeavoured to be accounted for by the preference Pope gave to Warburton, whom Bolingbroke could never endure. Be that as it may; if true, it only proves the meanness of his lordship's character, and how much mistaken Pope was in the man whose name he embalmed within his deathless page, as a pattern for the most exalted and disinterested friendship. But though such may have been his lordship's feelings, pride must have made him conceal the true cause from Mallet, who had nothing but the sordid temptation of a ready hireling to incite him to the odious task. He was rewarded for this service at the death of lord Bolingbroke, by the bequest of his lordship's works, with the care and profit of those already published, as well as all his manuscripts.

Mallet, who cared as little for the fame or character of his noble benefactor as he did for the illustrious friend he was hired to traduce, with the true spirit of avarice, raked up every scrap of Bolingbroke's writings for publication, without in the least discriminating what ought to be suppressed, though many of the papers contained the most offensive doctrines, subversive of sound morals and revealed religion; the consequence was, that his hopes of gain were very properly frustrated by a presentment which arose from a decision of the grand jury of Westminster, stopping the obnoxious works. This must have sorely affected him, for, before the publication of the five vols. 4to, in 1754, he was offered, by one Millar, a bookseller, £3000 for his copyright, which he refused. After all, the sale was so extremely slow, that it took upwards of twenty years to dispose of the first edition, though assisted by the notoriety of the prosecution of the work. He next appears as an author in, if possible, a more odious

light. The disastrous affair of Minorca, at the commencement of the war of 1756, had rendered the ministry unpopular. Mallet was employed to divert the public odium, and turn it upon the unfortunate Admiral Byng. For this purpose he wrote a paper under the character of A Plain Man, in which the disgrace brought upon the British arms in the affair of Minorca, was entirely imputed to the cowardice of the admiral. It was circulated with great industry. How cruelly it effected its purpose need not be told. Byng is now universally considered to have been offered up as a victim to the popular clamour which was thus raised against him, rather than from actual demerit in his conduct. "The price of blood," says Dr Johnson, with fearful but just severity, "was a pension which Mallet retained till his death." He continued to exercise his talent for poetical composition, and published a collection of his works, dedicated to great patrons. At the beginning of the reign of George III., when lord Bute was placed in power, Mallet, who never let an opportunity slip for serving his own interests, enlisted under the ministerial banners, and offered a two-fold service to the cause, by his Truth in Rhyme, and a tragedy called Elvira, imitated from La Motte, and applicable to the politics of the day. His reward was, the place of keeper of the book of entries for the port of London. The Critical Review of that period praised the tragedy in the highest degree; but it is asserted that Mallet had the superintendence of that publication, and was the critic of his own works. On the death of the celebrated duchess of Marlborough, in 1744, it was found by her will, that she left to Mr Glover, the author of Leonidas, and Mr Mallet, jointly, the sum of £1,000, on condition that they drew up, from the family papers, a History of the Life of the Great Duke. The legacy, however, was found to be clogged with so many unpleasant restrictions, that Glover, with the true independence of a man of genius, declined any share in the onerous task. Mallet, who never was troubled by any misgiving of conscience, accepted the legacy, under all stipulations, and was put in possession of the papers necessary for proceeding with the work. The second duke of Marlborough, in order to stimulate his industry, added, in the most liberal manner, an annual pension to the legacy. Mallet pretended all along, that he was deeply engaged in forwarding the work for publication, and in a dedication to his Grace, of a collection of his poems, he spoke of having soon the honour of dedicating to him the life of his illustrious predecessor. But, on the death of Mallet, not a vestige of any such work could be found, nor did it appear, that, after all the money he had received, he had even written a line of it. While he continued to delude his patron and friends, with the expectation of seeing his great work appear, he made the imposition subservient to his interest in many ways. In a familiar conversation with Garrick, and boasting of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the Life of Marlborough, he hinted, that in the series of great men quickly to be exhibited, he should find a niche for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced, but Mallet let him know, that by a dexterous anticipation, he should fix him in a conspicuous place. "Mr Mallet," says Garrick, in his gratitude of exultation, "have you left off to write for the stage?" Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands—Garrick promised to act it, and Alfred was produced. Mallet, finding his health in a declining state, went, accompanied by his wife, to the south of France, for the benefit of a change of air, but after some time, finding no improvement, he returned to England, where he died on the 21st April, 1765. Dr Johnson says, "His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed. His appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it." His second

wife is reported to have been particularly proud, and anxious that he should, at all times, appear like a man of the first rank. She reserved to herself the pleasing task of purchasing all his fine clothes, and was always sure to let her friends know it was out of her fortune she did so. As Mallet was what is called a free thinker in religion, his wife also, who prided herself in the strength of her understanding, scrupled not, when surrounded at her table with company of congenial opinions, amongst whom it is said Gibbon was a frequent guest, to enforce her dogmas in a truly authoritative style, prefacing them with the exclamation of "Sir,—We deists." As an additional proof of the vanity and weakness of this well-matched pair, we subjoin the following anecdotes from Wilkes's Correspondence, and Johnson's Lives of the Poets:—

"On his arrival from the north, he became a great declaimer at the London coffee-houses, against the Christian religion. Old surly Dennis was highly offended at his conduct, and always called him "Moloch." He then changed his name to Mallet, and soon after published an epistle to Mr Pope on Verbal Criticism. Theobald was attacked in it, and soon avenged himself in the new edition of Shakspeare: 'An anonymous writer has, like a Scotch pedlar in wit, unbraced his pack on the subject. I may fairly say of this author, as Falstaff says of Poin—Hang him, baboon, his wit is as thick as Tewkesbury mustard; there is no more conceit in him than a *mallet*.'—Preface, p. 52, edition of 1733. This Malloch had the happiness of a wife, who had *faith* enough. She *believed* that her husband was the greatest poet and wit of the age. Sometimes she would seize his hand, and kiss it with rapture, and if the looks of a friend expressed any surprise, would apologize that it was the dear hand that wrote those divine poems. She was lamenting to a lady how much the reputation of her husband suffered by his name being so frequently confounded with that of Dr Smollett. The lady answered, 'Madam, there is a short remedy; let your husband keep his own name.'

"When Pope published his Essay on Man, but concealed the author, Mallet entering one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him that the newest piece was *something* called an Essay on Man, which he had inspected idly, and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing, nor knowledge of the subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret."

"Mallet's conversation," says Dr Johnson, "was elegant and easy, his works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, showing himself in public, and emerging, occasionally, from time to time, into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying but little information, and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topics of conversation, and other modes of amusement."

A daughter, by his first wife, named Cilesia, who was married to an Italian of rank, wrote a tragedy called "Almida," which was acted at Drury Lane theatre. She died at Genoa in 1790.

M'GAVIN, WILLIAM, a modern controversial and miscellaneous writer, was born August 12th, 1773, on the farm of Darnlaw, in the parish of Auchinleck, Ayrshire, which his father held on lease from lord Auchinleck, and afterwards from his son James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. A short attendance at the school of that parish, when about seven years of age, constituted the whole education of a regular kind, which the subject of this memoir ever enjoyed. His parents having removed in 1783 to Paisley, and being in by no means affluent circumstances, he was sent at an early period of life to earn his bread as a draw-boy in one of the manufactories. Subsequently he tried weaving of silk, but eventually was led by his taste for reading to become apprentice

to Mr John Neilson, printer and bookseller; a situation highly congenial to his taste, and which afforded him the means of cultivating his mind to a considerable extent. Among various persons of talent and information who frequented Mr Neilson's shop was the unfortunate Alexander Wilson, poet, and afterwards the distinguished ornithologist, who, finding it necessary to remove to America, was assisted to no small extent by Mr M'Gavin. The popular opinions of that period were adopted in all their latitude by Mr M'Gavin; many fugitive pieces by him upon the question of parliamentary reform and other exciting topics, were received with approbation by those who professed similar sentiments; but it is not known that he took any more active part in the politics of the time.

The duty of reading proof-sheets in his master's shop was the circumstance which first led Mr M'Gavin to study the English language carefully; and, considering the limited nature of his education, it is surprising that he should have been able to attract notice as an author under the age of twenty.

In 1793, having left Mr Neilson's shop, he was found qualified to assist his elder brother in the management of a school, where writing, arithmetic, and mathematics were taught. Of this seminary he afterwards became sole master; but he ultimately abandoned teaching as a pursuit not agreeable to his genius or temper, and in 1798, was engaged as book-keeper and clerk by Mr David Lamb, an American cotton merchant, to whose two sons he at the same time acted as tutor. Some years afterwards, on Mr Lamb removing to America, Mr M'Gavin became his partner; the business was carried on in Glasgow. In 1805, Mr M'Gavin married Miss Isabella Campbell of Paisley. As his business was of a light nature, and Mrs M'Gavin brought him no children, he enjoyed more leisure for the cultivation of his mind than falls to the lot of most merchants in the busy capital of the west of Scotland. At a later period, after the death of his original patron, he entered into partnership with the son of that gentleman, and carried on what is called a West India business under the firm of M'Gavin and Lamb. This ultimately proving unprofitable, he was induced, in 1822, to undertake the Glasgow agency of the British Linen Company's bank, which he conducted without intermission till his death.

Mr M'Gavin was brought up by his parents in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian faith, as professed by the congregations of original anti-burghers. About the year 1800, a conscientious dissent from the views of this body respecting church government induced him to join the Rev. Mr Ramsay in the formation of an independent or congregational church. In this communion he began to exercise a gift of preaching, with which he was endowed in a remarkable degree, receiving from Mr Ramsay the ordination which was considered necessary for the pastoral office by this body of Christians. Eventually, circumstances so much reduced the society, as to make it cease to answer what he conceived to be the design and use of a church—namely, “not only the edification of its own members, but the public exhibition of their spirit and practice, for manifesting the glory of the grace of God, and promoting the salvation of men.” For this reason, in 1808, he joined the kindred congregation of Mr Greville Ewing in the Nile Street meeting-house, Glasgow, where he was soon afterwards invested with the office of deacon. Here he might have also continued to preach, if he had been willing; but he was now unable, from the pressure of business, to give the duty that attention which he deemed necessary, and accordingly resisted Mr Ewing's frequent and urgent solicitations, though he occasionally consented to perform public worship in the neighbouring villages, or in places where he thought such ministrations eminently necessary.

Being a man of uncommon industry, and equally great benevolence, Mr

M'Gavin found time, amidst his numerous mercantile avocations, to write a number of religious tracts and stories, for the improvement of the poorer and junior classes of society. Though these productions are of a class which do not usually attain a high place in literature, no reader, however indifferent to the subjects, or of however highly cultivated intellect, could peruse them, without remarking the extraordinary conciseness of style and moral force by which they are characterized. The most distinguished of all Mr M'Gavin's writings is his "Protestant," a series of papers, designed to expose the errors of the church of Rome, commenced in 1818, and finished in 1822. In the general decline of religious controversial writing, the celebrity acquired by this work, is a strong testimony to the powers of the author. In its collected form, in four volumes octavo, it went through no fewer than seven editions in the first ten years. According to Mr Greville Ewing, in a funeral sermon upon Mr M'Gavin, "the commencement of the work was casual, and the whole executed with hasty preparation. While engaged in a mercantile business of his own, he had at that time the winding up of an old concern of his partner, the heavy charge of another concern, which in the end proved a severe loss to him, besides other business matters, as factorships, references, as sole arbiter, in cases both from private parties and from the Court of Session, which he decided in a manner satisfactory to all concerned; and many other things were devolved on him, which none but a man of clear judgment, and unusually industrious habits, could have undertaken. A work which, otherwise, would have been extremely irksome, was rendered pleasant by the continued and increasing favour with which it was received by the public in general, and by the approbation of distinguished individuals in each of the three kingdoms. One of the most eminent bishops of the church of England offered to give him holy orders. That, however, which was most gratifying to the author, was the interest which he was honoured to excite in the public mind, with regard to the subject of popery. I make no attempt to give a particular account of the contents of this work. It is impossible, they are so extensive: it is unnecessary, they are so generally known. It is matter of notoriety, that Mr M'Gavin was prosecuted for certain articles in the Protestant, and had a verdict against him, imposing on him a fine of £100, which, with expenses, amounted to above £1200. Into the merits of these things I shall not enter, further than to state, in round numbers, that £800 of the £1200, was raised by public subscription, and that the whole, it was believed, would have been more than paid, had not each subscriber been limited to a certain sum. As the case had been so arranged, Mr M'Gavin was obliged, in the mean time, to pay the balance out of his own pocket; of which, great as the amount was, I never heard him complain. The publishers afterwards very handsomely came forward to reimburse the author, which, from the sale of the work, they were enabled to do without loss to themselves, though he had no claim upon them."

Mr M'Gavin, in 1827, superintended a new and improved edition of "The Scots Worthies," a work commemorating the lives of the most eminent Scottish clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and originally written by an unlettered individual named John Howie, of Lochgoin. The book was greatly improved by the notes of Mr M'Gavin. He soon after published a refutation of the peculiar views of Mr Cobbett in his History of the Reformation; and a similar exposure of the principles of Mr Robert Owen. Being a decided enemy to the connexion of the church and state, he was induced to embody his sentiments on that subject in a pamphlet, entitled "Church Establishments considered; in a Series of Letters to a Covenanter." Not long before his death, Mr M'Gavin superintended a new and improved edition of Knox's History of

the Reformation ; and aided with an introduction, a work by the Rev. Mr John Brown of Whitburn, entitled " Memorials of the Nonconformist Ministers of the Seventeenth Century." In the midst of his divers labours, he suddenly died of apoplexy, August 23, 1832.

Of the intellectual vigour and religious fervour of Mr M'Gavin, his published writings afford a sufficient and lasting memorial. His personal qualities are not, however, fully shown in that mirror. His diligence in his ordinary secular employments, his zeal in promoting the religious and worldly interests of all who came under his notice, his mild and amiable character in private society, are traits which must be added. Two of his most conspicuous qualities—the power of a satirist, and a certain precision which appeared in all he either spoke or wrote—might be supposed incompatible with the tenderer lights of a domestic character. But in him the one set of qualities was not more conspicuous than the other. " His personal disposition," says Mr Ewing, " was that of the publican, who pleaded with God for mercy, when he went up into the temple to pray, and returned justified, because he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Like Nathanael, he was an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. Like Paul, he was ready to call himself less than the least of all saints, and to ascribe his salvation to Jesus Christ having come into the world to save sinners, of whom he was a chief. He had, even in his natural temper, much tenderness of heart, much sincere and generous benevolence. If conscious of any quickness, which I have heard him acknowledge, but never saw, it was guarded by the vigilance of Christian meekness, and by the genuine modesty of superior good sense. Those, who knew him only from feeling the lash of his controversial writings, may have been tempted to think of him as an austere man. In truth, however, he was the very reverse.—The profits of the Protestant he once offered as a subscription to the society in this city for the support of the Catholic schools. The offer was declined, because some of the Roman catholic persuasion regarded it as an insult. I do not wonder at the misunderstanding. But had they known him as I did, and as he was known by all his familiar friends, they would have accepted of his offer, as a mark of his cordial good-will to a valuable institution."

A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

M.

MELVILLE, ANDREW, one of the most illustrious of the Scottish reformers, whose name stands next to that of Knox in the history of the Reformation, and is second to none in the erudition of the time, was born on the 1st of August, 1545, at Baldovy or Baldow, an estate on the banks of the South Esk, near Montrose, of which his father was proprietor. The form in which the family name was generally known at that time in Scotland and in foreign countries, was Melvyn or Melvin. Throughout the interesting correspondence, written in Latin, between the subject of this memoir and his amiable and accomplished nephew, whose life is recorded in the next article, the name is uniformly written Melvinus. In Fifeshire, at the present day, the name is commonly pronounced Melvin, and at an earlier period it was frequently both pronounced and written Melin, Mellin, and Melling. The Melvilles of Baldow were a family of some note in the middle of the sixteenth century, and near cadets of Melville of Raith, who was considered to be the chief of an influential name in the county of Fife. Melville of Dysart, however, was acknowledged by Andrew Melville to have been the chief of the Baldow branch of the family. Andrew was the youngest of nine sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, while he was yet only two years of age. The death of his mother, also, soon afterwards took place, and he was thus left an orphan. The loss of his parents, however, was in a great measure compensated by the kindness and tenderness of his eldest brother, and the wife of that individual, both of whom watched over his infant years with the most anxious affection and assiduity. The long-tryed and unwearied kindness of the latter, in particular, made a strong impression upon Melville, which lasted during the whole of his life.

His brother, perceiving his early propensity to learning, resolved to encourage it, and with this view gave him the best education which the country afforded. He was besides of a weakly habit of body, a consideration which had its weight in determining the line of life he should pursue. Young Melville was accordingly put to the grammar-school of Montrose, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language, and, among other accomplishments, a knowledge of Greek, which was then a rare study in Scotland. When removed, in his fourteenth year, to the university of St Andrews, he surprised his teachers by his knowledge of Greek, with which they were wholly unacquainted. He was in-

debted for this fortunate peculiarity in his education, to a Frenchman of the name of Marsilliers, who had been established as a teacher of Greek in the school of Montrose, by John Erskine of Dun.

The great progress which young Melville had made in learning, excited the astonishment and attracted the attention of the various teachers in the university; particularly Mr John Douglas, the rector, who on one occasion having taken the young and weakly boy between his knees, was so delighted with his replies, when questioned on the subject of his studies, that he exclaimed, "My silly fatherless and motherless boy, it's ill to witt [to guess] what God may make of thee yet."

The reputation which Melville acquired soon after entering the college, increased with his stay there; and he left it, on finishing the usual course of study, with the character of being "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land." Having acquired all the learning which his native country afforded, he resolved to proceed to the continent to complete his education; and, accordingly, with the consent of his brothers, set out for France in the autumn of 1564, being still only in the nineteenth year of his age. At the university of Paris, whither he repaired, he acquired a similar reputation for general talent, and particularly for his knowledge of Greek, with that which he had secured at St Andrews. Here he remained for two years, when he removed to Poitiers. On his arrival at the latter place, such was the celebrity already attached to his name, he was made regent in the college of St Marceon, although yet only twenty-one years of age. From Poitiers, he went some time afterwards to Geneva, where he was presented with the humanity chair in the academy, which happened fortunately to be then vacant. In 1574, he returned to his native country, after an absence altogether of ten years. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was invited by the regent Morton to enter his family as a domestic instructor, with a promise of advancement when opportunity should offer. This invitation he declined, alleging that he preferred an academical life, and that the object of his highest ambition was to obtain an appointment in one of the universities. He now retired to Baldov, where he spent the following three months, enjoying the society of his elder brother, and amusing himself by superintending the studies of his nephew, James Melville.

At the end of this period, he was appointed principal of the college of Glasgow by the General Assembly, and immediately proceeded thither to assume the duties of his office. Here the learning and talents of Melville were eminently serviceable, not only to the university over which he presided, but to the whole kingdom. He introduced improvements in teaching and in discipline, which at once procured a high degree of popularity to the college, and greatly promoted the cause of general education throughout Scotland. Melville possessed a considerable share of that intrepidity for which his great predecessor, Knox, was so remarkable. At an interview, on one occasion, with the regent Morton, who was highly displeas'd with some proceedings of the General Assembly, of which Melville was a member, the former, irritated by what he conceived to be obstinacy in the latter, exclaimed, "There will never be quietness in this country, till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished."—"Hark, sir," said Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me, whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared [expended], at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth." It is not said

that the regent resented this bold language ; but probably his forbearance was as much owing to the circumstance of his resigning the regency, which he did soon after, as to any other cause.

In 1580, Melville was translated to St Andrews, to fill a similar situation with that which he occupied at Glasgow. Here he distinguished himself by the same ability which had acquired him so much reputation in the western university. Besides giving lectures on theology, he taught the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages, and discovered such an extent of knowledge and superiority of acquirement, that his classes were attended, not only by young students in unusual numbers, but by several of the masters of the other colleges. In 1582, Melville opened, with sermon, an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly, which had been convoked to take into consideration the dangerous state of the protestant church, from the influence which the earl of Arran, and the lords D'Aubigné and Lennox, exercised over the young king. In this sermon he boldly inveighed against the absolute authority which the court was assuming a right to exercise in ecclesiastical affairs, and alluded to a design on the part of France, of which D'Aubigné was the instrument, to re-establish the catholic religion in the country. The assembly, impressed with similar sentiments, and entertaining similar apprehensions, drew up a spirited remonstrance to the king, and appointed Melville to present it. He accordingly repaired to Perth, where the king then was, and, despite of some alarming reports which reached him, of the personal danger to which he would expose himself from the resentment of the king's favourites, demanded and obtained access to his majesty. When the remonstrance was read, Arran looked round the apartment, and exclaimed, in a tone of defiance and menace, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?"—"We dare," replied Melville; and, taking a pen from the clerk, he affixed his signature to the document: an example which was immediately followed by the other commissioners who were with him. The cool and dignified intrepidity of Melville, completely silenced the blustering of Arran, who, finding himself at fault by this unexpected opposition, made no further remark; and Lennox, with better policy, having spoken to the commissioners in a conciliatory tone, they were peaceably dismissed. It seems probable, however, from what afterwards ensued, that Arran did not forget the humiliation to which Melville's boldness had on this occasion subjected him. In less than two years afterwards, Melville was summoned before the privy council, on a charge of high treason, founded upon some expressions which, it was alleged, he had made use of in the pulpit. Whether Arran was the original instigator of the prosecution, does not very distinctly appear; but it is certain that he took an active part in its progress, and expressed an eager anxiety for the conviction of the accused. Failing in establishing any thing to the prejudice of Melville, the council had recourse to an expedient to effect that which they could not accomplish through his indictment. They could not punish him for offences which they could not prove; but they found him guilty of declining the judgment of the council, and of behaving irreverently before them, and condemned him to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in person and goods at his majesty's pleasure. The terms of the sentence, in so far as regarded the place of imprisonment, were afterwards altered by Arran, who substituted "Blackness," where he had a creature of his own as keeper, for Edinburgh. Several hours being allowed to Melville before he was put in ward, he availed himself of the opportunity, and made his escape to England. To this step, being himself in doubt whether he ought not rather to submit to the sentence of the council, he was urged by some of his friends, who, to his request for advice in the matter, replied, with the proverb of the house of

Angus, "Loose and living;" which pretty plainly intimates what they conceived would be the result, if he permitted himself to be made "fast." On leaving Edinburgh, Melville first proceeded to Berwick, and thence to London, where he remained till the November of 1585. The indignation of the kingdom having then driven Arran from the court, he returned to Scotland, after an absence of twenty months. The plague, which had raged in the country while he was in England, having dispersed his pupils at St Andrews, and the college being, from this and other causes, in a state of complete disorganization, he did not immediately resume his duties there, but proceeded to Glasgow, where he remained for some time. In the month of March following, induced by an appearance of more settled times, he returned to St Andrews, and recommenced his lectures and former course of instruction. These, however, were soon again interrupted. In consequence of the active part which he took in the excommunication of archbishop Adamson, who was accused of overthrowing the scriptural government and discipline of the church of Scotland, he was commanded by the king to leave St Andrews, and to confine himself beyond the water of Tay. From this banishment he was soon afterwards recalled; and, having been restored to his majesty's favour, through the intercession of the dean of faculty and masters of the university, he resumed his academical labours at St Andrews.

In the year following (1587,) he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament. A similar honour with the first was conferred upon him in 1589, and again in 1594. In the year following, he was invited to take a part in the ceremonies at the coronation of the queen, which took place in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 17th of May. On this occasion, although he did not know, until only two days before, that he was expected to take a part in the approaching ceremony, he composed and delivered, before a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, assembled to witness the coronation, a Latin poem, which, having been printed next day at the earnest solicitation of his majesty, who was much pleased with it, under the title of "Stephaniskion," and circulated throughout Europe, added greatly to the reputation which its author had already acquired. An instance of the generosity of Melville's disposition, which occurred about this time, cannot be passed over, however brief the sketch of his life may be, without doing an injustice to his memory. Archbishop Adamson, one of his most irreconcilable enemies, having lost the favour of the king, was reduced, by the sequestration of his annuity, which immediately followed, to great pecuniary distress. He applied to Melville for relief, and he did not apply in vain. Melville immediately visited him, and undertook to support himself and his family at his own expense, until some more effective and permanent assistance could be procured for him; and this he did for several months, finally obtaining a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. Such instances of benevolence are best left to the reader's own reflections, and are only injured by comment.

In 1590, he was chosen rector of the university; an office which he continued to hold by re-election for many years, and in which he displayed a firmness and decision of character on several trying occasions, that gives him a claim to something more than a mere literary reputation. Though a loyal subject in the best sense and most genuine acceptation of that term, he frequently addressed king James in language much more remarkable for its plainness than its courtesy. He had no sympathy whatever for the absurdities of that prince, and would neither condescend to humour his foibles nor flatter his vanity. A remarkable instance of this plain dealing with his majesty, occurred in 1596. In that year, Melville formed one of a deputation from the commissioners of the

General Assembly, who met at Cupar in Fife, being appointed to wait upon the king at Falkland, for the purpose of exhorting him to prevent the consequences of certain measures inimical to religion, which his council were pursuing. James Melville, nephew of the subject of this memoir, was chosen spokesman of the party, on account of the mildness of his manner and the courteousness of his address. On entering the presence, he accordingly began to state the object and views of the deputation. He had scarcely commenced, however, when the king interrupted him, and in passionate language, denounced the meeting at Cupar as illegal and seditious. James Melville was about to reply with his usual mildness, when his uncle, stepping forward, seized the sleeve of the king's gown, and calling his sacred majesty "God's silly vassal," proceeded to lecture him on the impropriety of his conduct, and to point out to him the course which he ought to pursue, particularly in matters of ecclesiastical polity. "Sir," he said, "we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and, along with you, the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is king James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the king of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Melville went on in a similar strain with this for a great length of time, notwithstanding repeated attempts, on the part of the king, to stop him. James expressed the strongest repugnance at the outset to listen to him, and endeavoured to frighten him from his purpose by a display of the terrors of offended royalty, but in vain. He was finally compelled to listen quietly and patiently to all that Melville chose to say. At the conclusion of the speech, the king, whose anger, and whose courage also probably, had subsided during its delivery, made every concession which was required; and the deputation returned without any loss, apparently, of royal favour. It was not, however, to be expected, that Melville should have gained any ground in the king's affections by this display of sincerity and zeal; nor were the future interviews which took place between them better calculated for this end. The very next which occurred is thus alluded to in his nephew's diary: "And ther they (the king and Melville) heeled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard mikle, of a large houre. In end, the king takes upe and dismissis him favourable."

However favourably James may have dismissed him, he does not seem to have been unwilling to avail himself of the first opportunity which should offer of getting rid of him. At a royal visitation of the university of St Andrews, which soon afterwards took place, matter of censure against Melville was eagerly sought after, and all who felt disposed to bring any complaint against him, were encouraged to come forward with their accusations. The result was, that a large roll, filled with charges against him, was put into the king's hands. He was accused of neglecting the pecuniary affairs of the college, and the duties of his office as a teacher, of agitating questions of policy in place of lecturing on divinity, and of inculcating doctrines subversive of the king's authority and of the peace of the realm. At several strict examinations, he gave such satisfactory explanations of his conduct, and defended himself so effectually against the slanders of those who sought his ruin, that the visitors were left without any ground or pretext on which to proceed against him. They, however, deprived him of the rectorship, on the plea that it was improper that that office should be united

with the professorship of theology, the appointment which Melville held in the university.

The accession of James to the English throne, did not abate his desire to assume an absolute control over the affairs of the church of Scotland, and long after his removal to England, he continued to entertain designs hostile to its liberties. The attempts which he had made to obtain this supremacy, while he was yet in Scotland, had been thwarted in a great measure by the exertions of Melville. His intrepidity kept James at bay, and his zeal, activity, and talents, deprived him of all chance of succeeding, by chicanery or cunning. Melville still presented himself as a stumbling-block in his way, should he attempt to approach the Scottish church with inimical designs, and James, therefore, now resolved that he should be entirely removed from the kingdom. To accomplish this, he had recourse to one of those infamous and unprincipled stratagems which he considered the very essence of "king craft." In May 1606, Melville received a letter from his majesty, commanding him to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his majesty might consult with him, and others of his learned brethren, regarding ecclesiastical matters, with the view of healing all differences, and securing a good understanding between his majesty and the church. Letters of a similar tenor were received by seven other clergymen, amongst whom was Melville's nephew.

Though not without some doubts regarding the result of this rather extraordinary invitation, Melville and his brethren set out for London, where they arrived on the 25th of August. The first interview of the Scottish clergymen with the king was sufficiently gracious. He inquired for news from Scotland, and condescended even to be jocular. This, however, did not last long; at the subsequent conferences Melville found himself called upon, by the sentiments which the king expressed regarding church matters, to hold the same bold and plain language to him which he had so often done in Scotland, and this too in the presence of great numbers of his English courtiers, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration of Melville's boldness, and of the eloquence with which he delivered his sentiments. In the mean time, however, the Scottish ministers were interdicted from returning to Scotland without the special permission of the king. On the 28th September they were required by his majesty to give attendance in the royal chapel on the following day to witness the celebration of the festival of St Michael. The ceremonies and fooleries of the exhibition which took place on this occasion, were so absurd, and so nearly approached those of the Romish church, that they excited in Melville a feeling of the utmost indignation and contempt. This feeling he expressed in a Latin epigram, which he composed on returning to his lodgings. A copy of the lines found its way to his majesty, who was greatly incensed by them, and determined to proceed against their author on the ground that they were treasonable. He was accordingly summoned before the privy council, found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and after a confinement of nearly twelve months, first in the house of the dean of St Paul's, and afterwards in that of the bishop of Winchester, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for four years. The other clergymen who had accompanied Melville to London were allowed to return to Scotland; but they were confined to particular parts of the country, and forbidden to attend any church courts. Melville's nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, and to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go ten miles beyond that town on the pain of rebellion.

In the month of February, 1611, Melville was released from the Tower on the application of the duke of Bouillon, who had solicited his liberty from the king, in order to procure his services as a professor in his university at Sedan

in France. Melville, who was now in the 66th year of his age, was exceedingly reluctant to go abroad; but, as this was a condition of his liberty, and as there was no hope of the king's being prevailed upon to allow him to return to Scotland, he submitted to the expatriation, and sailed for France on the 19th of April.

On his arrival at Paris he was fortunate enough to fall in with one of his scholars then prosecuting his studies there, by whom he was kindly and affectionately received. After spending a few days in the French capital he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university.

In the year following he removed to Grenoble, to superintend the education of three sons of the treasurer of the parliament of Dauphiny, with a salary of five hundred crowns per annum; but, not finding the situation an agreeable one, he returned within a short time to Sedan, and resumed his former duties. Melville continued to maintain a close correspondence with his numerous friends in Scotland, and particularly with his nephew, James Melville, to whom he was warmly attached. Of him, his best, most constant, and dearest friend, however, he was soon to be deprived. That amiable man, who had adhered to him through good and bad fortune, through storm and sunshine, for a long series of years, died in the beginning of the year 1614. The grief of Melville on receiving the intelligence of his death was deep and poignant. He gave way to no boisterous expression of feeling; but he felt the deprivation with all the keenness which such a calamity is calculated to inflict on an affectionate heart. With his fondest wishes still directed towards his native land, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity which might offer of procuring his restoration; and in 1616, a promise was obtained from his majesty, that he would be relieved from banishment. This, promise, however, like many others of James's, was never realized. Melville, after all that he had done for his country, was doomed to breathe his last an exile in a foreign land. To compensate in some measure for the misfortunes which clouded his latter days, he was blessed with a more than ordinary share of bodily health, and that to a later period of life than is often to be met with. "Am I not," he says, in a letter to a friend written in the year 1612, "three score and eight years old, unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came; and, yet I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—in *ipso flore adolescentiæ*,—only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever, yea I use none at all nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters." With this good bodily health, he also enjoyed to the close of his life that cheerfulness of disposition and vivacity of imagination for which he was distinguished in earlier years, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age he is found vying with the most sprightly and juvenile of his colleagues in the composition of an epithalamium on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of his patron the duke of Bouillon.

Years, however, at length undermined a constitution which disease had left untouched until the very close of life. In 1620, his health which had previously been slightly impaired, grew worse, and in the course of the year 1622, he died at Sedan, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The benefits which Melville conferred on his country in the department of its literature are thus spoken of by Dr M'Cre: "His arrival imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the

enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged." The services which he rendered the civil and religious liberties of his country are recorded by the same able author in still stronger terms. "If the love of pure religion," he says, "rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."

MELVILLE, JAMES, with whose history are connected many most interesting facts in the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, was born at Baldovy, near Montrose, on the 25th of July, 1556.¹ His father was Richard Melville of Baldovy, the friend of Wishart the Martyr, and of John Erskine of Dun, and the elder brother of Andrew Melville. Soon after the Reformation, this gentleman became minister of Mary-Kirk, in the immediate neighbourhood of his property, and continued so till the close of his life. He married Isobel Scrimgeour, sister of the laird of Glasswell, a woman of great "godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection." James Melville was, therefore, to use his own expression, descended "of godlie, faithfull, and honest parents, bathe lightned with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day tharof within Scotland."

The mother of James Melville having died about a year after his birth, he was placed under the care of a nurse, "an evill inclynit woman;" and after being weaned, was lodged in the house of a cottar, from whence, when he was about four or five years old, he was brought home to Baldovy. He and his elder brother David were soon afterwards sent to a school, kept by Mr William Gray, minister of Logie-Montrose, "a guid, lerned, kynd man." This school was broken up, partly by the removal of some of the boys perhaps to attend the universities, but more immediately by the ravages of the plague at Montrose, from which Logie was only two miles distant. James and his brother, therefore, returned home, after having attended it for about five years. During the following winter, they remained at home, receiving from their father such occasional instruction as his numerous duties permitted him to give them. At this period, Richard Melville seems to have intended that both his sons should be trained to agricultural pursuits, there being no learned profession in which a livelihood, even of a very moderate kind, could be obtained. In the spring, it was resolved that, as the elder brother was sufficiently old to assist in superintending his father's rural affairs, he should remain at home, and that James should be sent again to school. He accordingly attended a school at Montrose, of which Andrew Milne, afterwards minister of Fetteresso, was master. Here he continued about two years.

Of the whole of this period of his life, James Melville has left a most interesting account; and we only regret that, from the length to which this memoir must otherwise extend, we are unable to give any thing more than a very rapid sketch of this and the subsequent part of his education. He entered on his philosophical course at St Leonard's college in the university of St Andrews, in November, 1571, under the care of William Collace, one of the regents. At first he found himself unable to understand the Latin prelections, and was so much chagrined that he was frequently found in tears; but the regent took

¹ In a note on this date in his Diary, he says, "My vnde, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born in An. 1557."

him to lodge at his apartments, and was so much pleased with the sweetness of his disposition, and his anxiety to learn, that he made him the constant object of his care, and had the satisfaction of seeing him leave the university, after having attained its highest honours. During the prescribed period of four years, Melville was taught logic, (including the Aristotelian philosophy,) mathematics, ethics, natural philosophy, and law. At the end of the third year, he, according to the usual custom, took the degree of Bachelor, and, on finishing the fourth, that of Master of Arts. One of the most interesting events recorded by James Melville to have occurred during his residence at St Andrews, was the arrival of John Knox there in 1571; and he alludes with much feeling to the powerful effects produced on his mind by the sermons of the reformer.

After finishing his philosophical education, James Melville returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies during the summer months. Having finished that part of his education which was necessary for general purposes, it was now requisite that he should determine what profession he should adopt. His father had destined him for that of a lawyer; but although James had studied some parts of that profession, and had attended the consistorial court at St Andrews, his heart "was nocht sett that way." Deference to his father's wishes had hitherto prevented him offering any decided opposition to his intentions, but he had at this period taken means to show the bent of his mind. Choosing a passage in St John's Gospel for his text, he composed a sermon, which he put in a book used by his father in preparing his weekly sermons. The MS. was accordingly found, and pleased his father exceedingly. But James was now luckily saved the pain of either opposing the wishes of a kind, but somewhat austere parent, or of applying himself to a profession for the study of which he had no affection, by an unlooked for accident—the arrival of his uncle, Andrew Melville, from the continent. To him his father committed James, "to be a pledge of his love," and they were destined to be for many years companions in labour and in adversity.

James Melville had left the university with the character of a diligent and accomplished student. He had flattered himself that he had exhausted those subjects which had come under his attention, but he was now to be subjected to a severe mortification. When his uncle examined him, he found that he was yet but a mere child in knowledge, and that many years of study were still necessary, before he could arrive at the goal which he had supposed himself to have already reached. James's mortification did not, however, lead him to sit down in despair. He renewed his studies with the determination to succeed, and revised, under his uncle's directions, both his classical and philosophical education. "That quarter of yeir," says he, "I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor. . . . And all this as it wer by cracking and playing, sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him [Andrew Melville] in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thereafter, nor euer I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

Endowed with such talents and acquirements, it will readily be believed that Andrew Melville was not allowed to remain long idle. He was soon after his return invited to become principal of the university of Glasgow; an appointment which, after a short trial, he agreed to accept. In October, 1574, he left Baldovoy to undertake the duties of his office, taking with him his nephew, who was, in the following year, appointed one of the regents. The labours of Andrew Melville at Glasgow, have been already noticed in his life, and we shall, therefore, only extend our inquiries here to the course adopted by the subject of this memoir. For the first year, James Melville taught his class "the Greek grammar, Isocratis Parænesis ad Demonicum, the first buk of Homers Iliads,

Phocylides, Hesiods *Εργα και Ημεραι*, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise in Ciceros Catilinars and Paradoxes." "The second year of my regenting," says James Melville, "I teachit the elements of arithmetic and geometrie, out [of] P'sellus, for shortnes; the Offices of Cicero; Aristotles Logic in Greek, and Ethic, (and was the first regent that ever did that in Scotland;) also, Platoes Phaedon and Axiochus; and that profession of the mathematiks, logic, and morall philosophie, I keipit (as everie aue of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr Andro, transported to St Andros." His private hours were devoted to the study of the Hebrew language, and of theology. He had already, upon one occasion, given proof of his talents for public teaching, and he had now an opportunity of continuing his labours. It was a custom that each regent should, for a week in turn, conduct the students to a church near the college, where the citizens also attended, to hear prayers, and one or two chapters of the Scriptures read. The regents had hitherto confined themselves exclusively to these limits, probably from a feeling of their inability to offer any commentary; but James Melville, taking a general view of the passages read, gave them a summary of the doctrines enforced, and accompanied it with an application to the situations of his hearers. "This pleisit and comfortit guid peipe verie mikle."

The routine of academical instruction affords but few materials for biography. James Melville has therefore recorded little relative to himself at this period of his life, except an attack made upon him by one of the students, and the occurrences consequent upon it. But although this affair originated with him, it belongs more properly to the life of Andrew Melville, who as principal of the college, acted the most prominent part in all the subsequent proceedings.

Andrew Melville had now accomplished nearly all that zeal or talent could effect for the university of Glasgow. Its revenues were improved,—its character as a seat of learning raised much above that of any of the other Scottish universities,—the number of students was greatly increased, and its discipline maintained with a degree of firmness, of the necessity of which, however sceptical modern readers may be, the attack to which we have just alluded is a most decided proof. The Assembly which met at Edinburgh therefore ordained that Melville should remove to the new college of St Andrews, "to begin the wark of theologie ther with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that universitie, and the new college therof, gissen be the kirk and past in parliament." Availing himself of the privilege thus granted of nominating his assistants, he requested his nephew to accompany him. James had for some time resolved upon going to France, but he had too much respect for his uncle to refuse his request. They therefore removed together from Glasgow in the month of November, 1580, leaving Thomas Smeton, "a man of singular gifts of learning and godlines," and Patrick Melville, a young gentleman who had lately finished his philosophical studies, as their successors.

In December they entered upon the duties of their respective professions. After his preface, or inaugural discourse, James Melville commenced teaching his students the Hebrew grammar. There were, probably, few young men in the country who, either from their opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or their desire to improve under them, were better qualified to discharge this office well; but his natural diffidence caused him a degree of anxiety, which many less accomplished masters have not experienced. "The grait fear and cear," says he in his Diary, "quhilk was in my heart of my inhabilitie to vn-

dertak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess theologie and holie tounges amangis ministers and maisters, namelie [especially] in that maist frequent vniuersitie of St Andros, amangis diuers alterit and displacit, and therfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik."

During the earlier period of their residence at St Andrews, Andrew Melville and his nephew had many difficulties to encounter. The former principal and professors annoyed their successors by "pursuit of the compts of the college." The regents of St Leonards, enraged that the philosophy of their almost deified Aristotle should be impugned, raised a commotion; and, to quote the appropriate allusion of James Melville, cried out with one voice, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The provost and baillies, with the prior and his gentlemen pensioners, were suspected of corrupt proceedings, especially in the provision of a minister for the town, and the opposition and exposures of Andrew Melville thus raised up for him and his fellow labourers another host of enemies. These were all open and avowed opponents, but they had one to deal with, who, as yet wearing the mask of friendship, was secretly plotting their own and the church's ruin,—this person was archbishop Adamson. Add to all this, that immediately after their settlement at St Andrews, the carelessness of one of the students had nearly been the cause of setting the establishment on fire, and we shall be abundantly persuaded that it required no small energy of mind, such as Andrew Melville indeed possessed, not only to bear up in such a situation, but successively to baffle all the opposition that was offered to him.

But amidst many discouragements which the more sensitive mind of James Melville must have keenly felt, he had also many cheering employments. He was engaged in duties which we have seen had been, from an early period, the objects of his greatest desire,—he was the teacher of some promising young men, who afterwards became shining lights in the church, and he had the gratification of being requested to occupy the pulpit on many occasions, when there was no minister in the town, or when the archbishop happened to be absent.

At the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in December 1582, James Melville was earnestly requested to become minister of Stirling. For himself he felt much inclined to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the more so as he was now on the eve of his marriage; but his uncle, considering the affairs of the college still in too precarious a state to admit of his leaving it, refused his consent, and James Melville did not consider it respectful to urge his own wishes. It was indeed fortunate that he was not permitted at this period to leave the college, for in the very next year his uncle was required to appear before the king and privy council, for certain treasonable speeches alleged to have been uttered in his sermons. When the summons (which ordered him to appear in three days) was served, James Melville was in the shire of Angus, and could not upon so sudden a requisition return to St Andrews in time to accompany him to Edinburgh. He arrived, however, on the second day of his trial, if indeed the proceedings deserved that name. Passing over the minute circumstances of this transaction, our narrative only requires that we should state that Andrew Melville found it necessary to insure his safety by a flight into England.

In these discouraging circumstances, James Melville was obliged to return to St Andrews to undertake the management of the affairs of the college,—with what feelings it may readily be judged. When he considered the magnitude of his charge, and the situation of the church, he was completely overpowered; but the duration of his grief was short in proportion to its violence, and he soon found the truest remedy in applying his whole energies to the performance of his in-

creased duties. He taught divinity from his uncle's chair, besides continuing his labours in the department which properly belonged to him. Nor was this all: the *Economus* of the college, finding himself in the service of a party from whom little advantage or promotion could be expected, gave up his office, and thus did the provision of the daily wants of the institution fall to Melville's lot. In the performance of these duties, so arduous and so varied, he was greatly supported by the masters of the university who attended his lectures, and gave him many encouragements. But his greatest comfort was derived from the society of the afterwards celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who, abandoning his attendance on the courts of law, had, with his father's permission, begun the study of theology at St Andrews.

Harmless, however, as a person whose attention was thus so completely occupied by his own duties must certainly have been, the government did not long permit James Melville to retain his station. The acts of the parliament 1584, by which the presbyterian form of church government was overthrown, were proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh, and protested against by Robert Pont and others, in behalf of the church. We have already alluded to the malpractices of archbishop Adamson. About the beginning of May, 1584, Melville had gone to one of the northern counties to collect the revenues of the college. It had, perhaps, been conjectured by the episcopal party, to their no small gratification, that, finding himself unable to comply conscientiously with the late enactments, he had retired, with some of the other ministers, into England. If so, they must have been grievously disappointed by his return. It was certainly not long till the archbishop abundantly manifested his real dispositions; for, on the Sunday immediately following, Melville was informed that a warrant for his apprehension was already in that prelate's possession, and that he was to proceed immediately to its execution. At the earnest desire of his friends, he was prevailed on to remove to Dundee, where he had no sooner arrived, than he learned that a search had been made for him in every part of the college, and that an indictment had been prepared against him, for holding communication with his uncle, the king's rebel. But his removal to Dundee could serve only a very temporary purpose, for it must very soon have become known, and would then have ceased to be any security for his liberty. After the most anxious consideration, he resolved to accept an offer made him by one of his cousins, to take him by sea to Berwick. This gentleman, hiring a small boat under the pretext of conveying some of his wines to one of the coast towns in the neighbourhood, took in Melville in the disguise of a shipwrecked seaman; and, after a voyage, not less dangerous from the risk of detection, than from a violent storm which overtook them, landed him safely at Berwick, where he met his uncle and the other ministers who had been obliged to flee.

The suddenness with which James Melville had been obliged to leave St Andrews, prevented him taking his wife along with him; to have done so, would, in fact, have endangered the whole party. But, after arriving at Berwick, he immediately sent back his cousin, Alexander Scrymgeour, with a letter, requesting this lady (a daughter of John Dury, minister of Edinburgh) to join him. This she had very soon an opportunity of doing, by placing herself under the care of a servant of the English ambassador, and she accordingly remained with her husband during the short period of his exile. At Berwick they resided for about a month; and there, as in every other place, James Melville's amiable and affectionate dispositions procured him many friends. Among these was the lady of Sir Harry Widrington, governor of the town, under lord Hunsdon. In the mean time, he was invited by the earls of Angus and Mar, then at Newcastle, to become their pastor. Being totally ignorant of the characters of these

noblemen, and of the cause of their exile, he felt unwilling to connect himself with their party, and therefore replied to their invitation, that he could not comply with it, as he had never qualified himself for performing the ministerial functions; but that, as he had determined upon removing to the south, he should visit them on his way thither. When he arrived at Newcastle, he determined upon immediately securing a passage by sea to London; but John Davidson, one of his former masters at St Andrews, and now minister of Prestonpans, informed him that it was not only his own earnest desire, but that of all their brethren, that he should remain at Newcastle with the exiled lords, whose characters and cause he vindicated. To their wishes, Melville therefore acceded.

Soon after his settlement at Newcastle, Davidson, who had only waited his arrival, departed, and left him to discharge the duties alone. Thinking it proper that, before entering on his labours, the order of their religious observances and their discipline should be determined, he drew up "the order and maner of exercise of the word for instruction, and discipline for correction of maners, used in the companie of those godlie and noble men of Scotland in tyme of thair aboad in Englande, for the guid cause of God's kirk, thair king and countrey," and prefixed to it an exhortative letter to the noblemen and their followers. This prefatory epistle commences by an acknowledgment that their present calamities were the just chastisements of the Almighty, for their lukewarmness in the work of reformation,—for permitting the character of their sovereign to be formed by the society of worthless and interested courtiers,—for their pursuit of their own aggrandizement, rather than the good of their country,—and for the violation of justice, and connivance at many odious and unnatural crimes. But while *they* had thus rendered themselves the subjects of the Divine vengeance, how great had been the crimes of the court! It had followed the examples of Ahaz and Uzzah, in removing the altar of the Lord,—it had deprived the masters of their livings, and desolated the schools and universities,—it had said to the preachers, "Prophecy no longer to us in the name of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasant things according to our liking,"—it had taken from others the key of knowledge,—it entered not in, and those that would enter in, it suffered not: finally, it had threatened the ministers, God's special messengers, with imprisonment and death, and, following out its wicked designs, had compelled them to flee to a foreign land. "Can the Lord suffer these things long," Melville continues with great energy, "and be just in executing of his judgments, and pouring out of his plagues upon his cursed enemies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuary to be defiled, and his own to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and most faithful keeper of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glory to be given to another? Can he who hath promised to make the enemies of Christ Jesus his footstool, suffer them to tread on his head? Nay, nay, right honourable and dear brethren, he has anointed him King on his holy mountain; he has given him all nations for an inheritance; he has put into his hand a sceptre of iron, to bruise in powder these earthen vessels. When his wrath shall once begin to kindle but a little, he shall make it notoriously known to all the world, that they only are happy who in humility kiss the Lord Jesus, and trust in him." He then concludes by a solemn admonition, that with true repentance,—with unfeigned humiliation,—with diligent perusal of God's word,—and with fervent prayer, meditation, and zeal, they should prosecute the work of God, under the assurance that their labours should not be in vain. He warns them of the diligence of the enemies of God's church,—exhorts them to equal diligence in a good cause,—and reminds them that the ministers of Christ shall be witnesses against them, if they should be found slumbering at their posts. At the request of Archibald, earl of

Angus, Melville also drew up a "list of certain great abuses;" but as it is in many points a recapitulation of the letter just quoted from, no further allusion to it is here necessary.

About a month after the commencement of his ministrations, Melville was joined by Mr Patrick Galloway, who divided the labours with him. His family was now on the increase, and it was considered necessary to remove to Berwick, where he remained as minister of that congregation till the birth of his first child,—a son, whom he named Ephraim, in allusion to his fruitfulness in a strange land. Notwithstanding the stratagems of captain James Stewart, by which lord Hunsdon was induced to forbid them to assemble in the church, the congregation obtained leave, through the kind offices of lady Widrington, to meet in a private house; and Melville mentions that he was never more diligently or more profitably employed, than during that winter. But the pleasure which he derived from the success of his ministrations, was more than counterbalanced by the conduct of some of his brethren at home.

It was about this period that many of the Scottish clergy, led on by the example of John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, signed a deed, binding themselves to obey the late acts of parliament, as far as "according to the word of God." Melville saw the confusions which the introduction of such an equivocal clause must produce. He accordingly addressed a most affectionate but faithful letter, to the subscribing ministers, in which he exhibited, at great length, the sinfulness of their compliance, and the handle which such a compromise must give to the enemies of religion. This letter, as it encouraged the firm, and confirmed the wavering, was proportionally the object of hatred to the court. Two of the students at St Andrews, being detected copying it for distribution, were compelled to flee; and no means seem to have been omitted to check its circulation, or to weaken the force of its statements.

About the middle of February, 1584-5, the noblemen, finding their present residence too near the borders, determined upon removing farther to the south. James Melville, therefore, prepared to follow. In the beginning of March, he and a few friends embarked for London, where they arrived, after a voyage rendered tedious by contrary winds; and, being joined by their companions in exile, were not a little comforted. Soon after his arrival, Melville resumed his ministerial labours.

Many circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, conspired to render their exile much shorter than their fondest wishes could have anticipated. As soon as the noblemen of their party had accommodated their disputes with the king, the brethren received a letter (dated at Stirling, 6th November, 1585) from their fellow ministers, urging them to return with all possible expedition. James Melville, and Robert Dury, one of his most intimate friends, therefore, left London, and, after encountering many dangers during the darkness of the nights, arrived at Linlithgow. There he found his brethren under great depression of mind: they had vainly expected from the parliament, then sitting, the abrogation of the obnoxious acts of 1584; and they had a further cause of grief in the conduct of Craig, the leader of the subscribing ministers. After much expectation, and many fruitless attempts to persuade the king of the impropriety of the acts, they were obliged to dismiss, having previously presented a supplication, earnestly craving that no ultimate decision respecting the church might be adopted, without the admission of free discussion.

During the following winter, James Melville was occupied partly in the arrangement of his family affairs, but principally in re-establishing order in the university. The plague, which had for some time raged with great violence, was now abated, and the people, regaining their former confidence, had begun

to return to their ordinary affairs. Taking advantage of this change, the two Melvilles resolved on resuming their labours, and accordingly entered on their respective duties about the middle of March. In the beginning of April the Synod of Fife convened, and it was the duty of James Melville, as moderator at the last meeting, to open their proceedings with a sermon. He chose for his text that part of the twelfth chapter of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the Christian church is compared to the human body,—composed, like it, of many members, the harmonious operation of which is essential to the health of the whole. After showing by reference to Scripture what was the constitution of the true church,—refuting the doctrine of “the human and devilish bishopric,”—adverting to the purity of the reformed constitution of their church, and proving that the inordinate ambition of a few had been in all ages the destruction of that purity—he turned towards the archbishop, who was sitting with great pomp in the assembly, charged him with the overthrow of the goodly fabric, and exhorted the brethren to cut off so unworthy a member from among them. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the prelate, the Synod immediately took up the case,—went on, with an inattention to *all* the forms of decency and *some* of those of justice which their warmest advocates do not pretend to vindicate, and ordered him to be excommunicated by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. Thus, by the fervour of their zeal, and perhaps goaded on by personal wrongs, did an Assembly, composed, in the main, of worthy men, subject themselves to censure in the case of a man of a character disgraceful to his profession; and whom, had they been content to act with more moderation, nothing but the strong hand of civil power could have screened from their highest censures, while even *it* could not have defended him from deserved infamy.

But the informality of the Synod's proceedings gave their enemies an unfortunate hold over them, and was the means of baffling their own ends. By the influence of the king, the General Assembly, which met soon afterwards, annulled their sentence, and the Melvilles, being summoned before the king, were commanded to confine themselves,—Andrew to his native place, and James to his college. Thus did matters continue during that summer. James Melville lectured to a numerous audience on the sacred history, illustrating it by reference to geography and chronology. On each alternate day he read lectures on St Paul's Epistle to Timothy, in the course of which he took many opportunities of attacking the hated order of bishops.

Melville was now to obtain what had all along been the object of his highest wishes—a settlement as minister of a parish. In 1583, the charge of the conjunct parishes of Abercrombie, Pittenweem, Anstruther, and Kilrenny, became vacant by the decease of the incumbent, and thus they continued for several years. When the Presbytery of St Andrews resumed their meetings on the return of the banished ministers, commissioners were appointed to visit these parishes, and to bring them, if possible, to the unanimous choice of a minister. James Melville, who had been nominated one of these commissioners, soon gained the affections of the people insomuch that they unanimously requested the Presbytery to send him among them. That court no less warmly urged his acceptance, and he accordingly removed to his charge in July, 1586.

It may be readily conceived, that to perform the duties of four parishes was a task far beyond the moral and physical capabilities of any single individual, more especially after they had so long wanted the benefit of a regular ministry. Their conjunction was the result of the mercenary plans of Morton and his friends, but no man was less actuated by such motives than Melville. No sooner did he become acquainted with the state of these parishes than he

determined on their disjunction, at whatever pecuniary loss. When this was effected, he willingly resigned the proportions of stipend in favour of the ministers provided for three of the parishes, while he himself undertook the charge of the fourth (Kilrenny),—he obtained an augmentation of stipend, built a manse, purchased the right to the vicarage and teind fish for the support of himself and his successors, paid the salary of a schoolmaster, and maintained an assistant to perform the duties of the parish, as he was frequently engaged in the public affairs of the church. Such instances of disinterested zeal are indeed rare; but even this was not all. Many years afterwards he printed for the use of his people a catechism which cost five hundred merks, of which, in writing his Diary, he mentions that he could never regain more than one fifth part. While he was thus anxiously promoting the moral and religious improvement of the parishioners, he was also distinguished by the exemplification of his principles in the ordinary affairs of life. An instance of his generosity occurred soon after his settlement in his new charge. In the beginning of 1588, rumours were spread through the country of the projected invasion by the Spaniards. Some time before the destruction of the Armada was known, Melville was waited on, early in the morning, by one of the baillies of the town, who stated that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour in distress, and requested his advice as to the line of conduct to be observed. When the day was further advanced, the officers (the principal of whom is styled general of twenty hulks) were permitted to land, and appear before the minister and principal men of the town. They stated that their division of the squadron had been wrecked on the Fair Isle, where they had been detained many weeks under all the miseries of fatigue and hunger; that they had at length procured the ship which lay in the harbour; and now came before them to crave their forbearance towards them. Melville replied that, although they were the supporters of Christ's greatest enemy the pope, and although their expedition had been undertaken with the design of desolating the protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, they should know by their conduct that the people of Scotland were professors of a purer religion. Without entering into all the minute facts of the case, it may be enough to say, that the officers and men were all at length received on shore, and treated with the greatest humanity. "Bot we thanked God with our heartes that we had sein tham amangs ws in that forme," is the quaint conclusion of James Melville, alluding to the difference between the objects of the expedition and the success which had attended it.

But, however disinterested James Melville's conduct might be, it was not destined to escape the most unjust suspicions. When subscriptions were raised to assist the French protestants and the inhabitants of Geneva, (cir. 1588), he had been appointed collector for Fife, and this appointment was now seized upon by his enemies at court, who surmised that he had given the money thus raised to the earl of Bothwell to enable him to raise forces. The supposition is so absurd that it seems incredible that any one, arguing merely on probabilities, should believe that money intended for Geneva,—the very stronghold of his beloved presbytery,—should be given to an outlaw and a catholic. Luckily Melville was not left to prove his innocence even by the doctrine of probabilities. He had in his hands a discharge for the money granted by those to whom he had paid it over, and it was, besides, matter of notoriety that he had been the most active agent in the suppression of Bothwell's rebellion. Still, however, his enemies hinted darkly where they durst not make a manly charge, and it was not till 1594, when sent as a commissioner to the king by the Assembly on another mission, that he had an opportunity of vindicating himself. He then

demanding that any one who could make a charge against him should stand forward and give him an opportunity of vindicating himself before his sovereign. No one appeared. Melville was admitted to a long interview in the king's cabinet; and "thus," says he, "I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet councillor."

At the opening of the General Assembly in 1590, James Melville preached. After the usual exordium, he insisted on the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline,—he recalled to the memory of his audience the history of their country since the Reformation, the original purity of the church, and admonished them of its begun decline,—the brethren were warned of the practices of "the belly-god bishops of England;" and the people were exhorted to a more zealous support of the ecclesiastical establishment, and to a more liberal communication of temporal things to their ministers;—lastly, he recommended a supplication to the king, for a free and full assembly, to be held in the royal presence, for the suppression of papists and sacrilegious persons. The activity of Melville, and indeed of the ministers generally, against the catholics, must be considered as one of the least defensible parts of their conduct. We are aware that those who believe religion to be supported by works of man's device, will find strong palliations for their actions in their peculiar circumstances; and we do not mean to deny, that when the popish lords trafficked with foreign powers for the subversion of the civil and religious institutions of the country, the government did right in bringing them to account. They then became clearly guilty of a civil offence, and were justly amenable for it to the secular courts. But when the catholics were hunted down for the mere profession of their religion,—when their attachment to their opinions was considered the mere effect of obstinacy, and thus worthy to be visited with the highest pains,—the protestants reduced themselves to the same inconsistency with which they so justly charged their adversaries. If it be urged in defence, that their religion was in danger, we reply, that the conduct of the catholics, previous to the Reformation, was equally defensible on the very same grounds. In both cases was the church of the parties in imminent hazard; and, if we defend the attempt of one party to support theirs by the civil power, with what justice can we condemn the other? A remarkable passage occurs in the account which friar Ogilvie (a Jesuit, who was executed at Glasgow in 1615) has left of his trial. His examiners accused the kings of France and Spain of exterminating the protestants. Ogilvie immediately replied: Neither has Francis banished, nor Philip burned protestants on account of religion, but on account of *heresy*, which is not religion but *rebellion*.² Here, then, is the rock upon which both parties split,—that of considering it a crime to hold certain religious opinions. Both parties were in turn equally zealous in propagating their ideas,—both were justifiable in doing so,—and both equally unjustifiable in their absurd attempts to control the workings of the human mind. Truth, which all parties seem convinced is on their side, must and shall prevail, and the intolerant zeal of man can only prove its own folly and its wickedness. We return to the narrative.

When the king, in October, 1594, determined on opposing the popish lords in person, he was accompanied at his own request by the two Melvilles and two other ministers. Following the Highland system of warfare, these noblemen retired into their fastnesses; and the royal forces, after doing little more than displaying themselves, were ready to disperse, for want of pay. In this

² *Relatio Incarcerationis et Martyrii P. Joannis Ogilbei, &c.*, Duaci, 1615, p. 24. This is, of course, the Roman Catholic account. Ogilvie's trial, and a reprint of the Protestant account of it set forth at the time, will be found in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

emergency, James Melville was despatched to Edinburgh and the other principal towns, with letters from the king and the ministers, urging a liberal contribution for their assistance. His services on this occasion, and the spirit infused by Andrew Melville into the royal councils, materially contributed to the success of the expedition.

We have mentioned, that at the interview at Stirling, James Melville had regained the favour of the king; but it is probable that that and subsequent exhibitions of the royal confidence were merely intended to gain him, in anticipation of the future designs of the court relative to the church. In the affair of David Black, Melville had used his influence with the earl of Mar, to procure a favourable result; and, although the king did not express disapprobation of his conduct, but, on the contrary, commanded him to declare from the pulpit at St Andrews, the amicable termination of their quarrel, he observed that from that period his favour uniformly declined. Finding, after two years' trial, that his conduct towards James Melville had not induced him to compromise his principles, the king probably considered all further attempts to gain him quite unnecessary.

In May, 1596, the Covenant was renewed by the synod of Fife, and in the following July by the presbytery of St Andrews; on both which occasions, Melville was appointed "the common mouth." After the last meeting, the barons and gentlemen resolved that he and the laird of Reiras [Rires?] should be sent to the king, to inform him of the report of another Spanish invasion, and of the return of the popish lords; but Melville's interest at court was now on the decline, and his mission met with little encouragement. Returning home, he applied himself assiduously to the duties of his parish. He drew up a "Sum of the Doctrine of the Covenant renewed in the Kirk of Scotland," in the form of question and answer. Upon this the people were catechised during the month of August; and on the first Sunday of September, the Covenant was renewed, and the sacrament administered in the parish of Kilrenny.

During the next ten years, the life of Melville was spent in a course of opposition, as decided as it was fruitless, to the designs of the court for the re-establishment of episcopacy. While some of his most intimate friends yielded, he remained firm. There was but one point which he could be induced to give up. He was urged by the king (1597) to preach at the admission of Gladstones, the future archbishop, to the church of St Andrews, from which David Black had been ejected; and he did so, in the hope of benefiting some of his distressed friends by the concession; but it afterwards cost him much uncomfortable reflection. In the month of October he visited, along with others appointed for that purpose, the churches in the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross. He had entered upon this duty under considerable mental depression and bodily suffering; and it may be supposed to have been but little diminished, when he detected, during the journey, the plans of the court for the re-establishment of the episcopal order. Finding that his labours on behalf of the church had been attended with so little success, he would willingly have retired from public life, and shut out all reflection on so unsatisfactory a retrospect in the performance of his numerous parochial duties: but a sense of what he owed to the church and to his friends in adversity induced him to continue his discouraging labour; and, accordingly, till he was ensnared into England, whence he was not allowed to return, he made the most unwearied exertions in behalf of presbytery. Except the gratification the mind receives from marking the continued struggles of a good man against adversity, the reader could feel little interest in a minute detail of circumstances, which, with a few changes of place and date, were often repeated. Vexation of mind and fatigue of body at length

brought on an illness in April, 1601, which lasted about a year; but this did not damp his zeal. When he could not appear among his brethren, and subsequent illness not unfrequently compelled him to be absent, he encouraged or warned them by his letters. Every attempt was made to overcome or to gain him. He was offered emoluments and honours, and when these could not shake his resolution, he was threatened with prosecution; but the latter affected him as little. When he was told that the king hated him more than any man in Scotland, "because he crossed all his turns, and was a ringleader," he replied, in the words of the poet,

*Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram.*

His conduct on the first anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, did not tend to mitigate his majesty's wrath. An act of parliament had been passed, ordaining it to be observed as a day of thanksgiving; but as this act had never received the sanction of the church, Melville and others refused to comply with it. They were, therefore, summoned by proclamation to appear before the council, and the king vowed that the offence should be considered capital. They accordingly appeared: but his majesty, finding their determination to vindicate their conduct, moderated his wrath, and dismissed them, after a few words of admonition. The conduct of Melville, in relation to the ministers imprisoned for holding the assembly at Aberdeen, was not less decided. A short time before their trial, the earl of Dunbar requested a conference, in which he regretted to him the state of affairs, and promised that, if the warded ministers would appease the king by a few concessions, the ambitious courses of the bishops should be checked, and the king and church reconciled. With these proposals, Melville proceeded to Blackness, the place of their confinement; but negotiation was too late, for the very next morning they were awakened by a summons to stand their trial at Linlithgow. When they were found guilty of treason, it was considered a good opportunity to try the resolution of their brethren. To prevent all communication with each other, the synods were summoned to meet on one day, when five articles, relative to the powers of the General Assembly and the bishops, were proposed by the king's commissioners for their assent. On this occasion, Melville was confined by illness; but he wrote an animated letter to the synod of Fife, and had the satisfaction of hearing that they and many others refused to comply. This letter was sent by lord Scone, the commissioner, to the king; but the threat to make it the subject of a prosecution does not appear to have been carried into effect.

The court, backed by the bishops, was now pursuing its intentions with less caution than had formerly been found necessary. An act was passed by the parliament of 1606, recognizing the king as absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal,—restoring the bishops to all their ancient honours, privileges, and emoluments, and reviving the different chapters. Andrew Melville had been appointed by his brethren to be present, and protest against this and another act in prejudice of the church, passed at the same time; but measures were taken to frustrate his purpose. No sooner did he stand up, than an order was given to remove him, which was not effected, however, until he had made his errand known. The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling, and the reasons for it by James Melville. The latter document, with which alone we are concerned, is written in a firm and manly style, and shows in the clearest manner, that, in appointing bishops, the parliament had in reality committed the whole government of the church to the king, the prelates being necessarily dependent upon him.

Some months previous to the meeting of this parliament, letters were directed to the two Melvilles, and six other ministers, peremptorily desiring them to proceed to London before the 15th of September, to confer with the king on such measures as might promote the peace of the church. Although this was the alleged cause for demanding their presence at the English court, there can be little doubt that the real object of the king was to withdraw them from a scene where they were a constant check upon his designs. Their interviews with the king and his prelates have been already noticed in the life of Andrew Melville, and it is only necessary to state here, that, after many attempts, as paltry as they were unsuccessful, to win them over, to disunite them, and, when both these failed, to lead them into expressions which might afterwards be made the groundwork of a prosecution, Andrew Melville was committed to the Tower of London. At the same time, James was ordered to leave London within six days for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, beyond which he was not to be permitted to go above ten miles, on pain of rebellion. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain some relaxation of the rigour of his uncle's confinement, he sailed from London on the 2d of July, 1607.³ The confinement of James Melville at Newcastle, was attended by circumstances of a peculiarly painful nature. His wife was at this time in her last illness, but notwithstanding the urgency of the case, he could not be allowed the shortest period of absence; he was, therefore compelled to remain in England, with the most perfect knowledge that he must see his nearest earthly relation no more, and without an opportunity of performing the last duties. It was considered a matter of special favour, that he was allowed to go to Anstruther for the arrangement of his family affairs after her death; and even this permission was accompanied by peremptory orders, that he should not preach nor attend any meetings, and that he should return to England at the end of a month.

The opposition of Melville to episcopacy continued as steady during his exile as it had been during the time of his ministry. When public disputations were proposed, in the following year, between the ministers who had yielded to the government and those who remained opposed, he disapproved of the plan, and stated his objections at full length in a letter to Mr John Dykes. He considered such meetings by no means calculated for edification, and he well knew that, were their opponents to be persuaded by argument, abundant opportunities had already been afforded them. When the conferences were appointed to be held at Falkland and other places, he opposed them on the same grounds; but, as the measure had been already determined on, he advised his brethren by letter to take every precaution for the regularity of their proceedings and the safety of their persons. As Melville had anticipated, no good effect was produced; the prelates were now quite independent of the goodness of their arguments for the support of their cause, and felt little inclination to humble themselves so far as to contend with untitled presbyterians.

Notwithstanding the decided conduct of Melville, several attempts were again made, during his residence at Newcastle, to enlist him in the service of the king. In the month of October, immediately following his sentence of banishment, Sir William Anstruther⁴ waited on him. He was authorized by the king to say that, if Melville would waive his opinions, his majesty would not only receive him into favour, but "advance him beyond any minister in Scotland." Melville replied, that no man was more willing to serve the king in his calling

³ M'Crie's *Melville*, second edition, vol. ii. p. 187. The date attached by Wodrow to Melville's embarkation, is the 2nd of June, and to his arrival at Newcastle, the 10th of that month.—*Wodrow's Life of James Melville*, p. 132.

⁴ *Wodrow's Life of James Melville*, p. 133. This gentleman is named Sir John Anstruther by Dr M'Crie; *Life of Melville*, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 234.

than he, and that his majesty knew very well his affection—what service he had done, and was willing to do in so far as conscience would suffer him; adding that the king found no fault nor ill with him that he knew of, but that he would not be a bishop. "If in my judgment and my conscience," he concluded, after some further remarks, "I thought it would not undo his majesty's monarchy and the church of Christ within the same, and so bring on a fearful judgment, I could as gladly take a bishopric and serve the king therein as I could keep my breath within me, so far am I from delighting to contradict and oppose to his majesty, as is laid to my charge; for in all things, saving my conscience, his majesty hath found, and shall find me most prompt to his pleasure and service." With this reply the conversation ended.

During his exile various attempts were made by his parishioners to obtain leave for his return. In February, 1608, the elders of the church of Anstruther prepared a petition with that view, to be presented to the commissioners of the General Assembly, and when through stratagem they were prevented from presenting it, another was given in to the Assembly which met at Linlithgow in July, 1609. An application to the king on his behalf was promised; but a reply which he made to a most unprovoked attack on the presbyterians in a sermon by the vicar of Newcastle, afforded the bishops and their friends a ready excuse for the non-fulfilment of this promise. To preserve appearances, the prelates did indeed transmit to court a representation in favour of the banished ministers; but this is now ascertained to have been nothing more than a piece of the vilest hypocrisy. A private letter was transmitted at the same time, discouraging those very representations which in public they advocated, and urging the continuation of their banishment in unabated rigour. Equally unfavourable in their results, although we have less evidence of insincerity, were the fair promises of the earl of Dunbar and of archbishop Spottiswood.⁵

We have already noticed the anxious, though unsuccessful, efforts of Melville in behalf of his uncle. During the whole period of the imprisonment of Andrew Melville, his nephew's attentions were continued. He supplied his uncle with money and such other necessaries as could be sent him, and received in return the productions of his muse. About this period their correspondence, which they maintained with surprising regularity, took a turn somewhat out of its usual course. James Melville had now been for two years a widower; he had become attached to a lady, the daughter of the vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and he earnestly begged his uncle's advice. The match was considered unequal in point of years, and a long correspondence ensued, from which it became evident, that, while James's respect for his uncle had led him to request his advice, his feelings had previously become too strongly interested to admit of any doubt as to the decision of the question. Finding his nephew's happiness so deeply concerned in the result, Andrew Melville yielded, and the marriage accordingly took place. Whatever may have been his fears, it is but justice to state, that this connexion led to no compromise of principle, and that it was attended with the happiest results.

It would seem that the bishops, not content with separating James Melville from his brethren, still thought themselves insecure if he was allowed to remain

⁵ Another representation in behalf of Melville appears to have been presented to the Synod of Fife by his parishioners in 1610. Archbishop Gladstones, the only authority for this statement, writes thus on the subject to the king: "As for me, I will not advise your majesty any thing in this matter, because I know not what is the man's humour as yet, but rather wish that, ere any such man get liberty, our turns took setting a while." *Life of Gladstones in Wodrow's Biographical Collections*, (printed for the Maitland Club,) vol. i., pp. 274, 275. So little confidence, does it appear, had the bishops in the stability of their establishment.

at Newcastle. They accordingly obtained an order for his removal to Carlisle, which was afterwards changed by the interest of his friends to Berwick. About this period he was again urged by the earl of Dunbar to accede to the wishes of the king, but with as little success as formerly. That nobleman therefore took him with him to Berwick, where he continued almost to the date of his death. This period of his life seems to have been devoted to a work on the proper execution of which his mind was most anxiously bent—his Apology for the Church of Scotland. This work, which however he did not live to see published, bears the title of “*Jacobi Melvini libellus Supplex Ecclesie Scoticanæ Apologeticus.*” It was printed at London and appeared in 1645.

About the year 1612, Melville appears to have petitioned the king for liberty to return to his native country. He received for answer that he need indulge no hopes but by submitting absolutely to the acts of the General Assembly of 1610. Such conditions he would not of course accept, and he considered his return altogether hopeless. But the very measures which the king and the bishops had been pursuing were the means of carrying his wishes into effect. The prelates had lately assumed a degree of hauteur which the nobility could ill have brooked, even had they felt no jealousy of a class of men, who, raised from comparative obscurity, now formed a powerful opposition to the ancient councillors of the throne. They therefore determined to exert their influence for the return of the ministers, and to second the representations of their congregations and friends. In this even the bishops felt themselves obliged to join, and they at the same time determined upon a last attempt to obtain from the ministers a partial recognition of their authority, but in this they were unsuccessful. James Melville therefore obtained leave to return to Scotland, but it was now too late. His mind had for some time brooded with unceasing melancholy over the unhappy state of the church, and his health declined at the same time. He had proceeded but a short way in his return home, when he was suddenly taken ill, and was with difficulty brought back to Berwick. Notwithstanding the prompt administration of medicine, his complaint soon exhibited fatal symptoms; and, after lingering a few days, during which he retained the most perfect tranquillity, and expressed the firmest convictions of the justice of the cause in which he suffered, he gently expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and eighth of his banishment.

The character of Melville is so fully developed in the transactions of his life, that if the present sketch is in any degree complete, all attempt at its further delineation must be unnecessary. A list of his works will be found in the Notes to Dr M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville. Of these, one is his Diary, which has been printed as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, and which has supplied the materials for the present sketch up to 1601, where it concludes. This Diary, combining, as it certainly does, perfect simplicity of style with a thorough knowledge of its principles,—containing the most interesting notices of himself and other public men, while it is perfectly free from egotism,—and, above all, indicating throughout, the best feelings both of a Christian and a gentleman, is one of the most captivating articles in the whole range of autobiographical history. It is no less remarkable than, in our estimation, it is unquestionable, that the most interesting additions to Scottish history, brought to light in our times, are written by persons of the same name. We allude to the Diary of James Melville, and the Memoirs of Sir James Melville, with which it must not be confounded. There is one point, however, in Melville's Diary, which must forcibly strike every one who is acquainted with its author's history, —we mean the allusion in many parts of his narrative to whatever evils befell the enemies of the church, as special instances of the Divine vengeance for their

opposition to its measures. Its enemies were undoubtedly highly criminal; but this method of pronouncing judgment upon them cannot be defended upon any ground of Scripture or charity.

But while we condemn this theory, in connexion with James Melville's name, justice requires the admission, that it was by no means a peculiar tenet of his,—it was the doctrine of an age, rather than of an individual. It is, moreover, let it ever be remembered, to such men as Andrew and James Melville, that we owe much of our present liberty; and, but for their firmness in the maintenance of those very principles which we are so apt to condemn, we might still have been acting those bloody scenes which have passed away with the reigns of Charles and of James. They struggled for their children,—for blessings, in the enjoyment of which they could never hope to participate. And let not us, who have entered into their labours, in our zeal to exhibit our superior enlightenment, forget or underrate our obligations. The days may come when our privileges may be taken away; and how many of those who condemn the zeal and the principles of their forefathers, will be found prepared to hazard so much for conscience' sake, or to exhibit even a small portion of their courage and self-denied patriotism, in the attempt to regain them?

MELVILLE, (SIR) JAMES, a courtier of eminence, and author of the well known memoirs of his own life and times which bear his name. In that work he has made effectual provision to keep posterity mindful of the events of his life, and the following memoir will chiefly consist of an abridgment of the facts he has himself detailed.¹ He appears to have been born in the year 1535. His father was Sir John Melville of Raith, one of the early props of the reformed faith, who, after suffering from the hate of Beaton, fell a victim to his successor, archbishop Hamilton, in 1549.² Nor were his children, or his widow, who was a daughter of Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston, spared from persecution. James, who was the third son, was, by the queen dowager's influence and direction, sent at the age of fourteen, under the protection of the French ambassador returning to France, to be a page of honour to the young queen of Scotland. The French ambassador Monluc, bishop of Valence, besides his embassy to Scotland, had, before his return, to accomplish a secret mission to the malcontents of Ireland, who had begun to breathe a wish to cast off the yoke of England, and might have proved a very valuable acquisition to France. To Ireland Melville accompanied him. Immediately on his arrival Sir James encountered a love adventure, which he tells with much satisfaction. The ship had been overtaken by a storm, and with difficulty was enabled to land at Lochfeul. They were entertained by O'Docherty, one of the bishop's friends, who lived in "a dark tour," and fed his friends with such "cauld fair" as "herring and biscuits," it being Lent. The bishop was observed to bend his eyes so attentively on O'Docherty's daughter, that the prudent father thought it right to provide him with the company of another female, in whose conduct he had less interest or responsibility. This lady was so far accomplished as to be able to speak English, but she produced an awkward scene by her ignorance of etiquette, in mistaking a phial "of the only maist precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Soliman the great Turc had given in a present to the said bishop" for something eatable, "because it had an odoriphant smell." "Therefore she licked it clean out." The consequence of the bishop's rage was the discovery of his unpriestly conduct. Meanwhile O'Docherty's young daughter, who had fled from the bishop, was seized with a sudden attachment for Melville. "She came and sought me wherever I was, and brought a priest

¹ From the beautiful edition of his memoirs printed by the Bannatyne Club, 1827.

² Wood's Peerage, ii. 112.

with her that could speak English, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me to any part which I pleased." But James was prudent at fourteen. He thanked her, said that he was yet young, that he had no rents, and was bound for France. With the assistance of Wauchope, archbishop of Armagh (a Scotsman) Monlu proceeded with his mission. From O'Docherty's house they went to the dwelling of the bishop of Roy. Here they were detained until the arrival of a Highland boat, which was to convey them to Scotland, and after more storms and dangers, losing their rudder, they at length landed at Bute. In the person to whom the boat belonged, Melville found a friend, James M'Conell of Kiltyre, who had experienced acts of kindness from his father. Soon after their return to Scotland, Melville sailed with the ambassador to France, and landed on the coast of Brittany. The bishop proceeding by post to Paris, left his young protégé to the attendance of "two young Scottish gentlemen," who were instructed to be careful of him on the way, and to provide him with the necessary expenses, which should be afterwards refunded to them. The three young men bought a nag each, and afterwards fell into company with three additional companions, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a Briton, all travelling in the same direction. At the end of their first day's journey from Brest, they all took up their night's rest in a chamber containing three beds. The two Frenchmen and the two Scotsmen slept together. Melville was accompanied by the Spaniard. In this situation he discovered himself to be the subject of plot and counterplot. He first heard the Scotsmen—with much simplicity certainly, when it is remembered that a countryman was within hearing—observe, that as the bishop had directed them to purvey for their companion, "therefore we will pay for his ordinar all the way, and shall count up twice as meikle to his master when we come to Paris, and so shall win our own expenses."³ This was a good solid discreet speculation, but it need not have been so plainly expressed. While it was hatching, the Frenchmen in the next bed were contemplating a similar plot, on the security of the ignorance of French on the part of their companions, and their inexperience of French travelling, proposing simply to pay the tavern bills themselves, and charge a handsome premium "sufficient to pay their expenses" for their trouble. Melville says he could not refrain "laughing in his mind." The Frenchmen he easily managed, but the Scotsmen were obdurate, insisting on their privilege of paying his charges, and he found his only recourse to be a separate enumeration of the charges, and the "louns" never obtained payment of their overcharge. But the Frenchmen were resolved by force to be revenged on the detector of their cunning. In the middle of a wood they procured two bullies to interrupt and attack the travellers, and when Melville and his friends drew, they joined their hired champions. But Melville, by his own account, was never discomfited, and when they saw their "countenance and that they made for defence," they pretended it was mere sport. Melville informs us, how, after his arrival at Paris, his friend the bishop was called to Rome, and himself left behind to learn to play upon the lute and to write French. In the month of May, 1553, Melville appears to have disconnected himself from the bishop, of whom he gives some curious notices touching his proficiency in the art magique and mathématique, and came into the service of the constable of France, an office in the acquisition of which he was much annoyed by the interference of a captain Ringan Coeburn, "a busy medlar." At this point in his progress the narrator stops to offer up thanks for his good fortune. As a pensioner of France, he became attached to the cause of that country in the war with Charles V., and was present at the siege of St Quentin, where his patron the constable was

² Memoirs, p. 13. partially modernized in orthography.

wounded and taken prisoner, and himself "being evil hurt with a stroke of a mass upon the head, was mounted again by his servant upon a Scots gelding, that carried him home through the enemies who were all between him and home; and two of them struck at his head with swords, because his head piece was tane off after the first rencounter that the mass had enforced, and the two were standing between him and home, to keep prisoners in a narrow strait;" but Melville's horse ran between them "against his will," as he candidly tells, and saved his master by clearing a wall, after which he met his friend Harry Killigrew, who held the steed, while its master entered a barber's shop to have his wounds dressed. Melville appears to have attended the constable in his captivity, and along with him was present at the conference of Chateau Cambresis, the consequence of which he states to be "that Spayne obtained all their desires: the Constable obtained liberty: the Cardinal of Lorraine could not mend himself, no more than the commissioners of England." After the peace, the king, at the instigation of the constable, formed the design of sending Melville to Scotland to negotiate its terms with reference to this country, and to check the proceedings of Murray, then prior of St Andrews, and the rising influence of the Lords of the Congregation. The cardinal of Lorraine, however, had influence sufficient to procure this office for Monsieur De Buttoncourt, a person whose haughty manner, backed with the designs of the "Holy alliance" he represented, served to stir up the flame he was sent to allay, and the more prudent Melville, whose birth and education certainly did not qualify him to conduct such a mission with vigour, or even integrity to his employers, was sent over with instructions moderate to the ear, but strong in their import. A war for mere religion was however deprecated; the constable shrewdly observing, that they had enough to do in ruling the consciences of their own countrymen, and must leave Scotsmen's souls to God. Melville was instructed "to seem only to be there for to visit his friends." He found the queen regent in the old tower of Falkland, in bitterness of spirit from the frustration of her ambitious designs. Quietly and stealthily the emissary acquired his secret information. The ostensible answer he brought with him to France was, that the prior of St Andrews did *not* aspire to the crown; a matter on which the bearings were probably sufficiently known at the court of France without a mission. Such, however, is the sum of what he narrates as his answer to the constable, who exhibited great grief that the accidental death of Henry, which had intervened, and his own dismission, prevented a king and prime minister of France from reaping the fruit of Melville's cheering intelligence. Scotsmen becoming at that time unpopular in France, Melville obtained the royal permission to travel through other parts of the continent. With recommendations from his friend the constable, he visited the court of the elector Palatine, where he was advised to remain and learn the Dutch tongue, and was courteously received. At the death of Francis II., he returned to France as a messenger of condolence for the departed, and congratulation to the successor, from the court of the Palatine. He returned to the Palatine, with "a fair reward, worth a thousand crowns;" whether to the Palatine or himself, is not clear. When Melville perceived queen Mary about to follow the advice of those who recommended her return to Scotland, he called on her with the offer of his "most humble and dutiful service;" and the queen gave him thanks for the opinions she heard of his affection towards her service, and desired him, when he should think fit to leave Germany, to join her service in Scotland. The cardinal of Lorraine, among his other projects, having discovered the propriety of a marriage betwixt Mary and the archduke Charles of Austria, brother to Maximilian, Melville was deputed by secretary Maitland to discover what manner of man this Charles

might happen to be ; to inquire as to his religion, his rents, his qualities, his age, and stature. Melville had a very discreet and confidential meeting with Maximilian, who made diligent inquiry as to the intentions of the queen of Scots and her subjects, regarding the alleged right to the English throne ; while it struck the wily Scot, that he was not particularly anxious to advance his brother to a throne, presently that of Scotland, but not unlikely to be that of the island of Britain. To obtain such information as might prove a sure footing for his future steps, he procured his companion, Mons. Zuleger, to drink with the secretaries of Maximilian, and ascertained his suspicions to be well founded. Notwithstanding a cordial invitation to join the court of Maximilian, (no other man ever had so many sources of livelihood continually springing up in his path,) Melville returned to the Palatine. On his way he enjoyed a tour of pleasure, passing to Venice and Rome, and returning through Switzerland to Heidelberg, where the elector held his court. He afterwards revisited Paris on a matrimonial scheme, concocted by the queen-mother, betwixt her son and Maximilian's eldest daughter, acting in the high capacity of the bearer of a miniature of the lady. The welcomes of his friend the constable, not on the best of terms with the queen-mother, seem now to have fallen with far less cordiality on the heart of Melville, and he seems to have looked with some misliking at that dignitary's taking the opportunity of presenting the picture, to appear at court, where " he sat down upon a stool, and held his bonnet upon his head, taking upon him the full authority of his great office, to the queen-mother's great misliking." While at Paris, he received despatches from Murray and secretary Maitland, requesting his immediate return to his native country, to be employed in the service of the queen, a mandate which he obeyed. Meanwhile the Palatine and his son, duke Casimer, showed an ambition for a union of the latter with Elizabeth of England ; a measure which Melville found curious grounds for dissuading, in fulfilment of his principle of using such influence as he might command, to interfere with the appearance of an heir to the crown of England. But Melville could not refuse the almost professional duty of conveying the young duke's picture to England. He obtained an interview with Elizabeth, who was more attentive to the subject of the marriage of queen Mary, than to her own ; expressing disapprobation of a union with the arch-duke Charles, and recommending her favourite Dudley. He proceeded to Scotland, and was received by Mary at Perth, on the 5th May, 1564. He was informed that it had been the queen's intention to have employed him in Germany, but she had now chosen for him a mission to England. He is most amiable in his motives for following the young queen. He was loth to lose " the occasions and offers of preferment that was made to him in France and other parts : but the queen was so instant and so well inclined, and showed herself endowed with so many princely virtues, that he thought it would be against good conscience to leave her, requiring so earnestly his help and service ;" so that, in short, he " thought her more worthy to be served for little profit, than any other prince in Europe for great commodity." He proceeded to England with ample instructions, the amicable purport of which, either as they were really delivered, or as Melville has chosen to record them, is well known to the readers of history. Melville made sundry inquiries at " very dear friends" attending the court of Elizabeth, as to his best method of proceeding with the haughty queen ; and having, on due consideration, established in his mind a set of canons for the occasion, stoutly adhered to them, and found the advantage of doing so. He was peculiarly cautious on the subject of the marriage ; he remained to witness the installation of Dudley as earl of Leicester and baron of Denbigh, cautiously avoiding any admission of the propriety of countenancing

a union betwixt him and the queen, while he bestowed on him as much praise as Elizabeth chose to exact, and consented to join in invectives against the personal appearance of Darnley—his being “lang, lusty, beardless, and lady-faced,” &c.—“albeit,” continues the narrator, “I had a secret charge to purchase leave for him to pass in Scotland, where his father was already.” Melville spent nine days at the court of England, and made excellent use of his time. His memorial of the period contains many most ingenious devices, by which he contrived to support the honour of the queen of Scotland, while he flattered the queen of England on her superiority. He delighted her much, by telling her the Italian dress became her more than any other one, because he saw she preferred it herself,—this was no disparagement to his own queen. He said they were both the fairest women in their country; and, being driven to extremities, told Elizabeth he thought her the whiter, but that his own queen was very “luesome;” leaving the inference, when Elizabeth chose to make it, that she was as much more “luesome” as she was whiter, though by no means making so discreditable an admission. It happened fortunately that the queen of Scotland, being taller than the queen of England, the latter decided the former to be too tall. Melville, who had no foresight of the more enlarged opinions of posterity, reviews all his petty tricks and successful flatteries, with the air of one claiming praise for acts which increase the happiness of the human race. The following paragraph is exemplary to all courtiers. He had been giving moderate praise to the musical abilities of Mary. “That same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music; but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. But after I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood still at the door cheek, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off so soon as she turned about and saw me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her left hand, and to think shame; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary her alone, to eschew melancholy; and asked how I came there. I said, as I was walking with my L. of Hunsden, as I passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody that ravished and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the court of France, and was willing to suffer what kind of punishment would please her lay upon me for my offence.” The result was, that he acknowledged Elizabeth a better musician than Mary, and she said his French was good. After so much politeness, the opinion of Elizabeth, which he retailed to Mary, was, “there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation,—emulation that her (Mary’s) princely qualities should over soon chase her out and displace her from the kingdom.”

The next public duty in which Melville was engaged, was as bearer of the intelligence of the birth of the prince, afterwards James VI., to the court of England, for which purpose he left Edinburgh on the 19th June, 1566. He found Elizabeth dancing after supper, in a state of jovialty and merriment, which was momentarily quashed on the reception of what she termed the welcome intelligence. But next morning the queen had prepared herself to receive her complimentary friend, who had excused his homeliness on the ground of his having been brought up in France, and the spirit of their previous conference was renewed; the courtier turning his complimentary allusions into a very hideous picture of the evils of marriage, as experienced by his own queen, that no little bit of endeavour on his part, (according to his avowal,) might be lost, conducive to settling in the mind of the English queen, a solid detestation of

matrimony. He takes credit to himself for having given sage and excellent advice to the Scottish queen, on the occurrence of her various unfortunate predictions, particularly on her conduct towards Bothwell during the life of Darnley, and happened to be among those attendants of the queen who were so very easily taken prisoners by the aspirant to the crown. After this event, he considered it prudent to obtain leave to return home, and enjoy his "rents;" but so long as he was able to transact messages and carry pictures, the atmosphere of a court seems to have been to him the breath of life; he appears to have waited in quiet expectation for whatever little transactions might fall to his lot, and, among other occasions, was present at the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, after that nobleman's "fury" against him, before which he had been obliged to flee on account of his advice to the queen, "more honest than wise," had been propitiated. On the formation of the party for crowning the young prince, he was, as far as his book is concerned, still a zealous servant of his fallen mistress. He was chosen commissioner or emissary to the opposite party,—a post he declined to accept, until advised to become the instrument of peace, by Maitland, Kirkaldy, and "other secret favourers of the queen." On the same principle of attention to the interests of Mary, he acted as emissary to meet Murray at Berwick, on his approaching Scotland to assume the regency. He was equally accommodating in furthering the introduction of Lennox, and was engaged in his usual employments under Mar and Morton. It would be tedious to follow him in his list of negotiations, any thing which is important in them being more nearly concerned with the history of the times, than with the subject of our memoir. The character in which he acted is sufficiently exemplified by the details already unfolded; and it would require more labour and discernment than most men command, to determine for what party he really acted, or on what principles of *national* policy he combated. It may be mentioned, that he alleges the busy temper of finding fault with the proceedings of the great, with which he so complacently charges himself on divers occasions, to have lost him the countenance of Morton, while with superlative generosity he recommended the laird of Carmichael to avoid a similar course; and the laird, profiting by the advice, forgot that injured man, the giver of it. When James wished to free himself from the unceremonious authors of the Raid of Ruthven, he requested the counsel and assistance of Melville, who, although he had taken leave of the court, and resolved to live "a quiet contemplative life all the rest of his days," graciously assented to the royal petition. He read his majesty a lecture on the conduct of young princes, and assisted in enabling him to attend the convention at St Andrews; or, according to his own account, was the sole procurer of his liberty. He was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber, and a member of the privy council; but Arran, whom he opposed, managed to supplant him, notwithstanding an unmercifully long letter, reminding James of his services, and the royal promises, and bestowing much advice, useful for governors. He was deprived of his offices, and had no more opportunity "to do good." But he was not entirely excluded from the sun of royalty; he was directed to prepare instructions for himself as an ambassador to the court of England, and held a long conference with the king about the state of the nation, full of much sage advice. He was appointed to "entertain" the three Danish ambassadors, whose mission concerning the restoration of the islands of Orkney, terminated in the king's marriage with a Danish princess: and when these gentlemen were plunged into a state of considerable rage at their reception, he was found a most useful and pacific mediator. He was appointed the *confidential* head of that embassy proposed to Altry, and afterwards accepted by the earl Marischal, for bringing over the royal bride; but he had arrived at that period of life, when

he found it necessary or agreeable to resign lucrative missions. The portion of his memoirs referring to this period, introduces a vivid description of the machinations of the witches to impede the wishes of king James, by which a relation of his own was drowned in crossing the frith of Forth. On the arrival of the queen, Melville was presented to her as her counsellor, and gentleman of her bedchamber. His last public duty appears to have been that of receiving the presents of the ambassadors at the christening of Prince Henry. He declined following James to his new dominions, but afterwards paid him a visit, and was kindly received at the English court. His latter days appear to have been spent in preparing his memoirs, so often quoted as a model of wisdom for the guidance of his descendants. Two mutilated editions of this curious work were published in English, besides a French translation, before the discovery of the original manuscripts, which had passed through the hands of the Marichmont family, produced the late genuine edition. Sir James died on the 1st November, 1607,⁴ in the eighty-second year of his age. In his character there seems little either to respect or admire; but it is to be remembered that he lived in an age, when those who were not murderers or national traitors, were of a comparatively high standard of morality.

MESTON, WILLIAM, an ingenious and learned poet of the eighteenth century, was born in the parish of Mid-Mar, Aberdeenshire, about the year 1688. His parents were in humble circumstances, but, by submitting to privations themselves, they contrived to give their son a liberal education. Having acquired the earlier rudiments of learning at a country school, he was sent to the Marischal college, Aberdeen, where he made such proficiency, that, on the completion of his studies, he was elected one of the doctors of the high school of New Aberdeen. In this situation he continued for some time, discharging its duties with an assiduity and talent which procured him much respect and considerable popularity as a teacher. While thus employed, his reputation and qualifications attracted the notice of the noble family of Marischal, and he was chosen to be preceptor and governor to the young earl, and his brother, the celebrated Marshal Keith. Of this trust he acquitted himself so well, that, on the occurrence of a vacancy in 1714, in the office of professor of philosophy in Marischal college, he was appointed to it through the influence of the countess Marischal. This office he also filled with great ability, and with universal approbation; but he was permitted to retain it only for a very short time. In the following year, 1715, the civil war broke out, and Meston, adhering to the political principles of his patrons, lost his professorship. To compensate this deprivation, he was made governor of Dunotter castle, by the earl Marischal; a singular enough change of profession, but sufficiently characteristic of the times.

After the battle of Sheriff muir, Meston, with several others of his party, fled to the hills, where they skulked till the act of indemnity was passed, when they returned to their homes.

During the time of his concealment, Meston composed, for the amusement of his companions, several of those humorous poetical effusions which he has entitled *Mother Grim's Tales*, and which were published in Edinburgh in 1767. Steady to his political principles, he refused after his return, to yield obedience to the new dynasty, and thus cut himself off from every chance of being restored to his former appointment; an event which might otherwise have taken place. In these circumstances, destitute of employment, and equally destitute of the means of subsistence, he accepted an invitation from the

⁴ Wood's Peerage, ii. 112. The introduction to the last edition of his works, says aged 72. This is inconsistent with his having been 14 years of age in 1549, when he accompanied Monluc to France.

countess Marischal to reside in her family, and availed himself of her hospitality till her death; contributing largely to the entertainment of all her guests by his wit, and by the exercise of a singularly happy vein of pleasantry which he possessed.

On the death of the countess, Meston was again left destitute, and for some years continued in very straitened circumstances. At the end of this period he opened an academy at Elgin, in conjunction with his brother, Mr Samuel Meston, who was eminently skilled in the Greek language. For some years the academy throve well, and yielded its teachers a comfortable living. Meston gave instructions in all the branches of learning taught at universities, became popular as a teacher, and by his assiduity acquired the unlimited confidence of his employers. His success, however, in place of operating as an incitement to further exertion, seems to have thrown him off his guard. Always of a social disposition, he now became a thorough-paced boon companion; and betook himself with a devotion and cordiality to his book, his bottle, and his friend, which was wholly incompatible with his success as a teacher. The consequence was, that in a few years the academy fell so much away that he gave it up, and removed to Tureff, a village on the northwest limits of Aberdeenshire, to which he had been invited by the countess of Errol, who knew and appreciated his talents. From this lady Meston received, after his removal, much kindness. She allowed him the use of the family lodging in the village rent-free, and sent him many presents from time to time to better his housekeeping. The academy also succeeded well, and continued to improve during several years, until an unfortunate occurrence suddenly terminated its existence.

Two of Meston's young gentlemen having quarrelled while playing at shuttle-cock, one of them drew a knife and stabbed the other in the breast. The wound was not fatal, but the parents of the other children became alarmed for their safety; and though no blame whatever could attach to the master in what had happened, they were all removed, and poor Meston was left without a pupil.

Driven from Tureff, Meston went next to Montrose, where he attempted to open another academy, but without success. From Montrose he removed to Perth, and here found some employment in his profession of teaching, but was in a short time afterwards taken into the family of Mr Oliphant of Gask as a private preceptor. In this situation he remained for several years, when, falling into a bad state of health, he resigned it, and removed to Peterhead for the benefit of its mineral waters. The unfortunate poet was now once more reduced to utter destitution, with the aggravation of a debilitated frame and failing constitution. For this luckless hour he had made no provision. With the true spirit of a poet, he had always entertained a most sublime contempt for money, and for all habits of economy; spending to-day what he had acquired to-day, and boldly leaving to-morrow to provide for itself. The comforts, however, which he was unable to procure for himself in his sickness, were liberally supplied to him by a generous friend. His old patroness, the countess of Errol, furnished him with every necessary and comfort which his infirmities and forlorn condition required, even to the fitting out of his apartment. Finding no benefit to his health from his residence at Peterhead, he removed to Aberdeen, where he died in the spring of 1745, and was buried in the Spittal churchyard of Old Aberdeen.

Meston was esteemed one of the best classical scholars of his time. He was also an excellent mathematician. As a poet his fame is now reduced to very narrow limits. His poetry is, we believe, scarcely known to the present generation; and yet it would seem to merit a better fate, were it not perhaps

for its grossness and indelicacy. He was a slavish imitator of Butler in style and manner; and it is not improbably owing to this circumstance, which necessarily excluded originality, that his otherwise clever poems have so soon sunk into oblivion. But though a copyist of style and manner, Meston had a genius of his own, and that of a pretty high order. In many instances his poetry exhibits scintillations of wit and humour not inferior to the brightest in the pages of Hudibras. A volume of his poems, containing *The Knight*, *Mother Grim's Tales*, and several other miscellaneous pieces, was published, as already noticed, in Edinburgh in 1767, and this is, we believe, all that remains of Meston, a man of very considerable genius, and "a fellow of infinite jest."

MICKLE, WILLIAM JULIUS, (originally MEIKLE,) the translator of Camoens' *Lusiad*, and an original poet of considerable merit, was one of the sons of the Rev. Alexander Meikle, who in early life was a dissenting clergyman in London, and assistant to Dr Watt, but finally settled as minister of the parish of Langholm, in Dumfries-shire, where the subject of this memoir was born, in 1734. The mother of the poet was Julia Henderson, of a good family in Mid Lothian. The Rev. Mr Meikle, whose learning is testified by his having been employed in the translation of Bayle's Dictionary, was his son's first teacher. The young poet was afterwards, on the death of his father, sent to reside in Edinburgh, with his aunt, the wife of Mr Myrtle, an eminent brewer; there he attended the High School for some years. It is said, however, that, though his passion for poetry was early displayed, he was by no means attached to literature in general, till the age of thirteen, when, Spenser's *Fairy Queen* falling in his way, he became passionately fond of that author, and immediately began to imitate his manner. At sixteen, Mickle was called from school to keep the accounts of his aunt, who, having lost her husband, carried on the business on her own account. Not long after, he was admitted to a share in the business, and his prospects were, at the outset of life, extremely agreeable. For reasons, however, which have not been explained, he was unfortunate in trade; and about the year 1763, became bankrupt. Without staying to obtain a settlement with his creditors, he proceeded to London, tried to procure a commission in the marine service, but, the war being just then concluded, failed in his design. Before leaving the Scottish capital, he had devoted himself, only too much, perhaps, to poetry. At eighteen, he had composed two tragedies and half an epic poem, besides some minor and occasional pieces. Being now prompted to try what poetry could do for him, he introduced himself and several of his pieces to the notice of lord Lyttelton, who, it is understood, conceived a respectful opinion of his abilities, and recommended him to persevere in versification, but yielded him no more substantial proof of favour.

Mickle appears to have been rescued from these painful circumstances, by being appointed corrector to the Clarendon press, at Oxford. This was a situation by no means worthy of his abilities; but, while not altogether uncongenial to his taste, it had the advantage of leaving him a little leisure for literary pursuits, and thus seemed to secure to him what has always been found of the greatest consequence to friendless men of genius,—a fixed routine of duties, and a steady means of livelihood, while a portion of the mental energies are left salient for higher objects. Accordingly, from the year 1765, Mickle published a succession of short poems, some of which attracted considerable notice, and made him known respectfully to the world of letters. He also ventured into the walk of religious controversy, and wrote pamphlets against Voltaire and Mr Harewood, besides contributing frequently to the newspaper called the *Whitehall Evening Post*.

In his early youth, he had perused Castura's translation of the *Lusiad* of Camoens.

and ever since had entertained the design of executing an English version. He now, for the first time, found leisure and encouragement to attempt so laborious a task. The first canto was published as a specimen in 1771, and met with so much approbation, as to induce him to abandon his duties at Oxford, and devote himself entirely to this more pleasing occupation. Having retired to a farm house at Forest-hill, he applied himself unremittingly to the labour, subsisting upon the money which he drew from time to time as subscriptions for his work. In 1775, the version was completed; and, that no means might be wanting for obtaining it a favourable reception, he published it, with a dedication to a nobleman of high influence, with whom his family had been connected. The work obtained a large measure of public approbation, which it has ever since retained; but its reception with the patron was not what the translator had been led to expect. A copy was bound in a most expensive manner, and sent to that high personage; but, months passing on without any notice even of its receipt, a friend of the poet, in high official situation, called upon his lordship, to learn, if possible, the cause of his silence. He found that some frivolous literary adversary of Mickle had prejudiced the noble lord against the work, and that the presentation copy was, till that moment, unopened. We have here, perhaps, one of the latest instances of that prostration of genius before the shrine of rank, which was formerly supposed to be so indispensable to literary success, but was, in reality, even in the most favourable instances, only productive of paltry and proximate advantages. The whole system of dedication was an absurdity. Books were in reality written for the public, and to the public did their authors look for that honour which forms the best motive for literary exertion. To profess to devote their works more particularly to some single member of the community, was an impertinence to all the rest, that ought never to have been practised; and we might the more readily denounce the above instance of "patrician meanness," as Mickle's first biographer terms it, if we could see any rationality in the author expecting so much more from one individual, for his labours, than from another.

During the progress of his translation, Mickle composed a tragedy, under the title of the Siege of Marseilles, which was shown to Garrick, and rejected on account of its want of stage effect. It was then revised and altered by Mr Home, author of the tragedy of Douglas; and a proposal was made to the author to bring it forward in the Edinburgh theatre. This idea was afterwards abandoned, and the tragedy remained in abeyance till the conclusion of the *Lusiad*, when the author made another effort to bring it out on the London stage. It was shown to Mr Harris of Covent Garden, and again rejected. After this repulse, Mickle relinquished all expectations of advantage from the theatre, though he permitted the unfortunate play to be shown to Sheridan, from whom he never again received it.

The *Lusiad* was so well received, that a second edition was found necessary in 1779. In the same year, Mickle published a pamphlet on the India question, which was at one time expected to obtain for him some marks even of royal favour. In May, the most fortunate incident in his life took place. His friend, Mr Johnston, formerly governor of South Carolina, was then appointed to the command of the Romney man-of-war, and Mickle, being chosen by him as his secretary, went out to sea in his company, in order to partake of whatever good fortune he might encounter, during a cruise against the Spaniards. In November, he arrived at Lisbon, where he was received with very flattering marks of attention, and stayed six months, during which time he collected many traits of the Portuguese character and customs, with the intention, never fulfilled, of combining them in a book. During his residence in Portugal, he wrote his best

poem, *Almada Hill*, which was published in 1781. The cruise had been highly successful, and Mickle, being appointed joint agent for the prizes, was sent home to superintend the legal proceedings connected with their condemnation. His own share of the results was very considerable, and, together with the fortune he acquired by his wife, whom he married in June, 1782, at once established his independence. The remainder of his life was spent in literary leisure, at Wheatley, in Oxfordshire, where he died, October 25, 1788, after a short illness, leaving one son. Mickle's poems are not voluminous, and have been eclipsed, like so much of the other verse of the last century, by the infinitely superior productions of the present or immediately by-past age. Many of them, however, show considerable energy of thought; others, great sweetness of versification; and his translation has obtained the rank of a classic. It is not to be overlooked, moreover, that the authorship of one exquisite song in his native dialect, *Colins' Welcome*, is ascribed to him, though not upon definite grounds.

After Mickle's death, his Scottish creditors revived their claims upon his executors. An Edinburgh agent, named Henderson, having got the debts vested in his own person, raised an action in England for their recovery. Not having furnished himself with the necessary vouchers, he lost his action, with costs, which the executors employed another Scottish agent to recover. This latter individual—to whom we are indebted for some of the information in the present memoir—being aware that the debts might have still been available in a Scottish court, succeeded in getting the business managed extra-judicially; so that the poet's representatives were no more troubled with his Scottish creditors.

MILLAR, JOHN, professor of law in the university of Glasgow, and author of the *Historical View of the English Government*, was born on the 22nd of June, 1735, in the parish of Shotts, of which his father, the Rev. Mr James Millar, was minister. Two years after his birth, his father was translated to Hamilton, and he was himself placed under the charge of his uncle, Mr John Millar of Milhaugh, in the neighbouring parish of Blantyre, where he spent almost all his early years. Having been taught to read by his uncle, he was placed in 1742, at the school of Hamilton, in order to be instructed in Latin and Greek. In 1746, being designed for the church, he went to Glasgow college, where he distinguished himself as an attentive and intelligent student. He had the advantage of the society of Dr Cullen, (then professor of chemistry at Glasgow,) to whose wife he was related, and of the acquaintance of other persons distinguished by their intelligence. He was particularly fortunate in obtaining the friendship of Dr Adam Smith, whose lectures and conversation first directed his attention to the particular line of research in which he afterwards became so eminent. As his mind expanded, he found that the clerical profession was not agreeable to his tastes or faculties, and he accordingly adopted the resolution of studying for the Scottish bar. About the time when his college studies were finished, he became preceptor to the eldest son of lord Kames, in whose society he spent two years, during which he formed an intimacy with David Hume and other eminent persons. "It seldom happens," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "that we can trace the genealogy of a literary progeny so correctly as the two circumstances which have now been mentioned, enable us to do that of Mr Millar's future studies. It is perfectly evident to all who are acquainted with their writings, that his speculations are all formed upon the model of those of lord Kames and Dr Smith; and that his merit consists almost entirely in the accuracy with which he surveyed, and the sagacity with which he pursued, the path which they had the merit of discovering. It was one great object of those original authors to trace back the history of society to its

most simple and universal elements ; to resolve almost all that has been ascribed to positive institution, to the spontaneous and irresistible development of certain obvious principles,—and to show with how little contrivance or political wisdom the most complicated and apparently artificial schemes of policy might have been erected. This is very nearly the precise definition of what Mr Millar aimed at accomplishing in his lectures and his publications ; and when we find that he attended the lectures of Dr Smith, and lived in the family of lord Kames, we cannot hesitate to ascribe the bent of his genius, and the peculiar tenor of his speculations, to the impressions he must have received from those early occurrences.”

Mr Millar was called to the bar in 1760, and was soon looked upon as one of the individuals likely to rise to eminence in his profession ; but having married at this early stage of his career, and finding it improbable that his labours at the bar would for some years be adequate to his support, he was tempted by an opportune vacancy in the chair of civil law in Glasgow college, to apply for that comparatively obscure situation. Having been successful in his object, (1761,) he applied himself with all the ardour of an uncommonly active and sanguine temperament, to the improvement of the class. Heretofore the professorship of civil law at Glasgow had been in a great measure useless to the community. The students were seldom more than four in number, and sometimes even less. The late professor, however, had broken through the established usage of lecturing in Latin, and Mr Millar not only persevered in the same popular course, but adopted other means calculated to attract a larger audience. Instead of writing his lectures—a practice which generally induces the professor to adhere to one train of ideas, and resist the introduction of all progressive improvements, he delivered them extempore, and thus not only took a prompt advantage of every new view that arose in the progress of his science, but enabled himself to introduce familiar and lively illustrations, which were calculated to excite and keep alive the attention of his students to an uncommon degree. Discarding the old academical pomp, he reduced himself to a level with his hearers ; he talked to them, and carefully observed that they understood all that he said, and acceded to all his propositions. “ His manner,” says the *Edinburgh Review*,¹ “ was familiar and animated, approaching more nearly to gayety than enthusiasm ; and the facts which he had to state, or the elementary positions he had to lay down, were given in the simple, clear, and unembarrassed diction in which a well-bred man would tell a story or deliver an opinion in society. All objections that occurred, were stated in a forcible, clear, and lively manner ; and the answers, which were often thrown into a kind of dramatic form, were delivered with all the simplicity, vivacity, and easy phraseology of good conversation. His illustrations were always familiar, and often amusing ; and while nothing could be more forcible or conclusive than the reasonings which he employed, the tone and style in which they were delivered gave them an easy and attractive air, and imparted, to a profound and learned discussion, the charms of an animated and interesting conversation. No individual, indeed, ever did more to break down the old and unfortunate distinction between the wisdom of the academician and the wisdom of the man of the world : and as most of the topics which fell under his discussion were of a kind that did not lose their interest beyond the walls of a college, so the views which he took of them, and the language in which they were conveyed, were completely adapted to the actual condition of society ; and prepared those to whom they had been made familiar, to maintain and express them with pre-

¹ The article we are now quoting was probably the composition of Mr Jeffrey, who, if we are not mistaken, was a pupil of Mr Millar.

cision, without running the least risk of an imputation of pedantry or ignorance.

“ It will be admitted to have required no ordinary share of intrepidity and confidence in the substantial merits of his instructions, to have enabled a professor thus to lay aside the shield of academical stateliness, and not only expose his thoughts in the undress of extemporaneous expression, but to exhibit them, without any of the advantages of imposing or authoritative pretences, on the fair level of equal discussion, and with no other recommendations but those of superior expediency or reason.” He carried his system, however, even to a more hazardous extreme: at the conclusion of every lecture, he invited his students to gather around him, and in easy conversation to discuss the principles he had been expounding. It has been justly remarked, that no teacher who did not possess an unusually minute and extensive knowledge of his subject could have ventured upon such a practice; which, however, in his case, was attended with the best effects upon his pupils. Such, altogether, was the success which attended his prelections, that the class was speedily increased to about forty, and the professor in the Edinburgh college, after seeing his students proportionally diminished, was obliged to abandon the practice of lecturing in Latin, in which he had persevered till Mr Millar’s reputation as an effective lecturer was completely established.

During the whole time of his connexion with Glasgow college, Mr Millar was a zealous and active member of the Literary Society, a club chiefly formed of the professors, and whose practice it was to meet weekly, and, after hearing an essay read by some member in rotation, to discuss the views which it advanced. The tenor of Mr Millar’s life was little marked by events. He spent his time between the college and a small farm called Whitemoss (near Kilbride,) which he took great pleasure in improving. Excepting, indeed, two visits to the metropolis in 1774 and 1792, and the publication of his two books, there is hardly any incident to which we find our notice particularly called.

Amongst his lectures on jurisprudence, those which referred to the subject of government were remarked to possess an unusual interest. In these he delivered a theoretical history of the progress of society, through the various stages of savage, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial life; with a view of the institutions and changes which would naturally be suggested in their political and domestic habits by their successive transformation; illustrating his remarks by an historical review of all the ancient governments, and more particularly by that of Great Britain. The interest which he found they excited, induced him, in 1771, to publish a short treatise on the subject, which was favourably received. Even to cursory readers, it was calculated to afford amusement, by the various views of human nature which it exhibited, and by the singularity of many of the traits of manners, as well as of national characters and institutions, which it traced to their sources. Some years afterwards, Mr Millar was induced, by the prevalence of what he conceived to be erroneous ideas respecting the origin of the English government, to expand his views on that subject, with a view to publication. After a careful preparation, he published, in 1787, his *Historical View of the English Government, from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain, to the Accession of the House of Stewart*. By subsequent labour Mr Millar intended to bring down the history to his own time, but he only completed it to the Revolution, and a new and posthumous edition in 1803, in four volumes 8vo, comprised that period. As a writer, Mr Millar retained little of that vivacity and fertility of illustration, which gave such a charm to his extemporaneous lectures. The style of his compositions is nevertheless forcible and distinct. His *Historical View*, containing much inquiry into the remote

periods of our government, and many distinctions which it requires some effort of attention fully to understand, could not be of a very popular nature; but it has been justly appreciated by those who were fitted by their habits and previous studies to take an interest in such researches; and, considering the nature of the subjects of which it treats, its having gone through three editions is no slight proof of public approbation.

“The distinguishing feature of Mr Millar’s intellect,” says the Edinburgh Review, “was, the great clearness and accuracy of his apprehension, and the singular sagacity with which he seized upon the true statement of a question, and disentangled the point in dispute from the mass of sophisticated argument in which it was frequently involved. His great delight was to simplify an intricate question, and to reduce a perplexed and elaborate system of argument to a few plain problems of common sense. * * To form a sound judgment upon all points of substantial importance, appeared to him to require little more than the free and independent use of that vulgar sense on which no man is entitled to value himself; and he was apt to look with sufficient contempt upon the elaborate and ingenious errors into which philosophers are so apt to reason themselves. To bring down the dignity of such false science, and to expose the emptiness of ostentatious and pedantic reasoners, was therefore one of his favourite employments. He had, indeed, no prejudices of veneration in his nature; his respect was reserved for those who had either made discoveries of practical ability, or combined into a system the scattered truths of speculation.” For the remainder of a very elaborate estimate of the genius of professor Millar, we must refer those who take an unusual interest in the subject, to the Review itself.² We may only mention, what every one will have anticipated from the preceding extract, that Mr Millar was of whig politics, bordering on republicanism, and that his sentiments had considerable influence with his pupils, some of whom, as lord Jeffrey, lord chief commissioner Adam, of the Jury court, and the earl of Lauderdale, were distinguished on that side of the great political question which so long divided public opinion in this country.

In his private character, Mr Millar was extremely amiable. His conversation was cheerful, unaffected, and uncommonly agreeable. His countenance was very animated and expressive; his stature about the middle size; his person strong, active, and athletic, rather than elegant. Though devoted chiefly to metaphysical inquiries, he was extensively acquainted with the natural sciences, with history, with the belles lettres, and, indeed, almost all branches of human learning. He retained good health till the end of the year 1790, when he was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory complaint, from which he recovered to a certain extent; but a year and a half after, having exposed himself to cold, he was seized with pleurisy, by which he was carried off, May 30, 1801. Professor Millar left four sons and six daughters. A full memoir of his life was written by his nephew, Mr John Craig, and prefixed to a fourth edition of his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, published in 1808.

MITCHELL, JOSEPH, a dramatist of the eighteenth century, was born about the year 1684. His father, who is described as a stone-cutter, appears to have been in decent circumstances, as he gave his son a liberal education, including a course at one of the Scottish universities, but which of them is not now known. On completing his education, Mitchell repaired to London, with the view of pushing his fortune in that metropolis, and was lucky enough to get into favour with the earl of Stair and Sir Robert Walpole. How he effected this, whether by the force of his talents, or by what other means, is not known; but

² Vol. iii. p. 158.

his hold on the patronage of the latter especially, seems to have been singularly strong, as Sir Robert almost entirely supported him during his after life. The zeal and gratitude of Mitchell, in return for this benevolence, and which took the shape of literary effusion, sometimes in behalf of, and sometimes complimentary to his patron, became so marked, as to procure for him the title of Sir Robert Walpole's poet. The reckless and extravagant habits of Mitchell, however, kept him constantly in a state of great pecuniary distress, notwithstanding the liberal patronage of Walpole; and so inveterate were these habits, that a legacy of several thousand pounds, which was left him by an uncle of his wife, scarcely afforded him even a temporary relief.

Although Mitchell's abilities were of but a very moderate order, he yet ranked amongst his friends many of the most eminent men of his times, particularly Mr Aaron Hill. To this gentleman he on one occasion communicated his distressed condition, and sought assistance from him. Mr Hill was unable to afford him any pecuniary relief, but he generously presented him with both the profits and reputation of a little dramatic piece, entitled *Fatal Extravagance*; a piece which he seems ingeniously to have adapted at once to relieve and reprove the object of his benevolence. This play was acted and printed in Mr Mitchell's name, and the profits accruing from it were considerable; but though he accepted the latter, he was candid enough to disclaim the merit of being its author, and took every opportunity of undeceiving the world on this point, and of acknowledging his obligations to Mr Hill.

Of Mitchell, there is little more known. His talents were not of a sufficiently high order to attract much notice while he lived, or to prompt any inquiry after his death. He died on the 6th July, 1738. The following dramatic productions appear under his name, but the last only is really his, and it is not without considerable merit:—*Fatal Extravagance*, a tragedy, 8vo, 1720; *Fatal Extravagance*, a tragedy, enlarged, 12mo, 1726; and *The Highland Fair*, an opera, 8vo, 1731. In 1729, he published, besides, two octavo volumes of miscellaneous poetry.

MONRO, ALEXANDER, M. D., usually called *Secundus*, to distinguish him from his father, an eminent medical writer and teacher. Before entering upon the memoirs of this individual, it is necessary to give some account of his father, Dr Monro, *Primus*, the founder of the medical school of Edinburgh, who, having been born in London, is not precisely entitled to appear in this work under a separate head.

Dr Monro, *Primus*, was born in London, September 19, 1697. He was the son of Mr John Monro, a surgeon in the army of king William, descended from the family of Monro of Milton, in the north of Scotland. His mother was of the family of Forbes of Culloden. Having retired from the army, Mr Monro settled in Edinburgh about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and entering the college of surgeons, soon acquired considerable practice. His favourite employment, however, was to superintend the education of his son, whose talents he perceived at an early period. Though medical and anatomical chairs at that time existed in the university of Edinburgh, they were quite inefficient, and hence it was found necessary to send young Monro elsewhere for the completion of his education. He went successively to London, Paris, and Leyden, and became the attentive pupil of the great men who then taught at those universities, among whom were Cheselden, Hawksby, Chowel, Bouquet, Thibaut, and Boerhaave. Not content with listening to the instructions of these teachers, he studied assiduously by himself, especially in the department of anatomy. While attending Cheselden in London, he made numerous anatomical preparations, which he sent home; and, while here, even laid the foundation of his important

work on the bones, a sketch of which he read before a society of young surgeons and physicians, of which he had been elected a member. Before his return, his father had presented several of his preparations to the college, so that his skill was already well known. The titular professor of anatomy to the college of surgeons had even formed the resolution of relinquishing his appointment in favour of this promising young anatomist, who, he thought, would be able to convert it into a useful profession. Accordingly, on his arrival in Edinburgh, in 1719, when only twenty-two years of age, he was nominated to this dignity. Early in the ensuing year, he commenced the first regular course of anatomical and chirurgical lectures and demonstrations, which were ever delivered in that city. From his abilities and zeal, and the preparations with which he illustrated his discourses, success could hardly fail to attend his labours. It could not, however, be expected that an anatomical and surgical course alone, however valuable, or a single professor, however great his abilities, could be sufficient to raise the fame of a medical school, which had to combat many rival seminaries of deserved eminence. It became, therefore, a matter of the utmost consequence to obtain such associates as could second and support his labours. His father, to whose zeal for the establishment of a medical school in Edinburgh, much of his son's success is to be attributed, prevailed on Dr Alston, then king's botanist for Scotland, to begin a course of lectures on the materia medica. He also took an expedient for improving his son's mode of lecturing. Without the young teacher's knowledge, he invited the president and fellows of the college of physicians, and the whole company of surgeons, to honour the first day's lecture with their presence. This unexpected company threw the doctor into such confusion, that he forgot the words of the discourse, which he had written and committed to memory. Having left his papers at home, he was at a loss for a little time what to do; but, with much presence of mind, he immediately began to show some of the anatomical preparations, in order to gain time for recollection; and very soon resolved not to attempt to repeat the discourse which he had prepared, but to express himself in such language as should occur to him from the subject, which he was confident that he understood. The experiment succeeded; he delivered himself well, and gained great applause as a good and ready speaker. Thus discovering his own strength, he resolved henceforth never to recite any written discourse in teaching, and acquired a free and elegant style of delivering lectures.

The want of lectures on other branches, which still remained as an obstacle to the creation of a medical school, was soon altogether overcome by the zeal of the elder Monro, through whose influence his son and Dr Alston were put upon the college establishment, together with co-operative lectureships, undertaken by Drs Sinclair, Rutherford, and Plumer. Such was the origin of the medical school of Edinburgh, which for a century has been one of the most eminent and most frequented in Europe. The system was completed in the course of a few years, by the establishment of the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, which was chiefly urged forward by Dr Monro, with a view to the advantage of his pupils, and by George Drummond, the lord provost of the city. In this institution, Dr Monro commenced clinical lectures on the surgical, and Rutherford a similar course on the medical cases. The former, in his various capacities of physician, lecturer, and manager, took an active part in the whole business of the Infirmary. He personally attended the opening of every body; and he not only dictated to the students an accurate report of the dissection, but, with nice discrimination, contrasted the diseased and sound state of every organ. Thus, in his own person, he afforded to the students a conspicuous example of the advantages of early anatomical pursuits, as the happiest foundation for a medical

superstructure. His being at once engaged in two departments, the anatomical theatre and the clinical chair, furnished him with opportunities for experiment both on the dead and living body, and placed him in the most favourable situation for the improvement of medicine; and from these opportunities he derived every possible advantage which they could afford.

None of the professors connected with medicine in the Edinburgh university, contributed so much to the formation of the school, as Dr Monro, who was indefatigable in the labours of his office, and in the cultivation of his art, and soon made himself known to the professional world by a variety of ingenious and valuable publications. During a period of nearly forty years, he continued, without any interruption, to deliver a course of lectures, extending from the end of October to the beginning of May; and so great was the reputation which he acquired, that students flocked to him from the most distant parts of the kingdom. His first and principal publication was his *Osteology*, or *Treatise on the Anatomy of the Bones*, which appeared in 1726; when he was as yet under thirty years of age. This treatise, though intended originally for the use of his pupils, speedily became popular among the faculty in general, and was translated into most of the languages of Europe. The French edition, in folio, published by M. Sue, demonstrator of sculpture to the Royal Academy of Paris, was adorned with masterly engravings. In the later editions, Dr Monro added a concise *Neurology*, or description of the nerves, and a very accurate account of the lacteal system and thoracic duct.

In every society at Edinburgh, for the improvement of arts, or of letters, Dr Monro was one of the most distinguished ornaments. He was a member of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; of the Medical Society; of the Philosophical Society; of the Select Society for questions in morality and politics; and of the Society for promoting arts, sciences, and manufactures in Scotland. He was also a member of several foreign societies, to which he had been recommended by his great reputation. It was to his zeal and activity that the world was chiefly indebted for the six volumes of *Medical Essays and Observations*, by a society at Edinburgh, the first of which appeared in 1732. Dr Monro acted as editor of this work, and contributed to it many valuable papers on anatomical, physiological, and practical subjects; the most elaborate of which was an *Essay on the Nutrition of the Fœtus*, in three dissertations. On this society being afterwards revived under a different title, Dr Monro again took an active part in its proceedings as one of the vice-presidents, and was a liberal contributor to its publications, of which three volumes appeared, under the title of *Essays, Physical and Literary*. His last publication was an *Account of the Success of Inoculation in Scotland*, written originally as an answer to some inquiries addressed to him from the committee of the faculty of physicians at Paris, appointed to investigate the merits of the practice. It was afterwards published at the request of several of his friends, and contributed to extend the practice in Scotland. Besides the works which he published, he left several manuscripts, written at different times, of which the following are the principal: *A History of Anatomical Writers*,—*an Encheiresis Anatomica*,—*Heads of many of his Lectures*,—*a Treatise on Wounds and Tumours*,—*a Treatise on Comparative Anatomy*,—and an oration *De Cuticula*. The last two were printed in an edition of his whole works, in one volume, 4to, published by his son, Dr Alexander Monro, 1781.

The advance of age and infirmity, induced Dr Monro to resign his chair, in 1759, in favour of his son; but he continued almost to the close of his life to perform his duties in the Royal Infirmary. Several of his latter years were embittered by a severe disease, a fungous ulcer in the bladder and rectum;

but he bore his distresses with great patience and resignation, and at last died in perfect calmness, July 10, 1767, in the seventieth year of his age.

Dr Monro had in early life married Miss Isabella Macdonald, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, by whom he had eight children, four of whom, three sons and a daughter, reached maturity. Two of his sons became distinguished physicians—namely, Dr Donald Monro, who attained an eminent practice in London, and became the author of several valuable treatises,—an *Essay on Dropsy*, 1765—on the *Diseases of Military Hospitals*, 1764—on *Mineral Waters*, 1771—on *preserving the Health of Soldiers*, &c.,—and died in 1802; and Dr Alexander Monro *secundus*, of whose life we shall proceed to give an extended notice.

Dr Monro *secundus*, was the youngest son of Dr Alexander Monro *primus*, whose life has just been commemorated, and was born at Edinburgh, on the 20th of March, 1733. He learned the first rudiments of classical education, under the tuition of Mr Mundell, then an eminent teacher of languages, at Edinburgh. At the university of his native city, Dr Monro went through the ordinary course of philosophy, preparatory to his medical studies. During that course, he was a pupil of the celebrated Maclaurin, for Mathematics,—of Sir John Pringle, for ethics,—and of Dr Matthew Stewart, for experimental philosophy. About the 18th year of his age, he entered on his medical studies under his illustrious father, who, from his lectures and writings, had, by that time, justly obtained very great celebrity. Young Monro soon became a very useful assistant to his father in the dissecting-room, and was highly respected for his early acquirements, among the companions of his studies; several of whom, Dr Hugh Smith of London, Dr Matthew Dobson of Liverpool, Dr William Farr of Plymouth, and some others, were afterwards justly celebrated in the annals of medicine, by their writings.

Dr Monro, after completing the academical course of medical study at Edinburgh, under Drs Rutherford, Plumer, Sinclair, Alston, and other eminent men, obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine, on the 17th of October, 1755. On that occasion, he published and defended an inaugural dissertation, *De Testibus et Semine in variis Animalibus*. That dissertation, which manifests his accurate knowledge of minute anatomy, was illustrated by five capital engravings, each plate containing several different figures; and it laid the foundation of the important discoveries which he afterwards made with regard to the lymphatic system. The public testimony which Dr Monro thus gave of his anatomical knowledge, and the reputation which he had acquired both as a demonstrator and lecturer, when occasionally assisting his father, naturally attracted the attention of the patrons of the university of Edinburgh; and to secure to the seminary under their care, a young man of such distinguished abilities, he was, on the 12th of July, 1755, when he had but just entered on the twenty-third year of his age, admitted into the university as professor of anatomy and surgery, in conjunction with his father; but that father, still in the vigour of life, and fully able to execute every part of the duties of his office, did not require the immediate assistance of his son. Accordingly, young Monro, after finishing his academical studies at home, resolved to prosecute them abroad. With this intention, he visited both London and Paris, where he had an opportunity of being a pupil of the most eminent professors in these cities. But his foreign studies were principally prosecuted at the university of Berlin. There he had every opportunity of improving himself under the celebrated professor Meckell, who was at that time justly esteemed one of the first anatomical teachers in Europe. During his residence in Berlin, he was not only a pupil at the prelections of Meckell, but lived in his house, and thus enjoyed the benefit of his instructions both in public and private. That

from these sources, his natural and acquired abilities were much improved, may readily be supposed; and he himself was so fully sensible of what he owed to so eminent a preceptor as Meckell, that during the long period for which he taught anatomy at Edinburgh, he allowed not a single year to pass without repeatedly expressing his gratitude, for the instruction he had received under the roof of this justly celebrated professor.

From Berlin, Dr Monro returned to Edinburgh in summer 1758. Immediately upon his return, he was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and entered upon actual practice. As soon as the regulations of the college would permit, he was raised to the rank of Fellowship, and took his seat as a member of that respectable body on the 1st of May, 1759. After that date, for more than half a century, he continued to exert himself with unwearied activity, not only as a professor and practitioner, but as an improver of the healing art, and of our knowledge of the philosophy and structure of the animal frame. This will abundantly appear from a short review of the different publications with which he has enriched the treasury of medical philosophy, conveying important instruction both to his contemporaries, and to the latest posterity.

Very soon after he settled in Edinburgh, he not only became a colleague of his father in the college, but he succeeded him also as secretary to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. In the volumes published by the society, Dr Monro first appeared as an author. His first publication was printed in the first volume of a well known and justly celebrated work, entitled, *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*, read before a Society in Edinburgh, and published by them. This first volume of their memoirs appeared in 1754, and contains two anatomical essays by Alexander Monro, student of medicine in the university of Edinburgh; from both of which he obtained very great credit as an intelligent and industrious young anatomist. In their second volume, published in 1756, are contained also two articles from his pen; the dissection of a monster, and the history of a genuine volvulus of the intestines; both of which served materially to improve the philosophy of medicine, and to do credit to the author. His next three publications were more of a controversial nature, than calculated to extend our knowledge of the structure or philosophy of the human body. From a very early period, as appears from his inaugural dissertation, he had adopted the idea, that the valvular lymphatics over the whole of the animal body, were one general system of absorbents: and, with the view of promulgating this doctrine, he published at Berlin, in 1758, a short treatise, *De Venis Lymphaticis Valvulosis*. The grand idea, however, which this short treatise contained, was afterwards claimed by Dr William Hunter of London; and this claim drew from the pen of Dr Monro two other publications,—*Observations, Anatomical and Physiological*, wherein Dr Hunter's claim to some Discoveries, is examined,—and, *Answer to the Notes on the Postscript to Observations Anatomical and Physiological*. Here, the only difference between these two eminent men, was, not with regard to the extent or use of the valvular lymphatics, but with regard to the merit of being the discoverer of their use. A judgment on that controversy is now of very little importance; and perhaps neither of them is justly entitled to the merit of the discovery. For, prior to either, that the lymphatics were a general system, had been explicitly stated by the illustrious Hoffman. But that the anatomical labours, both of Monro and Hunter, independently of any information which the one derived from the other, tended very much to extend our knowledge of the lymphatic system, will not be denied by any intelligent reader.

In the year 1771, the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, which Dr Monro tended not a little to support, by fulfilling all the duties of an intelligent and

active secretary, published the third and last volume of their Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary. This volume, among many other valuable essays, is enriched by a production of Dr Monro, entitled, An Attempt to Determine by Experiments, how far some of the most powerful Medicines, Opium, Ardent Spirits, and Essential Oils, affect Animals, by acting on those Nerves to which they are primarily applied, and thereby bringing the rest of the Nervous System into sufferance, by what is called Sympathy of Nerves; and how far these Medicines affect Animals after being taken in by their Absorbent Veins, and mixed and conveyed with their Blood in the course of circulation; with Physiological and Practical Remarks. This elaborate dissertation, highly interesting in the practice of Medicine, afforded ample proofs of the genius, the judgment, and the industry of the author.

In 1783, Dr Monro published a large folio volume, entitled, Observations on the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System. This volume, which was illustrated by numerous engravings, was soon afterwards translated into German and into other modern European languages; and, high as his reputation was before, it tended both to support and to increase his fame.

The same consequences also resulted from another folio volume which he published in the year 1785, entitled, The Structure and Physiology of Fishes, explained and compared with those of Man and other Animals, illustrated with Figures. In 1788, he published a third folio volume, entitled, A Description of all the Bursæ Mucosæ of the Human Body; their Structure explained, and compared with that of the Capsular Ligaments of the Joints; and of those Sacs which line the cavities of the thorax and abdomen, with Remarks on the Accidents and Diseases which affect these several Sacs, and on the operations necessary for their cure.

For these three works, the folio form was necessary, on account of the size of the plates with which they were illustrated, and which had been engraved at a very great expense. Although all these three folios were presented to the learned world within the short space of five years, yet they may be considered as the scientific fruits of the best part of Dr Monro's life. For, although a large portion of his time was necessarily occupied in teaching anatomy to numerous classes, and in extensive practice as a physician, yet, amidst all his important avocations, he prosecuted with unwearied assiduity the extension of discovery, and neglected no opportunity of increasing our knowledge of the philosophy of the human body. Of his success in these interesting pursuits, the three works now mentioned, will transmit incontrovertible evidence to the latest posterity.

Dr Monro *primus*, as already noticed, had officiated for more than thirty years as secretary to a Medical Society in Edinburgh, which was formed of the most eminent physicians of the city at that time. During this period, he had published in their name, six volumes of Medical Essays, which had obtained the approbation of the most eminent physicians in every country of Europe, insomuch, that the illustrious Haller had represented it as a book *quem nemo carere potest*. But about the year 1750, a proposal was made to unite the physicians and philosophers of Edinburgh into one Society. This proposal was strenuously supported by Henry Home, afterwards lord Kames, and Mr David Hume. The union was accordingly accomplished; and in place of the Medical, they assumed the name of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Dr Monro *primus* still continued to be one of their secretaries, and had conjoined with him Mr David Hume, the historian, for the philosophical department. This society published three volumes of Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary. The first volume, as has already been observed, contains some papers written by Alexander Monro *secundus*,

when a student of medicine. But after his return from his studies on the continent, and after his conjunction with his father in the professorship of anatomy, he was also conjoined with him as secretary to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh; and although Mr Hume still retained the name of the philosophical secretary, yet Dr Monro *secundus* may justly be considered as the editor of the two last volumes. With the venerable lord Kames as their president, and Dr Monro *secundus* as their acting secretary, (for Mr Hume, not long after his appointment, left Edinburgh, to act in a diplomatic character in France,) the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh had regular meetings. The physicians and philosophers, who were then the greatest ornaments of Edinburgh,—lord Kames, Sir George Clerk, Mr John Clerk, Drs Cullen, Home, Hope, Black, Young, Monro, and many others,—constituted the strength of the association; and the Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary, which they published to the world, will ever hold a distinguished place in marking the progress of science. The third and last volume published by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh in 1771, contains several papers from the pen of Dr Monro *secundus*. Besides the interesting experiments on opium, ardent spirits, and essential oils, of which mention has already been made, it contains important observations, communicated by him, on Polypus in the Pharynx and Œsophagus, and on the use of mercury in convulsive diseases. Soon after the publication of this third volume, a plan was projected for putting the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh upon a still more respectable footing and extensive scale, and of comprehending not only medical and physical science, but every species of literary and philological discussions. This extension was particularly enforced by Dr Robertson, then principal, and Mr Dalzell, then professor of Greek, in the university of Edinburgh. The negotiation terminated in the Philosophical Society as a body, with the addition of many other eminent scholars, being incorporated by royal charter in the year 1782, under the title of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

On the establishment of the Royal Society, Dr Monro, whose time was much occupied with extensive practice in medicine, declined any longer officiating as secretary; but he continued not only to be one of their councillors, but to be an active and useful fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and he enriched their transactions with several valuable communications, particularly with the description of a human male monster, with an elaborate series of experiments on animal electricity or galvanism, which, from the discoveries of Galvani, professor of anatomy of Bologna, has engaged the attention of almost every philosopher in Europe, and with observations on the Muscles, particularly on the effects of their oblique fibres.

The last publication with which Dr Monro enriched medical science, was a quarto volume, consisting of three treatises, on the Brain, the Eye, and the Ear, published at Edinburgh in the year 1797. And although these organs had before been examined with the utmost attention by anatomists of the first eminence, yet, from careful examination, he made no inconsiderable addition to our knowledge, both of the structure and functions of these important organs.

Dr Monro's talents extended his fame over all Europe, and he had the honour of being admitted a member of the most celebrated medical institutions, particularly of the royal academies of Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Moscow, and other learned societies. His eminence as an author was not superior to his fame as a teacher of medicine. For a long series of years his class room was attended by crowded audiences; and no hearer of real discernment could listen to him without being both pleased and instructed by his prelections. He

began to teach medicine immediately upon his return from the continent, at the beginning of the winter session 1753-59. During that winter, his father, Dr Monro *primus*, gave the introductory lectures, and a very few others. But by much the greater part of the course was given by the young professor; and for forty succeeding years he performed the arduous duties of the anatomical chair without any assistant. No teacher could attend to the business of his chair with more assiduity. Indeed, during the whole of that period, he made it an invariable rule to postpone to his academical duties every other business that could possibly admit of delay.

While we thus state Dr Monro's character as an author and a teacher, his worth as a man and a citizen must not be forgotten. With his brethren of the profession, and his colleagues in the university, he lived on the most amicable terms. He seems to have had constantly in his mind the admirable observation of Seneca: "Beneficiis humana vita consistit et concordia; nec terrore, sed mutuo amore, in fœdus auxiliumque commune constringitur." No man could enjoy to a higher degree, or more successfully lead others to enjoy, innocent mirth at the social board. He was one of the earliest members, and most regular attendants of, the Harveian Society,—a society which was formed with the intention of encouraging experimental inquiry among the rising generation, and in promoting convivial mirth among its living members. In every respect Dr Monro was an honest and an honourable man. He was no flatterer; but he did not withhold applause where he thought it was merited. Both the applause and the censure of Dr Monro upon all occasions, demonstrated the candid, the open, and the honest man. As a citizen, a friend, and a parent, his conduct was amiable and affectionate in the highest degree; and as a medical writer and teacher, he had few equals among his contemporaries. His various published works may be recapitulated as follows: Treatise on the Lymphatics, 1770; On the Anatomy of Fishes, 1785; On the Nerves, 1783; On the Bursæ Mucosæ, 1788; and three Treatises on the Brain, the Eye, and the Ear, 1797.

Dr Monro's chief amusements lay in the witnessing of dramatic performances, and in the cultivation of his garden. Not many years after his establishment in Edinburgh he purchased the beautiful estate of Craiglockhart, on the banks of the Water of Leith, within a few miles of the city. He planted and beautified some charmingly romantic hills, which afforded him such delightful prospects of wood and water, hill and dale, city and cottage, as have seldom been equalled; and here he spent many hours stolen from the labours of his profession. In 1800, finding his health declining, he began to receive the assistance of his son, Dr Alexander Monro, *tertius*, who succeeded him as professor of anatomy; but he continued to deliver the most important part of the lectures till 1808-9, when he closed his academical labours, to the regret of his numerous students. At the same time he gave up his medical practice, but survived till the 2d of October, 1817, when he died in the 85th year of his age.

MONTEATH, GEORGE CUNNINGHAM, author of a Manual of the Diseases of the Human Eye, was born, December 4, 1788, in the manse of Neilston, Renfrewshire, of which parish his father, the Rev. Dr John Monteath, (laterly of Houston and Killallan,) was then minister. After passing through the medical and surgical classes in the university of Glasgow, the subject of this notice attended the hospitals in London, where he attracted the notice of Sir Astley Cooper, and other eminent anatomists, and received a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1809, by the recommendation of Dr M. Baillie, he was appointed surgeon to Lord Lovaine's Northumberland regiment of militia, in which situation he remained four years, honoured with the affection and esteem of all

his brother officers. He then resigned his commission, and commenced practice in Glasgow, as a physician and oculist. In 1813, he commenced, with a friend, a series of lectures on practical anatomy, but was soon obliged, by the rapid increase of his practice, to relinquish this duty. Being the first practitioner in Glasgow who devoted particular attention to the diseases of the eye, he soon became celebrated, not only in the city, but over all the west of Scotland, for his skilful treatment of that class of complaints, and had many important and difficult cases intrusted to him. In 1821, he published his *Manual of the Diseases of the Human Eye*, which became a popular work on the subject. Though possessed originally of a good constitution, Dr Monteath gradually sank under the pressure of his multifarious duties; and, having been seized with inflammation, in consequence of a night journey, he was cut off, January 25, 1828, in the fortieth year of his age.

Dr Monteath was characterized, by one who knew him well, and who undertook the task of commemorating his death in the public prints, as "at once an accomplished physician and an eminent surgeon." His mind, distinguished as it was by clearness of method, minuteness of observation, and soundness of judgment, was particularly fitted for the investigations of the former profession. His power of distinguishing, (perhaps the power upon which success in the practice of medicine depends more than any other,) added to his thorough knowledge of what others had discovered, and his readiness in applying what either his erudition or his experience supplied, made some regret that he did not devote himself to the business of a physician alone.

"As a surgeon, however, his success was perhaps still more remarkable. It was not the success of chance,—it was the result of patient application, at an early period of life, to that science, without which all attempts at eminence in this department, must necessarily fail,—we mean the science of anatomy. It was the result of close and emulous attention to the practice of the ablest surgeons in the metropolis. It was attributable in no small degree to an accuracy in planning his operations, and a collectedness of mind at the time of operation, such that no accident could occur which had not been preconsidered, or which could in the slightest measure discompose him. Every surgical operation which he undertook, had evidently been the subject of much previous thought,—every ordinary circumstance had been carefully investigated,—many circumstances which a common mind would probably have overlooked, had been weighed with deep attention,—and neither the honour of his art, nor the safety of his patient, was at any time left to what might occur at the moment.

"Dr Monteath was particularly distinguished as an oculist, and was unquestionably the first individual in this city who materially improved the treatment of the diseases of the eye. It was here that the qualities of mind, to which we have already alluded, were of the greatest service to him,—namely, his power of minute observation, and the art, in which he so highly excelled, of distinguishing cases, which, though they might seem alike when viewed superficially, were, in fact, very different, and might require even opposite means of cure.

"Dr Monteath's attention to his patients was particularly deserving of approbation,—it extended to the poorest as well as the richest, and allowed no circumstance to escape notice, which could tend, even in a remote degree, to alleviate suffering, or secure recovery. Those who had no other means of judging of his superiority as a medical practitioner, must have been struck with this trait of his character, and acknowledged it as an excellence of no mean value. His manner was soothing, and his politeness fascinating. None who had ever employed him as a medical attendant, could see him approach, without feeling their distress already in part subdued, their fears allayed, and their hopes in-

vigorated, by the presence of one, in whose ample skill and unwearied pains they could so implicitly confide."

MONTGOMERY, ALEXANDER, an early poet of considerable fame, appears to have been a younger son of Montgomery of Hazelhead Castle, in Ayrshire, a branch of the noble family of Eglintoune. He flourished in the reign of James VI., but probably wrote verses at an antecedent period, as some of his compositions are transcribed in the Bannatyne Manuscript, which was written in 1568. The date of his birth—further than that it was upon an Easter-day—the place and nature of his education, and the pursuits of his early years, are all involved in obscurity. He is said to have been brought up in the county of Argyle; a fact which seems to gather some confirmation from a passage in Dempster—"eques Montanus vulgo vocatus,"—as if he had acquired some common nickname, such as "the Highland trooper;" for Montgomery never was knighted. There is some reason to suppose that he was at one time a domestic or commander in the guard of the regent Morton. His most familiar title, "Captain Alexander Montgomery," renders it probable that the latter was the nature of his office, for the word Captain seems to have been first used in Scotland, in reference to officers in the immediate service of the sovereign. Melville, in his Diary, mentions that when Patrick Adamson was promoted to the archbishopric of St Andrews, (an event which occurred in the year 1577,) there was then at court "captain Montgomery, a good honest man, and the regent's domestic," who, recollecting a phrase which the new primate had been accustomed to use in his sermons, remarked to some of his companions, "for as often as it was reported by Mr Patrick, *the prophet would mean this*, I never understood what the prophet meant till now."

Montgomery appears afterwards to have been in the service of King James, who, in his *Rewles and Cautelis*, published in 1582, quotes some of the poems of the subject of this memoir. His services were acknowledged by a pension of five hundred merks, chargeable upon certain rents of the archbishopric of Glasgow, which was confirmed in 1583, and again in 1589. Various places throughout Scotland are pointed out by tradition, as having been the residence of Montgomery, particularly the ruins of Compston Castle, near Kirkcudbright, now involved in the pleasure grounds connected with the modern mansion-house of Dundrennan. In 1586, the poet commenced a tour of the Continent. After his return, he was involved in a tedious and vexatious lawsuit respecting his pension, which drew from him some severe remarks upon the lawyers and judges of that time. Of his principal poem, "The Cherry and the Slae," the first known edition was printed by Robert Waldegrave, in 1607. The poet appears, from a passage in a memoir of Mure of Rowallan,¹ his nephew, to have died between this date and 1611.

"The poems of Montgomery," says Dr Irving, "display an elegant and lively fancy; and his versification is often distinguished by a degree of harmony, which most of his contemporaries were incapable of attaining. He has attempted a great variety of subjects, as well as of measures, but his chief beauties seem to be of the lyric kind. It is highly probable that his taste was formed by the study of the Italian poets: he has left many sonnets constructed on the regular model, and his quaint conceits seem not unfrequently to betray their Italian origin. The subject of love, which has afforded so fertile a theme to the poets of every age and nation, has furnished Montgomery with the most common and favourite topic for the exercise of his talents. . . . His most serious effort is, 'The Cherry and the Slae,' a poem of considerable length, and certainly of very considerable ingenuity. . . . The images are

¹ Lyle's Ballads, London, 1827.

scattered even with profusion; and almost every stanza displays the vivacity of the author's mind. In this, as well as in his other productions, Montgomery's illustrations are very frequently and very happily drawn from the most familiar objects; and he often applies proverbial expressions, in a very pointed and pleasing manner. . . . The genuine explanation of the allegory may perhaps be, that virtue, though of very hard attainment, ought to be preferred to vice: virtue is represented by the cherry, a refreshing fruit, growing upon a tall tree, and that tree rising from a formidable precipice; vice is represented by the sloe, a fruit which may easily be plucked, but is bitter to the taste."

"The Cherry and the Slae" has longer retained popularity than any other poetical composition of the reign of James VI. It continued to be occasionally printed, for popular use, till a recent period; and in 1822, this, as well as the other poetical works of Montgomery, appeared in a very handsome edition, under the superintendence of Mr David Laing. Dr Irving contributed to the publication a biographical preface, from which we have chiefly derived the present memoir.

MOOR, JAMES, LL.D., an eminent Greek scholar, was the son of Mr Robert Muir, schoolmaster in Glasgow; a person of considerable learning, and of such unwearied industry, that, being too poor to purchase Newton's Principia, he copied the whole book with his own hand. The subject of this notice entered the university of Glasgow in 1725, and distinguished himself by great industry and capacity as a student. After finishing his academical course, and taking the degree of M. A., with considerable applause, he taught a school for some time in Glasgow. This situation he seems to have abandoned, in order to become tutor to the earls of Selkirk and Errol, in which capacity he travelled abroad. He was afterwards in the family of the earl of Kilmarnock; and on the burning of Dean Castle, which took place in his absence, lost a considerable stock of books, which he had employed himself in collecting for his own use. Without the knowledge of the earl, Moor instructed lord Boyd in Greek, so that the young nobleman was able to surprise his father one day by reading, at his tutor's desire, one of the odes of Anacreon. In 1742, he was appointed librarian to the university of Glasgow; and in July, 1746, became professor of Greek in the same institution, the earl of Selkirk advancing him £600, in order to purchase the resignation of the preceding incumbent. On the condemnation of his patron, the earl of Kilmarnock, for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, Moor, who was of opposite politics, made a journey to London, for the purpose of making interest with the ministers for his lordship's pardon; an enterprise honourable to his feelings, however unsuccessful.

Moor was a useful professor, and, besides his academical duties, conferred some benefits on the literary world by his publications. In company with professor Muirhead, he superintended, at the request of the university, a very splendid edition of Homer, published by the Foulises of Glasgow. He also edited their Herodotus, and was of service in several of their other publications. Some essays, read by him before the Literary Society [of Glasgow], of which he was a constituent member, were collected and published, in 8vo, in 1759. In 1766, he published "A Vindication of Virgil from the charge of Puerility, imputed to him by Dr Pearce," 12mo. His principal work, however, was his Grammar of the Greek Language, which has ever since been very extensively used in schools. He collected a large and valuable library, and selected a cabinet of medals, which the university afterwards purchased. In 1761, he was appointed vice-rector of the college, by the earl of Errol, the lord rector, who, under the designation of lord Boyd, had formerly been his pupil. In 1763, he applied to the university for the degree of Doctor of Laws, which was granted

to him, in consideration of his talents and services. Dr Moor was addicted to the cultivation of light literature, and used to amuse himself and his friends, by writing verses in the Hudibrastic vein. He resigned his chair in 1774, on account of bad health, and died on the 17th of September, 1779.

MOORE, (Dr) JOHN, a miscellaneous writer of the last century, was born in Stirling, in the year 1730. His father, the reverend Charles Moore, was a clergyman of the Scottish episcopal church, settled at Stirling. His mother was the daughter of John Anderson, Esq., Dowhill, Glasgow.

On the death of his father, which took place in 1735, his mother removed with her family to Glasgow, where a small property had been left her by her father. Having here gone through the usual course of grammar-school education, young Moore was matriculated at the university, and attended the various classes necessary to qualify him for the profession of medicine, for which he was early intended. At a more advanced stage of his studies he was placed under the care of Dr Gordon, an eminent practitioner of that day; and while under his tuition attended the lectures of Dr Hamilton, then anatomical demonstrator, and those of the celebrated Dr Cullen, at that time professor of medicine at Glasgow.

In 1747, Mr Moore, desirous of adding to the professional knowledge which he had already acquired, by visiting a new and wider field of experience, proceeded to the continent, under the protection of the duke of Argyle, to whom he had procured an introduction. The duke, then a commoner, was lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot, and was about to embark for Flanders to serve under the duke of Cumberland, who was there in command of the allied army. On arriving at Maestricht, he attended the military hospitals there, in the capacity of mate, and found abundance of practice, as these receptacles were filled with soldiers, wounded at the battle of Laffeldt, which had just been fought. In consequence of a recommendation which he soon after obtained from Mr Middleton, director-general of the military hospitals, to the earl of Albemarle, Mr Moore removed to Flushing, where he again attended the military hospitals. From this duty, however, he was almost immediately called to the assistance of the surgeon of the Coldstream foot guards, of which regiment his new patron, the earl of Albemarle, was colonel. With this corps, Mr Moore, after passing the autumn of 1747 in Flushing, removed to Breda, where he spent the winter in garrison. In the summer of the following year, a peace having been in the mean time concluded, he returned to England with general Braddock.

Although thus fairly on the world, and in possession of very considerable experience in his profession, Mr Moore was yet only in the seventeenth year of his age. After remaining some time in London, during which he attended the anatomical lectures of his celebrated countryman, Dr Hunter, he went to Paris, to acquire what knowledge might be afforded by an attendance on the hospital and medical lectures of that city, then reckoned the best school in Europe. Fortunately for Mr Moore, his early patron, the earl of Albemarle, was at this time residing in Paris, as ambassador from the court of Great Britain. Mr Moore lost no time in waiting upon his excellency, who, having always entertained the highest opinion of his merits, immediately appointed him surgeon to his household. He had thus an opportunity afforded him of enjoying the first society in Paris, being at all times a welcome guest at the table of the ambassador.

After residing nearly two years in the French capital, Mr Moore was invited by his first master, Dr Gordon, to return to Glasgow, and to enter into partnership with him in his business. With this invitation he thought it ad-

visible to comply, and soon after left Paris. He returned, however, by the way of London, where he remained a few months for the purpose of attending another course of Dr Hunter's lectures, together with those of Dr Smellie on midwifery. From London he proceeded to Glasgow, when the proposed connexion with Dr Gordon immediately took place. This connexion continued for two years. At the end of that period, his partner having received a diploma, confined himself solely to the practice of physic, while Mr Moore continued the business of a surgeon, assuming now as his partner, Mr Hamilton, professor of anatomy, instead of Dr Gordon, who had necessarily, from the change in his practice, withdrawn from the concern.

In 1769, a circumstance occurred which totally altered Dr Moore's prospects in life, and opened up others more congenial, there is every reason to believe, than those to which his profession confined him. In the year just named, he was called upon to attend James George, duke of Hamilton, who, then but in the fourteenth year of his age, was affected with a consumptive disorder, of which, after a lingering illness, he died. Dr Moore's assiduity in this case, although unavailing as to the issue, led to a close connexion with the noble family of his late patient. In the following year, having previously obtained a diploma as doctor of medicine from the university of Glasgow, he was engaged by the duchess of Argyle to attend her son, the duke of Hamilton, as a companion during his travels. The duke, who was at this time about fourteen or fifteen years of age, was, like his brother, also of a sickly constitution, and in Dr Moore was found exactly such a person as was fittest to attend him; one who combined a knowledge of medicine with some experience of continental travel, and an enlightened mind. The young duke and his companion remained abroad for five years, during which they visited France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

On his return from the continent, which was in the year 1778, Dr Moore removed with his family from Glasgow to London, and in the year following, 1779, published his celebrated work, entitled, "A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany." This work was so well received, that it attained a seventh edition in less than ten years, besides the Irish editions, and French, German, and Italian translations. Two years afterwards, he published a continuation of the same work, entitled, "A View of Society and Manners in Italy." During this period, however, his medical practice was by no means extensive; a circumstance which has been attributed, not to any disinclination on the part of the public, with whom he was so popular as an author, to patronize him, but to his own reluctance to engage in the drudgery entailed on a general practice. The rambling and unfettered life which he had led upon the continent had, in a great degree, unfitted him for the laborious routine of professional duty, and his reluctance again to involve himself in it appears to have adhered to him throughout the whole of his after life, and greatly marred his prosperity in the world.

In 1785, he published his "Medical Sketches;" a work which sufficiently showed that his limited practice did not proceed from any deficiency of knowledge in his profession. It was received with much favour by the public, although it is said to have given offence to some of the medical gentlemen of the time, who thought their interest likely to suffer by the disclosures which it made of what had hitherto been considered amongst the secrets of the profession.

Dr Moore's next publication was his celebrated novel, "Zeluco," a work unquestionably of the very highest order of merit, and which has long since become one of the fixed and component parts of every British library.

In the August of 1792, he went to Paris, to witness with his own eyes the memorable proceedings which were then in progress in the French capital, and which others were content to learn from report. Dr Moore, on this occasion, frequently attended the National Assembly. He was present also at the attack on the Tuilleries, and witnessed many other sanguinary doings of that frightful period. On his return to England, he began to arrange the materials with which his journey had supplied him, and in 1795, published "A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution," in two volumes 8vo., dedicated to the duke of Devonshire. This work was followed, in 1796, by "Edward: Various Views of Human Nature, taken from Life and Manners, chiefly in England;" and this again, in 1800, by "Mordaunt, being Sketches of Life, Characters, and Manners in various countries; including the Memoirs of a French Lady of Quality," in two volumes 8vo. These works scarcely supported the reputation which their author had previously acquired: in the latter he is supposed, in detailing some gallant feats of a young British officer, to allude to his heroic son, the late general Moore, who was then a field-officer.

Dr Moore has the merit of having been one of the first men of note who appreciated and noticed the talents of Burns, who drew up, and forwarded to him, at his request, a sketch of his life. This was followed by a correspondence in 1787, which is to be found in those editions of the poet's works, which include his Letters.

At the time of the publication of his last work, "Mordaunt," Dr Moore had attained the 70th year of his age. He did not again appear before the public, but spent the short remaining period of his life in the quiet seclusion of his residence at Richmond, in Surrey. After an illness of considerable duration, he died at his house in Clifford Street, London, February 29, 1802.

"As an author," says a distinguished modern writer,¹ "Dr Moore was more distinguished by the range of his information, than by its accuracy, or extent upon any particular subject; and his writings did not owe their celebrity to any great depth or even originality of thought. As a novelist, he showed no extraordinary felicity in the department of invention; no great powers of diversifying his characters, or ease in conducting his narrative. The main quality of his works is that particular species of sardonic wit, with which they are indeed perhaps profusely tinctured, but which frequently confers a grace and poignancy on the general strain of good sense and judicious observation, that pervades the whole of them."

Dr Moore left five sons, and one daughter, by his wife, previously Miss Simson, daughter of the reverend Mr Simson, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. The eldest of the former, John, became the celebrated military general already alluded to; the second adopted his father's profession; the third entered the navy; the fourth was admitted into the department of the secretary of state; and the fifth was bred to the bar.

MOORE, (SIR) JOHN, a distinguished military commander, was born at Glasgow, on the 13th of November, 1761. He was the eldest son of Dr John Moore, the subject of the preceding article, by a daughter of John Simson, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. His education commenced at a public school in Glasgow, and, afterwards advanced at the university of that city, was completed under the eye of his father, then acting as travelling tutor to the duke of Hamilton. The subject of this memoir accompanied Dr Moore during five years of continental travel, by which means he acquired a knowledge of

¹ Mr Thomas Campbell, in his memoir of Dr Moore, contributed to Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopedia.

most European languages, and a degree of polish and intelligence very uncommon in young men of his rank, either in that or the present age. Having chosen the army as a profession, he obtained, through the Hamilton interest, a commission as ensign in the 51st regiment, which he joined at Minorca in 1776, being then only fifteen years of age. A lieutenancy in the 82nd regiment was his first step of promotion; and he seems to have held that station, without much distinction or any censure, during the several campaigns of the American war, at the end of which, in 1783, his regiment was reduced. In 1788, he was appointed major in the 60th; but this he soon exchanged for a similar post in his original regiment, the 51st: in 1790, he purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy in the same regiment.

Such was the rank of Sir John Moore at the commencement of the French revolutionary war. From Gibraltar, where he was then stationed, he was ordered, in 1794, to accompany the expedition for the reduction of Corsica. The bravery and skill which he displayed on this occasion, especially in storming the Mottolo fort, where he received his first wound, introduced him to the favourable notice of general Charles Stuart, whom he succeeded soon after in the capacity of adjutant-general. Returning to England in 1795, he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and appointed to serve with Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the expedition against the West Indies. There he assisted in the reduction of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, and afterwards in that of St Lucie; in which last enterprise, he had an important post assigned to him, the duties of which he executed in such a manner, that he was characterized by general Abercromby as "the admiration of the whole army," and afterwards intrusted with the government of the island. This charge, undertaken with reluctance, and rendered full of danger and labour from the hostility of the natives, and the number of Maroon negroes who constantly infested the country, was managed with a decision and activity that overcame every obstacle.

Two successive attacks of the yellow fever, soon compelled general Moore to leave the West Indies; but, in company with Sir Ralph Abercromby, he was destined to reach yet higher distinction. The first scene in which they again acted together, was the Irish rebellion of 1798. The victory gained over the rebels at Wexford, mainly owing to the talents of general Moore, was the prelude to the suppression of that luckless movement of an irritated people. This field of exertion was not that in which a soldier of good feelings can be anxious to gain distinction; nor was there much scope for military talent in the enterprise. It is, therefore, highly creditable to general Moore, that he acquitted himself of all the duties intrusted to him on the occasion, with universal approbation.

In 1799, the subject of our memoir, promoted to the rank of major-general, served under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the unfortunate expedition to the Helder, where he displayed his wonted bravery, and was slightly wounded. In the subsequent campaign in Egypt, under the same commander, he found a wider and more favourable theatre for the display of his military talents. In the landing at Aboukir, he led the way, and carried by assault the batteries with which the French endeavoured to prevent that movement. In the subsequent battle of Aboukir, March 21, 1801, he conducted himself with signal gallantry, and was severely wounded.

At the end of the campaign, he returned to England, and received the honour of knighthood, with the order of the Bath. For some time after this, he held an important command in Kent, and afterwards succeeded general Fox in the command of the army in Sicily, whence he was recalled in the end of the year 1807. In the month of May, 1808, he was sent to the Baltic, with an arma-

ment of ten thousand men, on behalf of the king of Sweden, who was at this time threatened with simultaneous attacks from France, Russia, and Denmark. With this force, Sir John reached Gottenburg on the 17th, but was not permitted to land the troops; he himself, however, repaired to Stockholm, to consult with the Swedish cabinet. Here, to his astonishment, he learned that the Swedish monarch, despising the tame idea of defensive operations, was wholly engrossed with dreams of conquest. He proposed that some Swedish regiments should be collected at Gottenburg, with which the British troops should be joined, and that this united force should take possession of Zealand. The British general represented this to be impossible, on account of the number of French and Spanish troops which occupied the island of Funen, and which could not, in present circumstances, be prevented from passing over to Zealand. It was next proposed to land the British alone in Finland, where they would have had the principal part of the whole effective force of the Russian empire to contend with. Sir John having, in reply to this proposal, modestly hinted that ten thousand British troops might not be found equal to such an undertaking, the impatient Gustavus ordered him to be instantly arrested. He had the good fortune, however, to make his escape, and with the troops returned immediately to England. Without being permitted to land, general Moore was ordered to proceed, under the command of Sir Harry Burrard, to Portugal, in order to give the aid of his talents to the expedition already formed in that country, for the assistance of the Spanish patriots, in expelling the French from their territory.

Sir John did not arrive in Portugal till after the signing of the convention of Cintra, and thus escaped all participation in the odium which was attached to that transaction. Disgusted with the manner in which the affairs of Portugal were conducted, Sir Arthur Wellesley, now duke of Wellington, applied for leave of absence, which was granted. Sir Hew Dalrymple was recalled, and Sir Harry Burrard having resigned, Sir John Moore was left commander-in-chief of the army. In this command he was formally confirmed by a letter from lord Castlereagh, dated September 25, 1808, which informed him, that an army under his orders, of not less than thirty-five thousand men, five thousand of them cavalry, was to be employed in the north of Spain, for assisting the Spanish government. Fifteen thousand troops, it was stated, were to be sent to join him by the way of Corunna; and he was to make immediate preparations for carrying the plan into effect, it being left to his own judgment to march for some point in Galicia, or on the borders of Leon, by land; or to transport his troops by sea, from Lisbon to Corunna, whither the re-inforcements for his army were to be sent. Sir John Moore lost no time in entering upon the duties of his important charge, though he seems to have done so under a melancholy foreboding, sufficiently warranted by the miserable condition of his army, of what would be the result. "At this instant," he says, writing to lord Castlereagh on the receipt of his commission, "the army is without equipments of any kind, either for the carriage of the light baggage of regiments, military stores, commissariat stores, or other appendages of an army, and not a magazine is formed in any of the routes (for he had determined on the expedition by land) by which we are to march." By a subsequent letter, written ten days after the above, we find that the army was also in a great measure destitute of money, and, amongst other necessaries, particularly in want of shoes. On the 27th of October, he left Lisbon, the greater part of the army being already on the route for Burgos, which had been assigned by the Spanish government as the point where the British forces were to be concentrated; Madrid and Valladolid were the places appointed for magazines: and Sir John Moore was officially in-

formed, that he would find sixty or seventy thousand men, assembled under Blake and Romana, in the Asturias and Galicia, ready to act along with him. These were stated to be independent of the armies in the front and on the left flank of the French position; the latter of which, under the command of the marquis De Castanos, was supposed to be numerous, and well appointed. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards in defence of their national independence, was also stated to be such, that it would be utterly impossible for a French army to enter the defiles of the Asturias, without being cut off by the armed peasants alone.

All these flattering representations the British general soon found to be utterly destitute of foundation. In marching through Portugal, he was hardly treated with civility, and everything furnished to him by the authorities was charged at a high price. Specie, in Britain, was at the time not to be obtained, and not only government bills, but even promissory notes, were refused, which subjected the army to great inconvenience, and much extra expense. The ignorance, too, of the Portuguese, was so extreme, that the state of the roads could not be ascertained, but by sending British officers, stage by stage, a-head of the advancing columns. With all these disadvantages, however, the general and a part of the army reached Almeida on the 8th of November. The weather was exceedingly rainy, but the troops moved on, and hitherto had conducted themselves with a propriety and moderation which surprised the inhabitants. Here, however, it was found that some soldiers had committed several serious crimes, and it being judged necessary that a signal example should be made to prevent their recurrence, one of the most notorious offenders was put to death. The general orders on this occasion, we lay before the reader, as illustrative of the highly dignified and amiable character of Sir John Moore.

“Nothing could be more pleasing to the commander of the forces, than to show mercy to a soldier of good character, who had been led inadvertently to commit a crime; but he should consider himself neglectful of his duty, if, from ill-judged lenity, he pardoned deliberate villany.

“The crime committed by the prisoner now under sentence, is of this nature; and there is nothing in his private character or conduct, which could give the least hope of his amendment, were he pardoned. He must, therefore, suffer the awful punishment to which he has been condemned. The commander of the forces trusts that the troops he commands, will seldom oblige him to resort to punishments of this kind; and such is his opinion of British soldiers, that he is convinced they will not, if the officers do their duty, and pay them proper attention. He, however, takes this opportunity to declare to the army, that he is determined to show no mercy to plunderers and marauders, or, in other words, to thieves and villains. The army is sent by England to aid and support the Spanish nation, not to plunder and rob its inhabitants; and soldiers, who so far forget what is due to their own honour, and the honour of their country, as to commit such acts, shall be delivered over to justice. The military law must take its course, and the punishment it awards shall be inflicted.”

On the 11th of November, the advanced guard crossed a rivulet, which divides Portugal from Spain, and marched to Ciudad Rodrigo, the governor of which met the British general two miles from the city. A salute was fired from the ramparts, and the general was afterwards hospitably entertained in the principal house in the town. The state of the country, and the manners of the people, they found here to be remarkably changed, and the change highly to the advantage of Spain. At Ciudad Rodrigo they were received by the people with shouts of “Viva los Ingleses.” On the 13th, Sir John Moore arrived at Salamanca, where he halted to concentrate his forces; Burgos, the place appointed for that purpose, being already occupied by the French. On his arrival at

Salamanca, Sir John Moore addressed a long letter to lord William Bentinck, a few extracts from which will put the reader in possession of the knowledge of Sir John's feelings and views, and of the state of the country at this period. "I am sorry to say," he writes, "from Sir David Baird I hear nothing but complaints of the Junta of Corunna, who offered him no assistance. They promise every thing, but give nothing; and, after waiting day after day for carts which they had promised to procure for the carriage of stores, his commissary was at last obliged to contract for them at an exorbitant price, and then got them. This is really a sort of conduct quite intolerable to troops that the Spanish government have asked for, and for whose advance they are daily pressing.— On my arrival here, and telling colonel O'Lowlar that I wished to have supplies immediately provided on the road from Astorga to this place, for the march of the troops from Corunna, he began by telling me, that a power which he should have got, and which it was promised should be sent after him from Madrid, had not been sent; that he had thus no authority, and had hitherto been acting upon his own credit, &c. I run over all this to you, though perhaps it should properly be addressed to Mr Frere, but to you I can state it with more ease; and I shall thank you to speak to Frere upon it, when I hope he will have some serious communication with the Spanish ministers, and plainly tell them, if they expect the advance of the British army, they must pay somewhat more attention to its wants. Proper officers must be sent to me, vested with full powers to call forth the resources of the country when they are wanted, and without delay, the same as is done, I presume, for the Spanish armies. We shall pay, but they are not to allow us to be imposed upon, but to tell us what is paid by the Spanish government in such cases. We find no difficulty with the people; they receive us everywhere well, but the authorities are backward, and not like those of a country who wish our assistance. With respect to magazines, it is impossible for me to say where they ought to be made. With respect to those at Madrid, it is very likely to be a proper place for Spain to collect a considerable depot of various kinds. It is their capital, and they know best; but it does not seem to me to be a place where the British could be called upon to make any collection. We shall establish small magazines, for consumption, in the neighbourhood where we are acting. Those great resources which a country makes for general supply, should be made by Spain, that when we approach them, we may draw from them, and pay for what we get: but Spain should make them, and be at the expense and trouble of their conservation. As I believe we are giving money to Spain, part of it may be applied by them in this manner; but it is they that should do it, not we. I have no objection to you or Mr Frere representing the necessity of as many more British troops, as you think proper. It is certain that the agents which our government have hitherto employed, have deceived them; for affairs here are by no means in the flourishing state they are represented and believed to be in England, and the sooner the truth is known there, the better. But you must observe, my lord, that whatever is critical, must now be decided by the troops which are here. The French, I suspect, are ready, and will not wait. I differ with you in one point,—when you say the chief and great obstacle and resistance to the French, will be afforded by the English army: if that be so, Spain is lost. The English army, I hope, will do all which can be expected from their numbers; but the safety of Spain depends upon the union of its inhabitants, their enthusiasm in their cause, and their firm determination to die rather than submit to the French. Nothing short of this, will enable them to resist the formidable attack about to be made upon them. If they will adhere, our aid can be of the greatest use to them; but if not, we shall soon be out-numbered, were our force quadrupled. I am, therefore, much

more anxious to see exertion and energy in the government, and enthusiasm in their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment is a critical one, —my own situation is peculiarly so,—I have never seen it otherwise; but I have pushed into Spain at all hazards. This was the order of my government, and it was the will of the people of England. I shall endeavour to do my best, hoping that all the bad that may happen, will not happen, but that with a share of bad, we shall also have a portion of good fortune.”

The despondency here expressed by the general was not lessened by the information he received in two days afterwards, that the French were not only in possession of Burgos, but also of Valladolid, within twenty leagues of Salamanca, where he now lay with only three brigades of infantry, and without a single gun; and, though the remainder of his army was coming up as fast as possible, he was aware that the whole could not arrive in less than ten days. Instead of the Spanish army of seventy thousand men that was to have joined him here, there was not so much as a single Spanish piquet to cover his front, or to act as guides in the country, of every portion of which the British army, both officers and men, were perfectly ignorant. Sir John Moore immediately communicated the intelligence to the Junta of Salamanca; telling them that he must have the use of all the carts and mules in the country to transport his magazines to Ciudad Rodrigo should it become requisite, and that the troops with three days' provisions should be kept in readiness; but he added, that as he had not yet stopped the advance of the rest of the army from Portugal, he was desirous of assembling it there, and would not retire without an absolute necessity. All this was listened to with calm acquiescence. The general in the mean time found, that though a patrol of horse had neared Valladolid, none of the French infantry had yet passed Burgos, and he gave orders to generals Baird and Hope, to advance upon Salamanca with all speed, but to be upon their guard on the march. The junta of Ciudad Rodrigo about this time ordered twenty thousand dollars to be placed at his disposal, and a letter from lord Castlereagh brought him intelligence that two millions of dollars had been despatched for him on the 2nd of the month, and were already on the way to Corunna. His lordship at the same time told him, that the scarcity of money in England was such, that he must not look for any further supply for some months, and recommended it to him to procure as much money on the spot as possible. Encouraged so far by these advices, Sir John Moore continued to concentrate his forces at Salamanca, though upon what principle does not appear; for he seems to have been filled with the most dismal anticipations. “Every effort,” he says, writing to lord Castlereagh on the 24th of November, “shall be exerted on my part, and that of the officers with me, to unite the army; but your lordship must be prepared to hear that we have failed; for, situated as we are, success cannot be commanded by any efforts we can make, if the enemy are prepared to oppose us.” To add to all his other grounds of despondency, he considered Portugal as utterly indefensible by any force England could send thither. “If the French succeed in Spain, it will be in vain,” he says, in another letter to lord Castlereagh, “to attempt to resist them in Portugal. The Portuguese are without a military force, and from the experience of their conduct under Sir Arthur Wellesley, no dependence is to be placed on any aid they can give. The British must in that event, I conceive, immediately take steps to evacuate the country. Lisbon is the only port, and therefore the only place whence the army with its stores can embark. Elvas and Almeida are the only fortresses on the frontiers. The first is, I am told, a respectable work. Almeida is defective, and could not hold out beyond ten days against a regular attack. I have ordered a depot of provisions for a short consumption to be

formed there, in case this army should be obliged to fall back; perhaps the same should be done at Elvas. In this case, we might check the progress of the enemy whilst the stores were embarking, and arrangements were made for taking off the army. Beyond this, the defence of Lisbon, or of Portugal, should not be thought of."

The news of Castanos being defeated having reached him on the 28th of November, he determined to fall back upon Portugal, and sent orders for general Hope to join him by forced marches, and for Sir David Baird to retreat upon Corunna; desiring the latter, however, to send back his stores, and keep his design, and the fact of his retreat, as much out of view as possible. He wrote to lord Castlereagh on the 29th, that he had so done, and requesting that transports might be sent to the Tagus to receive the troops, as he was still of opinion that Portugal was not defensible by a British army. On the 5th of December, he wrote again to his lordship, that the junction of general Hope had been secured, and that Bonaparte had directed his whole force upon Madrid, in consequence of which he hoped to reach Portugal unmolested. The idea of a retreat, however, was exceedingly disagreeable to the army, and in this letter Sir John Moore gives his reasons for adopting such a measure at considerable length, and seems extremely anxious to justify it. He did not propose, however, wholly to desert the Spaniards; but he thought they might be aided upon some other point, and for this cause had ordered Sir David Baird to sail with his troops to meet the remainder of the army at the mouth of the Tagus, if he did not receive other orders from England. He had also written a long letter of the same kind, on the 1st of December, to Sir Charles Stuart at Madrid, in which he also requests that some money might be sent him from that place. "Such," says he "is our want of it, that if it can be got at a hundred per cent., we must have it; do, therefore, if possible, send me some at any rate." To this letter Sir John Moore received an answer, softening down the defeat of Castanos, which was followed by a requisition on the part of the Junta, military and civil, of all the united authorities of the kingdom, that he would move forward to the defence of Madrid, which was threatened by the enemy, and was preparing to make the most determined defence. This was seconded by Mr Frere, the British resident, and by another person who had been an eye-witness of the extraordinary effervescence at Madrid. Sir John Moore, in consequence of this, on the 5th of December, the same day that he had written to lord Castlereagh, ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his march, and determined to wait in the position he occupied till he should see further into the matter, and afterwards to be guided by circumstances. Sir David luckily had proceeded but a little way back, so that little time was lost. General Hope had brought up his division close to Salamanca, which made the little army complete, having both cavalry and artillery; and by a single movement to the left, Sir John Moore could make his junction with Sir David Baird a matter of certainty. Madrid, however, had capitulated on the third of the month, and was in the hands of the enemy two days before Sir John Moore had resolved to countermand the retreat. The intelligence upon which he had acted, was in fact void of any real foundation and the prince of Castelfranco, and his excellency, Don Thomas Morla, had already commenced a treaty for delivering up Madrid to the French, when they signed the pressing requisition of the Junta to him to hasten to its relief. Mr Frere, too, the dupe of his own warm fancy, or of the interested representations of the feeble but sanguine spirits who at this time held the government of Spain, was weak enough to assist this imposture, and to take the most unwarrantable liberties. He sent to Sir John Moore a flippant Frenchman, named

Charmilly, with a demand, that before he commenced his proposed retreat, the said Frenchman should be examined before a council of war. To mark the opinion he entertained of Charmilly, Sir John Moore ordered the adjutant of the army to give him a written order to retire, and he requested Mr Frere, when he had such messages to deliver, to employ some other person, as he entertained a strong prejudice against all such characters; otherwise he treated Mr Frere with the usual deference. Anxious to be useful to the cause of Spain, the British general wrote to the marquis de la Romana, to suggest measures for their acting in concert, that they might, if possible, support Madrid. On the 7th, Sir John Moore was favoured with a most patriotic address from the Junta of Toledo, which declared that the members of the Junta were determined to die in defence of their country. Pleased with this manifestation of public spirit, though it was only on paper, Sir John sent one of his officers to form with them a plan of defence for the city; but, as the French approached, the Junta prudently retired, and the duke of Belluno took peaceable possession of the place. Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of the Spaniards at this time. Bessieres was driving the wretched remains of the centre army, as it was called, on the road to Valencia; Toledo was occupied by Belluno; the duke of Dantzic, with a strong division was on the road for Badajos, with the design of seizing upon Lisbon or Cadiz. The duke of Treviso was proceeding against Saragossa. The duke of Dalmatia was preparing to enter Leon, and Bonaparte at Madrid was ready to second all their movements, together or separately, as events should require. It was in circumstances of which he was totally unaware, that Sir John Moore found himself called upon to commence active operations. He was necessarily prevented from advancing upon Madrid by the knowledge that the passes of Somosierra and Guadarama were in the hands of the French; but, having ordered Sir David Baird to advance, he himself moved forward to Toro, intending to unite with Sir David Baird at Valladolid. The object of this movement was to favour Madrid and Saragossa, by threatening to intercept the communication with France. On the 12th, lord Paget, with the principal part of the cavalry, marched from Toro to Fordesillas; while brigadier-general Stuart, commanding the 18th and king's German dragoons, was moving from Arevalo. In his march, general Stuart, with a party of the 18th dragoons, surprised a party of French cavalry and infantry in the village of Reveda, and killed or made prisoners the whole detachment. This was the first encounter of the French and British in Spain, an earnest of what was yet to be there achieved by British skill and British valour. On the 14th, the head quarters of the army were at Alcejos, when, by an intercepted despatch, Sir John Moore was put in possession of the real state of affairs, with the objects which Bonaparte had in view, by despatching after him the duke of Dalmatia, with whom he was already almost in contact. This intelligence determined the general, instead of going on to Valladolid, as was intended, to face about, and hasten to unite himself with the part of his army which was under Sir David Baird, and, if possible, to surprise the duke of Dalmatia at Saldanha before he should be further reinforced. Writing of his intended junction with Sir David Baird, to lord Castlereagh on the 16th, he adds, "If then marshal Soult is so good as to approach us, we shall be much obliged to him; but if not we shall march towards him. It will be very agreeable to give a wipe to such a corps, although, with respect to the cause generally, it will probably have no effect, Spain being in the state described in Berthier's letter. She has made no efforts for herself; ours came too late, and cannot, at any rate, be sufficient."

The armies were now near one another. The patrols of the cavalry reached

as far as Valladolid, and had frequent and successful skirmishes with the enemy. On the 20th, Sir John Moore formed a junction with Sir David Baird; the head-quarters of the army being at Majorga, but the cavalry and horse artillery were at Monastero Milgar Abaxo, three leagues from Sahagun, where a division of the enemy's cavalry were posted. The weather was extremely cold, and the ground covered with snow, yet lord Paget set out at two o'clock of the morning to surprise the French position. General Slade, with the 10th hussars, approached the town along the Cea, while his lordship, with the 15th dragoons and some horse artillery, approached from another direction. Reaching the town by the dawn, they surprised a piquet; but one or two escaping, gave the alarm, and enabled the enemy to form outside the town. The ground was at first unfavourable to the British, but the superior skill of lord Paget overcame the difficulty. The French having wheeled into line, to receive the shock of the British charge, were overthrown in a moment, and dispersed in all directions. The 15th hussars, only four hundred strong, encountered seven hundred French, and completely routed them. Many of the French were killed, and one hundred and fifty-seven, including two lieutenant-colonels, were taken prisoners. Sir John Moore reached Sahagun on the 21st, where the troops were halted for a day, to recover the fatigue of the forced marches they had made. On the 23d, every arrangement was completed for attacking the duke of Dalmatia, who, after the defeat of his cavalry at Sahagun, had concentrated his troops, to the amount of eighteen thousand, behind the river Carrion; seven thousand being posted at Saldanha, and five thousand in the town of Carrion. Detachments were also placed to guard the fords and the bridges. The corps of Junot, Sir John Moore was aware, had also its advanced posts between Vitoria and Burgos. The spirit and the feeling under which he was now acting, were not at all envious. "The movement I am making," he writes, "is of the most dangerous kind. I not only risk to be surrounded every moment by superior forces, but to have my communication intercepted with the Galicias. I wish it to be apparent to the whole world, as it is to every individual of the army, that we have done everything in our power in support of the Spanish cause, and that we do not abandon it until long after the Spaniards had abandoned us." As already said, however, the preparations, for attacking the duke of Dalmatia, were completed. The generals received their instructions, and the army, burning with impatience, was to march to the attack at eight o'clock in the evening. Unfavourable reports through the day, and a letter from the marquis de la Romana, confirming these reports, led to an opposite line of conduct. The march to the Carrion was countermanded, and immediate steps taken for retreating upon Astorga. The duke of Dalmatia had been daily receiving strong reinforcements for some time, and his army was already greatly superior to the British. The duke of Abrantes had advanced from Burgos to Valencia, and threatened the right flank of the British. Bonaparte himself had left Madrid on the 18th, with thirty-two thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, part of which had reached Tordesillas on the 24th, and before the British had begun to retreat from Sahagun, they were moving with all haste upon the same point with the latter on Benevente. The duke of Dantzic, too, was recalled from his march towards Badajos, and ordered for Salamanca; and even the duke of Treviso, sent to take vengeance on Saragossa, was ordered to join in the pursuit of the British. Every preparation having been made, general Frazer, followed by general Hope, marched with their divisions on the 24th of December to Valdinas and Majorga, and Sir David Baird to Valencia. This movement was concealed by lord Paget, who pushed strong patrols of cavalry up to the advanced posts of the enemy. The reserve followed

from Sahagun on the morning of the 25th; and lord Paget, in company with Sir John Moore, with the cavalry, followed in the evening. On the 24th of December, the advanced guard of Bonaparte marched from Tordesillas, which is a hundred and twenty miles from Madrid, and fifty from Benevente. Strong detachments of artillery had been pushed forward on the road to Villalpando and Majorga, one of which lord Paget encountered at the latter place, on the 26th. Colonel Leigh, with two squadrons of the 10th hussars, was ordered to charge this corps, which he did, and completely routed it, taking more than one hundred prisoners. Nothing could exceed the coolness and gallantry displayed by the British cavalry on this occasion. The 10th dragoons had already signaled their valour, and been victors in six several attacks. At Valencia, captain Jones, with only twenty men, charged a hundred French dragoons, killed fourteen of them, and made six prisoners. Generals Hope and Frazer reached Benevente on the night of the 26th. On the 27th, the rear-guard crossed the Eslar, blew up the bridge, and followed the same route. After resting a short time at Benevente, and publishing general orders to the troops, whose conduct, since the commencement of the retreat, had assumed a disgraceful character, the army moved for Astorga on the 28th. Lord Paget, being left with the cavalry to bring up the rear, observed some of the enemy's horse attempting a ford below the bridge which had been blown up, and between five and six hundred of Bonaparte's imperial guards dashed into the river, and passed over. The piquets, who had been divided to watch the ford, amounting only to two hundred and twenty men, retired slowly before such superior numbers, disputing every inch of ground, till lord Paget, with the 10th hussars, coming up, they wheeled round, and plunged into the water, leaving behind them fifty-five men killed and wounded, and seventy prisoners, among whom was general Le Febvre the commander of the imperial guard. Some doubt, it would appear, hung upon the general's mind, whether Vigo or Corunna was the most eligible place for the embarkation of the troops; and wishing to have either of them still in his choice, he sent general Crawford, with three thousand men, lightly equipped, on the road to Orenge, so far on the way to Vigo. With the rest of the troops he proceeded to Astorga. The marquis de la Romana had been left to destroy the bridge of Mansilla; and after having performed that duty, had been desired to turn to Asturias, in the fortresses of which he might find safety, and at the same time make some small diversion in favour of the British army: but he had left the bridge in charge of a small guard, which delivered it up to the cavalry of Soult; and he possessed himself here of a great part of the accommodations which were intended for the British troops. His half naked troops carried away a part of the stores which had been collected at this place, a great part of which had to be destroyed for want of means to remove them. At Astorga, another general order was issued, respecting the moral conduct of the troops, which had not improved since they left Benevente. The advanced guard, and the main body of the British army, marched on the 30th for Villa Franca; Sir John Moore, with general Paget, and the reserve, followed on the 31st. The cavalry reached Camberas at midnight, when the reserve proceeded, and arrived next morning, January 1, remaining at Bembilene, as the preceding divisions were marching off to Villa Franca. Here an unparalleled scene of debauchery presented itself. The stragglers from the preceding divisions so crowded the houses, that there was not accommodation for the reserve, while groups of the half naked wretches belonging to the marquis of Romana, completed the confusion. The French were following so close, that their patrols during the night fell in with the cavalry piquets. When Sir John Moore, with the reserve and the cavalry, marched for Villa Franca, on the 2d of January, he left colonel Ross, with the

20th regiment, and a detachment of cavalry, to cover the town; while parties were sent to warn the stragglers, amounting to one thousand men, of their danger, and to drive them, if possible, out of the houses. Some few were persuaded to move on, but the far greater number, in despite of threats, and regardless of the approaching enemy, persisted in remaining, and were therefore left to their fate. The cavalry, however, only quitted the town on the approach of the enemy, and then, from the sense of immediate danger, was the road filled with stragglers, armed and unarmed, mules, carts, women and children, in the utmost confusion. The patrol of hussars which had remained to protect them, was now closely pursued for several miles by five squadrons of French cavalry, who, as they galloped through the long line of stragglers, slashed them with their swords, right and left, without mercy, while, overcome with liquor, they could neither make resistance, nor get out of the way. At Villa Franca, the general heard, with deep regret, of the irregularities which had been committed by the preceding divisions. Magazines had been plundered, stores of wine broken open, and large quantities of forage and provisions destroyed. One man who had been detected in these atrocities, was immediately shot; and a number of the stragglers, who had been miserably wounded by the French cavalry, were carried through the ranks, to show the melancholy consequences of inebriety, and the imprudence of quitting their companions. Failing of his aim of intercepting the British at Astorga, Bonaparte did not proceed farther, but he ordered Soult, with an overwhelming force, to pursue, and drive them into the sea; and on the 3d of January, they pressed so hard upon the rear of the retreating army, that Sir John Moore resolved upon a night march from Villa Franca to Herrerias. From the latter place he proceeded to Lugo, where he determined to offer the enemy battle; and for this purpose he sent forward despatches to Sir David Baird, who was in front, to halt. He also enclosed the same orders for generals Hope and Frazer, who commanded the advanced divisions. These he forwarded to Sir David Baird, by his aid-de-camp, captain Napier, accompanied by an orderly dragoon. Sir David again forwarded them to the respective officers; but the orderly dragoon, having got intoxicated, lost them: in consequence of which general Frazer marched on a day's journey on the road to Vigo, which he had to countermarch next day, in dreadful weather, by which he lost a number of his men. It was now determined to march upon Corunna, as being nearer than Vigo; and an express was sent off to Sir Samuel Hood, to order the transports round to that place. On the road to Nagles, the reserve fell in with forty waggons with stores, sent from England for the marquis of Romana's army. As there were no means of carrying them back, shoes, and such things as could be made use of, were distributed to the troops as they passed, and the rest destroyed. On the 5th, the rifle corps, which covered the reserve, was engaged with the enemy nearly the whole day, while everything that retarded the march was destroyed. Two carts of dollars, amounting to twenty-five thousand pounds, were rolled down a precipice on the side of the road, which the advanced guard of the French passed in less than five minutes thereafter. It was afterwards ascertained that this money fell into the hands of the Spanish peasants. At Lugo, another severe general order was issued, and a position taken up for battle. The French made an attack on part of this position on the 7th, but were repulsed with ease. On the 8th, everything was disposed for a general engagement; Soult, however, did not think fit to make the attack, and the British army not being now in a state to undergo a protracted warfare, it was resolved to continue the retreat. The different brigades accordingly quitted the ground about ten o'clock at night, leaving their fires burning to deceive the enemy. Great disorders still reigned among the troops, who were suffering dreadfully

from the severity of the weather, and from long marches on bad roads; yet, at Bitanzos, it was judged preferable to keep the troops exposed to the cold and rain, rather than to the irresistible temptations of the wine houses in the town. Here a new order was issued, and particular duties demanded to be performed by the officers. The last day's march, on the 11th, was conducted with more propriety than any that had preceded it; yet eight or nine stragglers were detected, who had preceded their column, and taken possession of a wine house, and all that was in it. They were seized, and brought before the general, who halted the army, and sent for the officers of the regiments to which they belonged. The culprits' haversacks were then searched, when the general declared that, had he found any plunder in them, their owners would have been hanged; but that he would have considered their guilt in a great measure attributable to the negligence of their officers. On finishing this inquiry, Sir John Moore rode on to Corunna, and examined every position in its neighbourhood. The troops were quartered, partly in the town, and partly in the suburbs; General Paget, with the reserve, at El-Burgo, near the bridge of the Moro, and in the villages on the St Jago road. Adverse winds had detained the transports, otherwise the whole army would have been embarked before the enemy could have come up. Only a few ships lay in the harbour, in which some sick men, and some stragglers who had preceded the army, and represented themselves sick, had embarked. The army, though much fatigued, arrived at its destined position unbroken, and in good spirits. Bonaparte, with seventy thousand men, had in vain attempted to impede its progress; and its rear-guard, though often engaged, had never been thrown into confusion. But the greatest danger was still to be incurred. The situation of Corunna was found to be unfavourable; the transports had not arrived; the enemy was already appearing on the heights, and might soon be expected in overwhelming force. Several of his officers, recollecting, perhaps, the convention of Cintra, gave it as their advice, that Sir John Moore should apply to the Duke of Dalmatia for permission to embark his troops unmolested. This, however, he positively rejected. The officers, in the first place, were busied in attempting to restore some degree of discipline among the troops, and in providing such refreshments for them as the place would afford. The ground, in the mean time, was carefully examined, and the best dispositions that could be thought of made for defence. On the 13th, Sir John Moore was on horseback by the break of day, making arrangements for battle. He returned about eleven, worn out with fatigue; sent for brigadier-general Stuart, and desired him to proceed to England, to explain to ministers the situation of the army. He was, he said, so tired, that he was incapable of writing; but that he (general Stuart) being a competent judge, did not require any letter. After taking some refreshment, however, and resting two hours, the ship not being quite ready, nor general Stuart gone, he called for paper, and wrote his last despatch. On the 14th, the French commenced a cannonade on the left, which the British returned with such effect, as to make the enemy draw off. On a hill outside the British posts, were found this day five thousand barrels of gunpowder, which had been sent from England, and lay here neglected, though the Spanish armies were in a great measure ineffective for want of ammunition. As many barrels as conveyance could be found for, which was but very few, were carried back to Corunna; the remainder were blown up. The explosion shook the town of Corunna like an earthquake. This evening the transports from Vigo hove in sight. On the 15th, the enemy advanced to the height where the magazine had been blown up; and colonel Mackenzie, of the 5th regiment, in attempting to seize upon two of the enemy's guns, was killed. The artillery was this day embarked, with the exception of seven six-pounders and one howitzer,

which were employed in the lines of defence, and four Spanish guns, kept as a reserve. On this and the preceding day, the sick, the dismounted cavalry, horses, and artillery, were carried on board the ships, and every arrangement was made for embarking the whole army on the following evening. Next morning the enemy remained quiet, and the preparations being completed, it was finally resolved that the embarkation should take place that evening, and all the necessary orders were accordingly issued. About noon, Sir John Moore sent for colonel Anderson, to whom the care of the embarkation was confided, and ordered him to have all the boats disengaged by four o'clock, as, if the enemy did not move, he would embark the reserve at that hour, and would go out himself as soon as it was dark, and send in the troops in the order he wished them to be embarked. At one o'clock, his horse was brought, when he took leave of Anderson, saying, "Remember I depend upon your paying particular attention to everything that concerns the embarkation, and let there be as little confusion as possible." Mounting his horse, he set out to visit the outposts, and to explain his designs to his officers. On his way, he was met by a report from general Hope, that the enemy's line was getting under arms, at which he expressed the highest satisfaction; but regretted that there would not be daylight enough to reap all the advantages he anticipated. Galloping into the field, he found the piquets already beginning to fire on the enemy's light troops, which were pouring down the hill. Having carefully examined the position, and the movements of the armies, he sent off almost all his staff officers with orders to the different generals, and hastened himself to the right wing, the position of which was bad, and which, if forced, would have ruined his whole army. This dangerous post was held by the 4th, 42nd, and 50th regiments. As the general anticipated, a furious attack was made on this part of his line, which he saw nobly repelled by the 50th and 42nd, whom he cheered on in person, calling out to them to remember Egypt. Having ordered up a battalion of the guards, captain Hardinge was pointing out to him their position, when he was beat to the ground by a cannon ball, which struck him on the left shoulder, carrying it entirely away, with part of the collar bone. Notwithstanding the severity of the wound, he sat up, with an unaltered countenance, looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged; and his countenance brightened, when he was told that they were advancing. With the assistance of a soldier of the 42nd, he was removed a few yards behind the shelter of a wall; colonel Graham of Balgowan and captain Woodford, coming up at the instant, rode off for a surgeon. Captain Hardinge, in the mean time, attempted to stop the blood, which was flowing in a torrent, with his sash; but this, from the size of the wound, was in vain. Having consented to be carried to the rear, he was raised up to be laid in a blanket for that purpose. His sword hanging on the wounded side seemed to annoy him, and captain Hardinge was unbuckling it from his waist, when he said with a distinct voice, "It is as well as it is, I had rather it should go out of the field with me." He was borne out of the field by six soldiers of the 42nd. Captain Hardinge remarking, that he trusted he would yet recover, he looked steadfastly at the wound, and said, "No, Hardinge, I feel that to be impossible." When this officer expressed a wish to accompany him, he said, "You need not go with me. Report to general Hope that I am wounded, and carried to the rear." A sergeant of the 42nd, and two spare files escorted the general to Corunna, while captain Hardinge hastened to carry his orders to general Hope. The following is his friend colonel Anderson's account of his last moments. "I met the general in the evening of the 16th, bringing in, in a blanket and sashes; he knew me immediately, though it was almost dark; squeezed my hand, and said, 'Ander-

son, don't leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons while they were examining his wound, but was in such pain, he could say little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and at intervals expressed himself as follows: 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way.' He then asked, 'Are the French beaten?' a question which he repeated to every one he knew as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can. Tell them everything. My mother'—Here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated. 'Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him—but—cannot get it out. Are colonel Graham, and all my aids-de-camp well. [A private sign was made by colonel Anderson not to inform him that captain Burrard, one of his aids-de-camp, was wounded.] I have made my will, and remembered my servants. Colborne has my will, and all my papers." Major Colborne then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to * * * and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will give major Colborne a lieutenant-colonelcy. He has been long with me, and I know him most worthy of it.' He then asked major Colborne if the French were beaten; and on being told that they were, on every point, he said, 'It is a great satisfaction for me to know we have beaten the French. Is Paget in the room?' On my telling him that he was not, he said, 'Remember me to him; it's general Paget I mean. He is a fine fellow. I feel myself so strong, I fear I shall be long dying. It is great uneasiness—it is great pain. Every thing Francois says is right. I have the greatest confidence in him.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Captains Percy and Stanley, two of his aids-de-camp, then came into the room. He spoke kindly to both, and asked if all his aids-de-camp were well. After some interval, he said, 'Stanhope, remember me to your sister.' He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle."

Thus died Sir John Moore in the forty-seventh year of his age, after having conducted one of the most difficult retreats on record, and secured the safety of the army intrusted to him. Few deaths have excited a greater sensation at the time they took place. The house of commons passed a vote of thanks to his army, and ordered a monument to be erected for him in St Paul's Cathedral. Glasgow, his native city, erected a bronze statue to his memory, at a cost of upwards of three thousand pounds. The extent of his merits has not failed to be a subject of controversy; but it seems to be now generally allowed by all, except those who are blinded by party zeal, that, in proportion to the means intrusted to him, they were very great.

"Succeeding achievements of a more extensive and important nature," says the author of the *Pleasures of Hope* [*Edin. Encyc. art. Sir John Moore*], "have eclipsed the reputation of this commander, but the intrepidity and manly uprightness of his character, manifested at a time when the British army was far from being distinguished in these respects, are qualities far more endearing than military fame. They extorted admiration even from his enemies; and the monument erected by the French officers over his grave at Corunna, attests the worth of both parties."

MORISON, ROBERT, an eminent botanist of the seventeenth century, was born at Aberdeen in the year 1620. He completed his education in the university of that city, and in 1638 took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. He was originally designed by his parents for the church, but his own taste led him to the study of botany and physic; and his attachment to those sciences finally prevailing over every other consideration, he began to follow them as a profession. His attachment to the royal cause, induced him to take an active part in the political

disturbances of his times. He was present at the battle of the Bridge of Dee, near Aberdeen, and was severely wounded in that engagement. On his recovery, he went to Paris, where he obtained employment as a tutor to the son of counsellor Brizet; but at the same time he zealously devoted himself to the study of botany, anatomy, and zoology.

In 1648, he took a doctor's degree in physic at Angers; and now became so distinguished by his skill in botany, that, on the recommendation of Mr Robins, king's botanist, he was taken into the patronage of the duke of Orleans, uncle to Louis XIV., and appointed, in 1650, intendant of the ducal gardens at Blois, with a handsome salary. In this situation he remained till the duke's death, which took place in 1660. While employed in the capacity of intendant, Morison discovered to his patron, the duke of Orleans, the method of botany, which afterwards acquired him so much celebrity. The latter, much pleased with its ingenuity, and the talent which it displayed, afforded its discoverer every encouragement to prosecute it to completion; and sent him, at his own expense, through various provinces of France, to search for new plants, and to acquire what other information such an excursion might afford. On this occasion, Morison travelled into Burgundy, Lyonnais, Languedoc, and Brittany, carefully investigated their coasts and isles, and returned with many rare, and some new plants, with which he enriched the garden of his patron.

On the death of the duke of Orleans, he was invited to England by Charles II., who had known him while he was in the service of Orleans. His reputation, however, as a botanist, now stood so high, that he was considered as a national acquisition, and was earnestly solicited by Fouquet to remain in France, who, to induce him to comply, made him an offer of a handsome settlement. But love of country prevailed, and he returned to England. On his arrival, Charles bestowed on him the title of king's physician, and appointed him royal professor of botany, with a salary of £200 per annum, and a free house as superintendent of botany. He was shortly afterwards elected Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and daily became more and more celebrated for his knowledge of botany. In the situations to which he was appointed by the king, he remained till 1669, when he was elected, through the interest of the leading men of the university of Oxford, botanic professor of that institution, on the 16th December of the year above named; and on the day following, was incorporated doctor of physic. Here he read his first lecture in the physic school, in September, 1670, and then removed to the physic garden, where he lectured three times a-week to considerable audiences.

This appointment he held, occasionally employing himself besides on his great work, *Historia Plantarum Oxoniensis*, till his death, which took place on the 9th November, 1683, in consequence of an injury which he received from the pole of a carriage, as he was crossing a street. He died on the day following the accident, at his house in Green street, Leicester-fields, and was buried in the church of St Martin's-in-the-fields, Westminster.

Morison's first publication was a work, entitled, "*Hortus Regius Blesensis auctus; accessit Index Plantarum in Horto contentarum, nomine Scriptorum et Observationes generaliores, seu Præludiorum pars prior*, London, 1669," 12mo. This work added greatly to his reputation, and was the means of recommending him to the professorship at Oxford. His next publication was, "*Plantarum Umbelliferarum Distributio Nova, per tabulas cognationis et affinitatis, ex libro Naturæ observata et delecta*, Oxon, 1672," fol. This was given as a specimen of his great work, "*Historia Plantarum Universalis Oxoniensis*." It attracted the notice of the learned throughout all Europe, and added greatly to his reputation. Encouraged by its reception, he proceeded vigorously with the work

which it was intended to typify, and produced the first volume, under the title already quoted, in 1680. His death, however, prevented its completion, and left him time to finish nine only of the fifteen classes of his own system.

MUNRO, (MAJOR-GENERAL, SIR) THOMAS, Bart. and K. C. B., a celebrated civil and military officer in the service of the East India Company, was the son of Mr Alexander Munro, an eminent merchant in Glasgow, where the subject of this memoir was born on the 27th May, 1761. His mother, whose name was Stark, was descended of the Starks of Killermont, and was sister to Dr William Stark, the distinguished anatomist. After going through the usual routine of juvenile education, including the established term of attendance at the grammar school, young Munro was entered a student in the university of his native city, in the thirteenth year of his age. Here he studied mathematics under professor Williamson, and chemistry with the celebrated Dr Irvine; and in both sciences made a progress which excited the admiration of his teachers.

While at school, he was distinguished for a singular openness of temper, a mild and generous disposition, with great personal courage and presence of mind. Being naturally of a robust frame of body, he excelled all his school-fellows in athletic exercises, and was particularly eminent as a boxer; but, with all that nobleness of nature which was peculiar to him, and which so much distinguished him in after-life, he never made an improper or unfair use of his superior dexterity in the pugilistic art. He studiously avoided quarrels, and never struck a blow, except under circumstances of great provocation. Neither did he ever presume so far on the formidable talent which he possessed, as to conduct himself with the slightest degree of insolence towards his companions, although none of them could stand an instant before him in single combat. These qualities secured him at once the respect and esteem of his youthful contemporaries, and on all expeditions and occasions of warfare, procured him the honour of being their leader and military adviser.

Having remained three years at college, he was, at the expiry of that period, placed by his father in the counting-house of Messrs Somerville and Gordon, being designed for the mercantile profession. He was about this time also offered a lieutenancy in a military corps, then raising by the city of Glasgow for the public service; but, though himself strongly disposed to accept this offer, his father objected to it, and, in compliance with the wish of his parent, he declined it. Soon after this, his father's affairs became embarrassed, when, finding it impossible to establish his son in business as he had originally proposed, he began to think of putting him in a way of pushing his fortune in India; and with this view, procured him the appointment of midshipman on board the East India Company's ship, *Walpole*, captain Abercrombie. With this vessel, young Munro sailed from London on the 20th February, 1779. Previously to sailing, his father, who happened to be accidentally in London at the time, procured him a cadetship, through the influence of Mr Laurence Sullivan, one of the directors of the Company.

Mr Munro arrived at Madras, the place of his destination, on the 15th January, 1780. Here he was kindly received by the numerous persons to whom he brought letters of introduction; but kindness of manner, and the hospitality of the table, seem to have been the extent of their patronage. He was left to push his own way, and this, on his first landing, with but very indifferent prospects for the future, and but little present encouragement. Nor were these disheartening circumstances at all ameliorated by the reception he met with from his namesake, Sir Hector Munro, the commander-in-chief. That high functionary told him, "that he would be happy to serve him, but was sorry it was not in his power to do any thing for him."

He was soon after his arrival, however, called into active service against the forces of Hyder Ally, and continued thus employed, with scarcely any intermission, for the next four years, when a definitive treaty of peace was entered into with Tippoo Sultan. During this period of warfare, he was present at four battles, and at more than double that number of sieges, assaults, and stormings; in all of which he evinced an intrepidity, presence of mind, and military genius, which early attracted the notice of his superiors, by whom he began to be looked upon as an officer of singular promise.

In February, 1786, he was promoted to a lieutenantcy; but no further change took place in his fortunes, till August, 1788, when he was appointed assistant in the intelligence department, under captain Alexander Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the province of Guntow.

During the interval between the first and last periods just named, Mr Munro assiduously employed himself in acquiring the Hindostanee and Persian languages, in which he ultimately made a proficiency which has been attained by but few Europeans. In this interval, too, occurred a correspondence with his parents, in which are certain passages, strikingly illustrative of the generosity of his nature, and which it would be doing an injustice, both to his memory, and to the filial piety of his brother, to pass without notice. In one of these letters, dated Tanjore, 10th November, 1785, addressed to his mother, he says, "Alexander and I have agreed to remit my father £100 a-year between us. If the arrears which lord Macartney detained are paid, I will send £200 in the course of the year 1786." When it is recollected that Mr Munro was yet but a lieutenant, this proof of his benevolence will be fully appreciated. It must also be added, that these remittances were made at a time, too, when he had himself scarcely a chair to sit upon. "I was three years in India," he writes to his sister, "before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvass, stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head."

In the situation of assistant intelligencer, he remained till October, 1790, when, Tippoo having resumed hostilities with the English, he returned to his military duties, by joining the 21st battalion of native infantry, which formed part of the army under the command of colonel Maxwell. Mr Munro remained with the army, sharing in all its dangers and fatigues, and performing the various duties assigned to him with his usual diligence and activity, till the month of April, 1792, when he was appointed to assist Captain Read in the management of the district of Barmhaul. In this employment he continued till March, 1799, having, in the mean time, June 1796, attained the rank of captain; when, on a war with Tippoo again occurring, he joined the army under lieutenant-general Harris, and served in it with his accustomed ability and zeal, until after the siege of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo, when he was appointed to the charge of the civil administration of Canara. This charge was an exceedingly laborious one, and, in almost every respect, an exceedingly unpleasant one; but the circumstance of his appointment to it, was, nevertheless, a very marked proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held by the government, for it was also a charge of great importance; and the authorities did justice to his merits, by believing that there was no individual in India so well qualified to fill the situation as captain Munro. The principal duties of his new appointment were, to introduce and establish the authority of the government; to

settle disputes amongst the natives; to punish the refractory; and to watch over the revenues of the district: and from twelve to sixteen hours were daily devoted to this oppressive and harassing routine of business.

Having accomplished all the purposes for which he was sent to Canara, and having established order and tranquillity, where he had found turbulence and violence, Major Munro (for to this rank he was promoted, May 7, 1800) solicited the government to be intrusted with the superintendence of what were called the Ceded Districts; a certain extent of territory, yielded up in perpetuity to the Company by Nizam, in lieu of a monthly subsidy which had been previously exacted from him.

The request of major Munro was not complied with, without much reluctance and hesitation, proceeding from the high value placed upon his services where he was; but it appearing that these would be equally desirable in the situation which he sought, he was removed thither in October, 1800. Here he performed similar important services, both to the country itself and to the Company, as he had done at Canara. Within a few months after his arrival, he cleared the province of numerous bands of marauders, which had previously kept it in a state of constant terror and alarm, and filled it with robbery and murder. He everywhere established order and regularity, and finally succeeded in converting one of the most disorderly provinces in India, into one of the most secure and tranquil districts in the possession of the Company. This, however, was not accomplished without much labour, and many personal privations. He repeatedly traversed the whole extent of territory under his jurisdiction, and for the first four years of his residence in it, never dwelt in a house, being continually in motion from place to place, and on these occasions making his tent his house.

During the time of his services in the Ceded Districts, Mr Munro was promoted, 24th April, 1804, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

With that filial affection which forms so remarkable and pleasing a feature in the character of the subject of this memoir, he had regularly increased the allowance to his parents, with the advance of his own fortunes. Indeed, this seems to have been his first care on every occasion of an accession of income. In a letter to his father, dated Kalwapilli, 3rd May, 1801, there occurs this passage: "I have at last heard from Messrs Harington, Burnaby and Cockburn, on the subject of the remittance of a bill for £1000 sterling, to clear your house in the Stockwell. In August, I shall remit the remaining sum due upon the house; and also £200 sterling, in order to augment my annual remittance to £400 sterling. As my mother is so fond of the country, and as a garden would probably contribute to her health, she ought certainly to be under no concern about the trifling expense a country house may occasion, in addition to one in town. I therefore hope that you will draw on Colt for whatever it may cost, and let me know the amount, that I may add it to the £400, which I mean should go entirely to your town expenses; and that you will likewise inform me what other debts you may have besides the mortgage on the house, that I may discharge them, and relieve you at once from the vexation and anxiety to which you have so long been exposed." In a very few years afterwards, we find him making another munificent contribution to the comfort and happiness of his parents, by remitting them £2000 for the purchase of a country house.

Colonel Munro retained his appointment in the Ceded Districts till the year 1807, when he came to the resolution of paying a visit to his native country. With this view, he applied for and obtained permission to resign his situation; and after a few days spent in preparation, embarked, in October in the year

above named, at Madras for England, leaving behind him, after a service of seven and twenty years, a reputation for talent, diligence, and exemplary conduct, both as a civil and military officer, which few in the same service had attained, and none surpassed. In the former capacity, he had undertaken and accomplished more than any British functionary had ever done before him; and in the latter, he had displayed a talent for military affairs, which all acknowledged to be of the very highest order.

After an agreeable passage of nearly six months, colonel Munro arrived at Deal on the 5th April, 1808. From Deal he proceeded to London, where he was detained by some pressing business, until the summer was far advanced. He then set out for Scotland, but not without some melancholy forebodings of the changes which he knew so great a lapse of time as seven and twenty years must have effected on the persons and things associated with his earliest and tenderest recollections. These anticipations he found, on his arrival, realized. That mother to whom he was so tenderly attached, and whose comfort and welfare had been a constant object of his solicitude, was no more. She had died about a year previous to his arrival. Two of his brothers were dead also, and many besides of the friends of his youth. The imbecility of age had moreover come upon his only surviving parent, and had effected such a change, as to mar that reciprocity of feeling, which their meeting, after so long a separation, would otherwise have excited.

On his return to Glasgow, colonel Munro revisited all the haunts of his youth, and, particularly, North Woodside, then a romantic spot in the vicinity of the city, where, in his early days, his father had a country residence, to which the family resorted every summer. Here, with all that simple and amiable feeling, peculiar to generous natures, he endeavoured to annihilate the space of time which had elapsed since he had been there a boy, and to recall, with increased force, the sensations of his youth, by bathing in the dam in which he had sported when a boy, and by wandering through the woods where he had spent so many of the careless hours of that happy season. This feeling he even carried so far, as to climb once more a favourite aged tree, which had enjoyed an especial share of his youthful patronage and affection. Every branch was familiar to him; for he had a thousand times nestled amongst them, to enjoy in solitude and quietness the pages of some favourite author.

Colonel Munro now spent a good deal of his time in Edinburgh, where he resumed his favourite study, chemistry, by attending the lectures of Dr Hope, and by perusing such works on the subject as had appeared since he had left Europe. During his residence in Britain, he took a lively interest in the Peninsular war, and was known to be in constant communication with the duke of Wellington, who had become acquainted with him in the East, and who had there learned to appreciate his eminent abilities. About this time, also, he accompanied Sir John Hope to the Scheldt as a volunteer, and was present at the siege of Flushing.

The East India Company's charter now drawing to a close, and the question of the propriety of its renewal having attracted an extraordinary share of public attention; a parliamentary committee was appointed to inquire into, and hear evidence on the subject, to enable the house to come to a decision regarding it. Many persons connected with India were in consequence examined on the affairs of that country, and amongst the rest the subject of this memoir; and such was the clearness of his evidence, the importance of the information which he gave, the comprehensiveness of his views, and the general talent and judgment which characterized all his statements, that the court of directors im-

mediately placed him at the head of a commission of inquiry which they decided on sending out to India, to remedy those defects and abuses which the evidence now placed before them had brought to light.

Previous to his returning to India, colonel Munro married, 30th March, 1814, Jane Campbell, daughter of ——— Campbell, Esq. of Craigie House, Ayrshire, a lady remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. This connexion added greatly to colonel Munro's happiness, and eventually opened up to him a source of domestic felicity which his disposition and temper eminently fitted him to enjoy.

His commission having now been duly made out, and all other preparations for his voyage completed, he embarked, accompanied by his wife and sister-in-law, in the month of May, 1814, at Portsmouth, and after a pleasant passage of eighteen weeks, arrived at Madras on the 16th September.

On his arrival, colonel Munro immediately began to discharge the arduous duties of his new appointment. These embraced a total revision of the internal administration of the Madras territories, and comprehended an amount of labour, in going over reports and decisions, in investigating accounts, in drawing up regulations, and in a thousand other details as numerous as they were complicated, which would have appalled any man of less nerve than him on whose shoulders it had fallen. In this laborious employment he continued till the month of July, 1817, when, a war with the Mahrattas having broken out, he solicited employment in the line of his profession, and was appointed to the command of the reserve of the army under lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Hislop, having been himself previously, 15th June, 1815, promoted to the rank of colonel.

In the campaign which followed the resumption of his military duties, colonel Munro performed a brilliant part. His military reputation, formerly amongst the highest, was now universally acknowledged to be unsurpassed. Lord Hastings complimented him in strains of the warmest panegyric, as well in his official communications as in his private correspondence. Mr Canning passed an eloquent eulogium on his merits in the house of commons. Sir John Malcolm contributed his unqualified commendations of his masterly operations, and the public records of Calcutta were filled with his praise. His name was now, in short, become famous throughout Europe, and he was everywhere looked upon not only as one of the first soldiers of the day, but as a man who possessed talents and abilities which fitted him for attaining eminence equally in a civil as in a military life.

In the campaign which lasted till the beginning of August, 1818, general Munro, (he was promoted to this rank, December 1817,) reduced all the Peishwah's territories between the Toombuddra and Kistna, and from the Kistna northward to Akloos on the Neenah, and eastward to the Nizam's frontier. On the conclusion of the campaign, finding his health greatly impaired by the excessive fatigue which he had undergone, he resolved to resign all his commissions, both civil and military, and to retire into private life. In pursuance of this resolution, he tendered his resignations to the marquis of Hastings, who received them with much reluctance; and returned by way of Bangalore, where he met his family, to Madras. Shortly after this, October 1818, he was made a Companion of the Bath, as a testimony of the opinion which was entertained at home of his merits.

General Munro now again turned his thoughts homewards, and, after devoting two months to the arrangement of his affairs, embarked on board the Warren Hastings, with his family, for England, on the 24th January, 1819. During the passage, Mrs Munro was delivered, 30th May, of a boy, who, being

born when the ship was in the latitude of the Azores, was baptized by that name. The Warren Hastings having arrived in the Downs, general and Mrs Munro landed at Deal, and proceeded to London, where they remained for a short time, and thereafter set out for Scotland. The former, however, was only a few weeks at home when he received a formal communication from the government, appointing him to the governorship of Madras, and he was soon after, October 1819, promoted to the rank of major-general, and invested, November, 1819, with the insignia of K. C. B.

Although extremely reluctant again to leave his native country, Sir Thomas did not think it advisable to decline the acceptance of the high and honourable appointment now proffered him. Having committed their boy to the charge of lady Munro's father, Sir Thomas and his lady proceeded to Deal, where they once more embarked for India in December, 1819, and arrived safely at Bombay in the beginning of May in the following year. Here they remained for about a fortnight, when they again took shipping, and on the 8th June reached Madras.

Sir Thomas, immediately on his arrival, entered on the discharge of the important duties of his new appointment with all the zeal and diligence which marked every part of his preceding career. These duties were extremely laborious. From sunrise till eight in the evening, with the exception of an hour or two at dinner, comprising a little out-door recreation after that repast, he was unremittingly employed in attending to, and despatching the public business of his department. With this routine the morning meal was not at all allowed to interfere. The breakfast table was daily spread for thirty persons, that all who came on business at that hour should partake of it, and that the various matters which occasioned their visits might be discussed during its progress without encroaching on the day.

By this rigid economy of time, Sir Thomas was enabled to get through an amount of business which would appear wholly incredible to one who placed less value on it than he did. He wrote almost every paper of any importance connected with his government with his own hand. He read all communications and documents, and examined all plans and statements, with his own eyes, and heard every complaint and representation which was made verbally, with his own ears.

Although Sir Thomas had not thought it advisable to decline the governorship of Madras, he yet came out with every intention of returning again to his native land as soon as circumstances would permit, and in 1823, he addressed a memorial to the court of directors, earnestly requesting to be relieved from his charge. From a difficulty, however, in finding a successor to Sir Thomas, and from the extraordinary efficiency of his services, the court was extremely unwilling to entertain his request, and allowed many months to elapse without making any reply to it. In the mean time the Burmese war took place, and Sir Thomas found that he could not, with honour or propriety, press his suit on the directors. He therefore came to the resolution of remaining at his post to abide the issue of the struggle. In this war he distinguished himself, as he had so often done before, by singular bravery, talent, and intelligence, and performed such important services as procured his elevation, June 1825, to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain.

At the conclusion of the Burmese war, Sir Thomas again applied for liberty to resign his appointment, and after much delay the Right Honourable S. Lushington was nominated his successor, on the 4th April, 1827.

Sir Thomas now prepared to leave India for the last time, full of fond anticipations of the happiness which awaited the closing years of his life in his

native land ; but it was otherwise ordained. His lady, with a favourite son, had returned to England a year before, in consequence of an illness of the latter, which, it was thought, required this change of climate ; and thus while the inducements to remain in India were greatly lessened, those to return to his native land were increased. While awaiting the arrival of his successor, Sir Thomas unfortunately came to the resolution of paying a farewell visit to his old friends in the Ceded Districts, where the cholera was at that time raging with great violence. Alarmed for his safety, his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from his intended excursion, but to no purpose. Towards the end of May, he set out from Madras, attended by a small escort, and on the 6th of July following, reached Putteecondah, where he was seized with the fatal distemper about nine o'clock in the morning, and expired on the evening of the same day at half past nine, in the 66th year of his age. In an hour and a half after his death, his body was removed to Gooty, where it was interred with such military honours as the remoteness of the situation, and the despatch which it is necessary to observe on such occasions in India, could afford.

Few events ever occurred in India which excited so general a sensation, or created so universal a feeling of regret, as the death of Sir Thomas Munro. Natives as well as Europeans mourned his loss with unfeigned sorrow. His justice, humanity, benevolence, and eminent talents, had secured him the esteem and respect of all who knew him, and he was known nearly throughout the whole extent of the eastern world. No man perhaps, in short, ever descended to the grave more beloved or more lamented, and none was ever more entitled to these tributes of affection from his fellow men, or ever took such pains to deserve them as Sir Thomas Munro.

With regard to his talents, had there been no other proof of their existence than that which his letters afford, these alone would have pointed him out as a remarkable man ; and as one who, had he chosen it, might have become as eminent in literature as he was in the profession of arms. Three volumes of these compositions, strung upon a memoir of the writer, have been published under the superintendance of the Rev. Mr Gleig, author of "The Subaltern."

MURE, (SIR) WILLIAM, of Rowallan, a poet, was born about the year 1594. He was the eldest son of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, by a sister of Montgomery, the author of the "The Cherry and the Slae." The family was one of the most ancient of the order of gentry in that part of the country, and through Elizabeth Mure, the first wife of Robert II., had mingled its blood with the royal line: it recently terminated in the mother of the late countess or Loudoun and marchioness of Hastings. Of the poet's education no memorial has been preserved, but it was undoubtedly the best that his country could afford in that age, as, with a scholar-like enthusiasm, he had attempted a version of the story of Dido and Æneas before his twentieth year. There is also a specimen of Sir William's verses in pure English, dated so early as 1611, when he could not be more than seventeen. In 1615, while still under age, and before he had succeeded to his paternal estate, he married Anna, daughter of Dundas of Newliston, by whom he had five sons and six daughters. The eldest son William, succeeded his father ; Alexander was killed in the Irish Rebellion, 1641 ; Robert, a major in the army, married the lady Newhall in Fife ; John was designed of Fenwickhill ; and Patrick, probably the youngest, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1662. One of the daughters, Elizabeth, was married to Uchter Knox of Ranfurly. Sir William Mure married, secondly, dame Jane Hamilton, lady Duntreath ; and of this marriage there were two sons and two daughters ; James, Hugh, Jane, and Marion.

The earliest of Sir William's compositions to be found in print is an

address to the king at Hamilton, on his progress through the country in 1617, which is embodied in the collection entitled, "The Muse's Welcome." Such productions of his earlier years as have been preserved are chiefly amatory poems in English, very much in the manner of the contemporary poets of the neighbouring kingdom, and rivalling them in force and delicacy of sentiment. Sir William seems to have afterwards addicted himself to serious poetry. In 1628, he published a translation, in English Sapphics, of Boyd of Trochrig's beautiful Latin poem, "Hecatombè Christiana;" and in the succeeding year produced his "Trve Crucifixe for Trve Catholicikes," Edinburgh, 12mo.; intended as an exposure of the prime object of Romish idolatry. By far the larger portion of his writings remain in manuscript.

Like his contemporary, Drummond of Hawthornden, Mure seems to have delighted in a quiet country life. A taste for building and rural embellishment is discoverable in the family of Rowallan at a period when decorations of this nature were but little regarded in Scotland: and in these refinements Sir William fell nothing behind, if he did not greatly surpass the slowly advancing spirit of his time; besides planting and other ameliorations, he made various additions to the family mansion, and "reformed the whole house exceedingly."

At the commencement of the religious troubles, Sir William Mure, though in several of his poems he appears as paying his court to royalty, took an interest in the popular cause; and, in the first army raised against the king, commanded a company in the Ayrshire regiment. He was a member of the parliament, or rather convention of 1643, by which the Solemn League and Covenant was ratified with England; and, in the beginning of the ensuing year, accompanied the troops which, in terms of that famous treaty, were despatched to the aid of the parliamentary cause. After a variety of services during the spring of 1644, he was present, and wounded, in the decisive battle of Long Marston-moor, July 2nd. In the succeeding month, he was engaged at the storming of Newcastle, where, for some time, in consequence of the superior officer's being disabled, he had the command of the regiment. Whether this was the last campaign of the poet, or whether he remained with the army till its return, after the rendition of the king, in 1647, is not known. No farther material notice of him occurs, except that, on the revision of Roos's Psalms by the General Assembly in 1650, a version by Mure of Rowallan is spoken of as employed by the committee for the improvement of the other. Sir William died in 1657. Various specimens of his compositions may be found in a small volume entitled, "Ancient Ballads and Songs, chiefly from tradition, manuscripts, and scarce works, with biographical and illustrative notices, including original poetry, by Thomas Lyle: London," 1827; to which we have been indebted for the materials of this article.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER, D. D., an eminent philologist, was born, October 22, 1775, at Dunkitterick, on the water of Palnear, in the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright. He was the son of a shepherd, or pastoral farm-servant, named Robert Murray, who was in the seventieth year of his age at the time of the birth of this distinguished member of his family. Young Murray was born in too humble circumstances, and reared in too secluded a district, to have the advantage of early instruction at school. When he had attained his sixth year, his father purchased for him a copy of the Shorter Catechism; a work prefaced, in Scottish editions, by the alphabet in its various forms, and a few exercises in monosyllables. The good shepherd, however, thought this little volume (the cost of which is only one penny) too valuable for common use: it was accordingly locked carefully aside, and the father taught his child the letters, by scribbling

them on the back of an old wool-card with the end of a burnt heather-stem. When the elements of language had been thus mastered, the catechism was brought forth, and given to the young student as a book of exercises in reading. He then got a psalm book, which he liked much better than the catechism; and at length a New Testament, which he liked better still; and afterwards he discovered an old loose bible, which he carried away piece-meal from the place where it was deposited, and read with all the wonderment natural to a capacious mind, on being first introduced to a kind of knowledge beyond the limited scene in which it had originally been placed. He liked the mournful narratives best, and greatly admired Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Lamentations. In his eighth year, he had acquired so much local fame on account of his acquirements in reading, that a wish was generally entertained among his friends to see him sent to some regular school. This would have been impossible—for his father was a very poor man—if a brother of his mother, by name William Cochrane, had not possessed both the means and the inclination to provide the requisite funds. He was placed, in 1784, at the school of New Galloway, where, though he made a very awkward appearance at first, he soon distanced the most of "the Bible class." He had been but six months at school, when he was seized by an illness, which called him home; nor did he again attend school for the four ensuing years. During the most of this space of time, he appears to have been employed as a shepherd; devoting all his leisure, however, to the study of such books as fell in his way. In the winter of 1787-8, he was so far advanced as to be able to teach the children of two neighbouring farmers. Soon after, he began to give irregular attendance at the school of Minnigaff, chiefly for the purpose of improving his arithmetic, as he had now formed a wish to become a merchant's clerk. In 1790, he made his first adventure into the region of languages, by studying French and Latin; and such was his application, that in the course of three or four months, he had learned as much as the most of youths acquire in as many years. By extraordinary good fortune, he obtained an old copy of the larger dictionary of Ainsworth, at the low price of eighteen pence, and soon read the volume quite through. Every part of this large book he studied with minute attention, observing the Greek derivations of the words, and occasionally adverting to the Hebrew also; and thus, about a year after his first acquaintance with the rudiments, he was able to read Ovid, Cæsar, and Livy, and to commence lessons in the Iliad. All the books which his school-fellows possessed, both in English and classical literature, were borrowed by Murray, and devoured with immense rapidity and eagerness. He had at this time no taste in reading: the boundless field of knowledge was open to him, and he cared not which part he first surveyed, for he was determined apparently to survey it all. He only felt a kind of wild pleasure in whatever was grand, or romantic, or mournful. In perusing the Iliad, he was greatly affected by the fate of Hector and Sarpedon. "And no sensation," says he, in his autobiography, "was ever more lively, than what I felt on first reading the passage, which declares that Jupiter rained drops of blood upon the ground, in honour of his son Sarpedon, who was to fall far from his country. My practice," he continues, "was to lay down a new and difficult task, after it had wearied me,—to take up another,—then a third,—and to resume this rotation frequently and laboriously." Dr Murray used to consider himself fortunate in his teacher, Simpson, in as far as the man was of a careless, easy character, and had no scruple in permitting him to advance as fast as he liked, and to step into any class for which he appeared qualified. "Desultory study," says he, "is a bad thing; but a lad whose ambition never ceases, but stimulates him incessantly, enlarges his mind and range of thought, by excursions beyond

the limits of regular forms." We shall let Dr Murray narrate his further progress in his own words:—

"In 1792, I read portions of Homer, Livy, Sallust, and any other author used in the school. In the winter, 1792-3, I engaged myself with Thomas Birkmyre, miller, of Minnigatt mill, and taught his children during that season till March, 1793. My wages were only thirty shillings, but my object was to get a residence near Newton Stewart, and to have liberty of going, in the winter forenights, to a school taught by Mr Nathaniel Martin, in Brigend of Cree. Martin had been at Edinburgh, and possessed many new books, such as the Bee, Duncan's Cicero, some of the best English collections, and so forth. From a companion, named John Mackilraith, I got the loan of Bailie's English Dictionary, which I studied, and learnt from it a vast variety of useful matters. I gained from it the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, the Anglo-Saxon paternoster, and many words in that venerable dialect. This enabled me to read Hicke's Saxon Grammar, without difficulty, after I went to Edinburgh, and led the way to the Visi-Gothic and German. About the end of autumn, 1792, I had procured, from one Jack Roberts, a small Welsh History of Christ and the Apostles. I had seen a translation, or rather the original English, of this book in former years, but I could not get access to it after I had the Welsh in my possession. I mused, however, a good deal on the quotations from Scripture that abound in it, and got acquainted with many Welsh words and sentences. If I had a copy of the Bible in any language of which I knew the alphabet, I could make considerable progress in learning it without grammar or dictionary. This is done by minute observation and comparison of words, terminations, and phrases. It is the method dictated by necessity, in the absence of all assistance.

"In 1791, I had the loan of a stray volume of the Ancient Universal History from my neighbour school-fellows, the Maclurgs, who lived in Glenhoash, below Risque. It contained the history of the ancient Gauls, Germans, Abyssinians, and others. It included a very incorrect copy of the Abyssinian alphabet, which, however, I transcribed, and kept by me for future occasions. I was completely master of the Arabic alphabet, by help of Robertson's Hebrew Grammar, in the end of which (first edition) it is given in the most accurate manner.

"In the autumn of 1792, about the time I went to the mill, I had, in the hour of ignorance and ambition, believed myself capable of writing an epic poem. For two years before, or rather from the time that I had met with Paradise Lost, sublime poetry was my favourite reading. Homer had encouraged this taste, and my school-fellow, George Mure, had lent me, in 1791, an edition of Ossian's Fingal, which is, in many passages, a sublime and pathetic performance. I copied Fingal, as the book was lent only for four days, and carried the MS. about with me. I chose Arthur, general of the Britons, for my hero, and during the winter 1792-3, wrote several thousands of blank verses about his achievements. This was my first attempt in blank verse. In 1790, I had purchased 'The Grave,' a poem by Blair, and committed it almost entirely to memory.

"I passed the summer of 1793 at home, and in long visits to my friends in Newton Stewart, and other parts. During that time I destroyed Arthur and his Britons, and began to translate, from Buchanan's poetical works, his Fratres Franciscani. I made an attempt to obtain Mochrum school; but Mr Steven, minister of that parish, who received me very kindly, told me that it was promised, and, that my youth would be objected to by the heritors and parish.

"Some time in the same summer, I formed an acquaintance with William Hume, a young lad who intended to become an Antiburgher clergyman, and who kept a private school in Newton Stewart. This friendship procured me

the loan of several new books. I paid a visit to the Rev. Mr Donnan, in Wigton, an excellent man and scholar. He examined me on Homer, which I read *ad aperturam libri*, in a very tolerable, though not very correct manner. He gave me Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, which I studied with great ardour, though a speculative treatise. I was enthusiastically fond of Cicero, as my dictionary gave me a most affecting account of the merits and fate of that great man. In 1701, I bought for a trifle a MS. volume of the lectures of Arnold Drackenburg, a German professor, on the lives and writings of the Roman authors, from Livius Andronicus to Quintilian. This was a learned work, and I resolved to *translate* and publish it. I remained at home during the winter of 1793-4, and employed myself in that task. My translation was neither elegant nor correct. My taste was improving; but a knowledge of elegant phraseology and correct diction cannot be acquired without some acquaintance with the world, and with the human character in its polished state. The most obscure and uninteresting parts of the Spectator, World, Guardian, and Pope's Works, were those that described life and manners. The parts of those works which I then read with rapture, were accounts of tragic occurrences, of great but unfortunate men, and poetry that addressed the passions. In spring 1794, I got a reading of Blair's Lectures. The book was lent by Mr Strang, a Relief clergyman, to William Hume, and sublent to me. In 1793, I had seen a volume of an encyclopedia, but found very considerable difficulties in making out the sense of obscure scientific terms, with which those books abound.

“Early in 1794, I resolved to go to Dumfries, and present my translation to the booksellers there. As I had doubts respecting the success of a ‘History of the Latin Writers,’ I likewise composed a number of poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, and most of them very indifferent. I went to Dumfries in June, 1794, and found that neither of the two booksellers there would undertake to publish my translation; but I got a number of subscription papers printed, in order to promote the publication of the poems. I collected by myself and friends four or five hundred subscriptions. At Gatehouse, a merchant there, an old friend, gave me a very curious and large printed copy of the Pentateuch, which had belonged to the celebrated Andrew Melville, and the Hebrew Dictionary of Pagninus, a huge folio. During the visit to Dumfries, I was introduced to Robert Burns, who treated me with great kindness; told me, that if I could get out to college without publishing my poems, it would be better, as my taste was young and not formed, and I would be ashamed of my productions when I could write and judge better. I understood this, and resolved to make *publication* my last resource. In Dumfries I bought six or seven plays of Shakspeare, and never read any thing except Milton, with more rapture and enthusiasm.”

The singular acquirements of this Galloway shepherd, had now made some impression in a circle beyond his own limited and remote sphere; and, in November, 1794, he was invited to Edinburgh, in order to make an exhibition of his learning before several individuals, who were not only qualified to judge of it, but were inclined to take an interest in the fate of its possessor. He underwent an examination before Drs Baird, Finlayson, and Moodie, clergymen of the city; and so effectually convinced these gentlemen of his qualifications, that they took the means to procure for him a gratuitous education in the university. Dr Baird proved, in particular, a zealous and steady friend, not only in the exertion of his influence, but by contributions to the means of his subsistence during the earlier part of his academic career. At the end of two years, he obtained a bursary, or *exhibition*, from the city, and soon after was able to support himself, by private teaching. He now commenced the necessary studies for

the church, at the same time that he devoted every hour he could spare to the acquisition of general knowledge. In a very short space of time, he found himself master of the whole of the European languages, and began to make researches in the more recondite dialects of the east. His philological studies were conducted with a careful regard to etymology, and the philosophy of grammar; and it would appear that the design of tracing up all existing languages to one root, and thus penetrating back into the early and unchronicled history of the human race, gradually expanded upon him.

While thus devoting his leisure to one grand pursuit, he did not neglect the graces of the belles lettres. After having for some years contributed miscellaneous pieces to the Scots Magazine, he was induced, about the beginning of the present century, to become the editor of that respectable work, then the property of Mr Archibald Constable. He also contributed several able articles to the Edinburgh Review. Having made himself master of the Abyssinian language, and also of the Geez and Amharic tongues, upon which the former is founded, he appeared to Mr Constable as a fit person to superintend a new edition of Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile. For nearly three years subsequent to September 1802, he was engaged with little intermission upon this task, chiefly residing at Kinnaird House, where he had access to the papers left by the illustrious traveller. To the work, which appeared in seven large octavo volumes, he contributed a life of the author, and a mass of notes, containing the most curious and learned discussions on philology, antiquities, and a manifold variety of subjects illustrative of Bruce's narrative. The "Life" he afterwards enlarged and published in a separate volume.

In 1806, Dr Murray for the first time obtained what might be considered a permanent station by being appointed assistant and successor to the Rev. Mr Muirhead, minister of Urr, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright; at whose death, in 1808, he became the full stipendiary of the parish. In this situation, he displayed, amidst his clerical duties, his usual application to philological pursuits. His fame as a linguist was now spread abroad by his edition of Bruce, and in 1811, at the suggestion of Mr Salt, envoy to Abyssinia, he was applied to, to use Mr Salt's own words, as "the only person in the British dominions" adequate to the task, to translate a letter written in Geez, from the governor of Tigrè to his Britannic majesty. Notwithstanding the obscurity of several passages in this rare document, he was able to acquit himself of his task in the most satisfactory manner.

In 1812, on a vacancy occurring in the chair of Oriental languages in the university of Edinburgh, Dr Murray stood a contest with two other candidates, and gained the situation by a majority of two voices in the city council. He was now for the first time in life placed in a situation suitable to his extraordinary faculties; and yet it was destined that, after all his preliminary labours, his career was now on the point of being for ever closed. His constitution, which had never been strong, broke down under the labours of the first session. Before opening his class, he had published his "Outlines of Oriental Philology," a remarkably clear and intelligible epitome of the grammatical principles of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. During the winter, the fatigue he encountered in preparing his lectures was very great; and in February, 1813, a pulmonary ailment, which had previously given him great distress, became so violent as to prevent his attendance in the class-room. To quote the affecting account of his latter days, given by Mr Murray,¹ "he himself entertained hopes of his recovery, and was flattering himself with the prospect of being able to remove to the country; but his complaints daily assumed a more alarming aspect. On

¹ Literary history of Galloway, second edition, p. 256.

the day before his death, he was out of bed for twelve hours. He arranged several of his papers, spoke freely, and appeared in good spirits. He alluded to his approaching dissolution, which he now himself began to apprehend; but Mrs Murray was too agitated to admit of the subject being minutely adverted to. He retired to bed at eleven o'clock; he dozed a little; and every moment he was awake he spent in prayer. In the true spirit of genius, he said that he had once expected to attain to old age, and that he would be enabled to perform something of a more eminent nature, and of greater consequence to society, than he had yet accomplished; but not a murmur escaped his lips; he was, at all times, perfectly resigned to the will of the Eternal. The following verse of the hundred and eighteenth psalm he repeated a few hours before his death:—

O set ye open unto me
The gates of righteousness;
Then I will enter into them,
And I the Lord will bless.

At the end of these lines he made a pause, and Mrs Murray having proceeded with the subsequent verse,—

This is the gate of God; by it
The just shall enter in;
Thee will I praise, for thou me heard'st,
And hast my safety been,—

he looked wistfully and tenderly in her countenance,—he put his hand on his breast,—and said it gave him relief and consolation. He now became suddenly worse; his speech failed him; and having lingered in this state for a short time, he breathed his last in the arms of his wife. This melancholy event took place at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th of April, 1813, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. The last words he was heard to utter were, 'Take care burial-ground,' meaning no doubt, to intimate his desire that his remains might be placed in a grave which had not been previously occupied. He was interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard, at the northwest corner of the church."

So died this amiable and most accomplished scholar, after a life which might rather be described as the preparation for something great, than as having actually produced any great fruits. He had written a philological work of profound and varied learning, which appeared in 1813, under the auspices of Dr Scot of Corstorphine, entitled "History of European languages; or Researches into the Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations." He left, by his wife, whom he married while engaged in his pastoral duties at Urr, a son and a daughter, the latter of whom died of consumption in 1821.

MURRAY, PATRICK, fifth lord Elibank, a nobleman distinguished by erudition and literary taste, was the eldest son of Alexander, the preceding lord, by Elizabeth, daughter of George Stirling, surgeon in Edinburgh. He was born in February, 1703. For reasons with which we are unacquainted, he studied for the Scottish bar, at which he entered in 1723, but in the same year adopted the military profession, and soon rose to a considerable rank in the army. He was, in 1740, a lieutenant-colonel under lord Cathcart, in the expedition to Carthage, of which he wrote an account, that remains in manuscript in the library of the Board of Trade. He had now succeeded to the family title, and was distinguished for his wit and general ability. His miscellaneous reading was extensive, and we have the authority of Dr Johnson, that it was improved

by his own observations of the world. He lived for many years at a curious old house, belonging to the family of North, at Catage in Cambridgeshire; and it has been recently ascertained that he kept up a correspondence with the exiled house of Stuart. In the latter part of his life, he appears to have chiefly resided in Edinburgh, mingling with the distinguished literati of the city, who were his contemporaries, and fully qualified by his talents and knowledge, to adorn even that society.

In 1758, he published at Edinburgh, "Thoughts on Money, Circulation, and Paper Currency;" and an "Inquiry into the Origin and Consequence of the Public Debts" appeared afterwards. In 1765, he issued "Queries relating to the proposed Plan for altering Entails in Scotland," and, in 1773, a "Letter to lord Hailes on his Remarks on the History of Scotland." His lordship's political life was entirely that of an opposition lord, and, among other subjects which attracted his indignant attention, was the servile condition of his native peerage. In the year 1774, he published a work under the title of "Considerations on the Present State of the Peerage of Scotland," which attracted a considerable degree of attention. "Never," says he "was there so humbling a degradation as what the Scots peers of the first rank and pretensions suffer, by the present mode of their admittance to the house of lords. For the truth of this, one needs but to appeal to their own feelings, or to the common estimation of mankind. A Scots peer of the first rank is considered as an instrument singled out, and posted in the house of lords by the appointment of the minister at the time, for the end of supporting his measures, whatever they are or may be; and who, in case of failure, must expect to be turned out at the expiration of his term of seven years. He is supposed to be composed of such pliant materials, that in the event of a change of administration, the next minister makes no doubt of finding him equally obsequious, and ready to renounce his former connexions." When Dr Johnson visited Scotland in 1773, lord Elibank addressed to him a courteous letter, which is to be found in Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, where are also the records of various conversations in which both men flourished. The English philosopher declared that he never met his lordship, without going away a "wiser man." Lord Elibank in early life married the dowager lady North and Grey, who was by birth a Dutchwoman, and of illustrious extraction. He died, without issue, August 3, 1778, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Two younger brothers of this nobleman attracted considerable notice in their lifetime. The elder, Mr Alexander Murray, was so enthusiastic a Jacobite, as to propose leading an insurrection even after the close of all the just hopes of the house of Stuart in 1746. He was confined for more than a year subsequent to May 1750, by order of the house of commons, for violent interference with a Westminster election; and, as he refused to express contrition on his knees, according to the order of the house, he might have been confined for a much longer period, if the prorogation of parliament had not brought about his enlargement. James Murray, the fourth and youngest brother of lord Elibank, distinguished himself as an officer in high command during the Canadian war. Being in the next war constituted governor of Minorca, he defended that important station in 1781, against a greatly disproportioned force of the French; and, what was more to his credit, withstood the secret offer of a million for its surrender. After a protracted siege, during which general Murray lost three-fourths of his men, he was obliged by the scurvy to give up Fort St Philip, to which he had retired, but rather in the condition of an hospital than a fortress. His conduct was warmly applauded by the British government and nation.

MURRAY, (SIR) ROBERT, a statesman and natural philosopher, appears to have been born about the commencement of the seventeenth century. He was a son of Sir Robert Murray of Craigie, by a daughter of George Halket of Pittferan. According to his intimate friend, Burnet, he served in the French army, and having found great favour with the all-potent Richelieu, was early promoted to a colonelcy.¹ When the difficulties of Charles I. assumed their most alarming aspect, he returned to Scotland, and raised recruits for the royal army. When the king was with the Scots army at Newcastle, he seems to have attempted an escape, designed by Sir Robert. "The design," says Burnet, "was thus laid: Mr Murray had provided a vessel by Teignmouth, and Sir Robert Murray was to have conveyed the king thither in disguise; and it proceeded so far, that the king put himself in the disguise, and went down the back stairs with Sir Robert Murray. But his majesty, apprehending it was scarce possible to pass through all the guards without being discovered, and judging it hugely indecent to be caught in such a condition, changed his resolution, and went back, as Sir Robert informed the writer."² About this period, it is probable that he had not received his title, and that he may be identified with "Mr Robert Murray, quarter-master general," who, on the occasion of the town of Berwick (which was ordered to be dismantled at the treaty of the two kingdoms) petitioning to be permitted to keep three pieces of ordnance, and the two gates of the bridge, was "sent to Berwick with his majesty's recommendation, to take notice what may be the importance of that petition, and report the same to the house."³ After the fall of the royal cause, he appears to have been recommended by the parliament of Scotland to the French government, and to have obtained from Mazarine a continuation of the favours extended to him by Richelieu. On the 22nd May, 1650, two letters from France were read to the parliament of Scotland, one from the young king, the other from the queen regent, in answer to the letter of the parliament in favour of Sir Robert Murray; in which "both did promise, from their respect and love to the Scots nation, they would see their desire performed, so far as possibly the convenience of their affairs would permit, and that he should be paid off his arrears."⁴ We afterwards find the parliament exhibiting their favour, by sending him a few cargoes of prisoners, to serve in his ranks. Of two hundred and eighty-one soldiers, taken at Kerbester, where the marquis of Montrose was finally defeated, after some disposals to coal mines, &c., the remainder "are given to lord Angus and Sir Robert Murray to recruit their French troops with."⁵ It is probable that he was an officer in the Scots guards. He continued in the confidence of Charles II., and was connected with the obscure negotiations of Montreville with the independents and presbyterians, for the purpose of procuring their assistance at as cheap a rate as possible to the conscience of the king, or under the form of promise which might admit the easiest and safest infraction on his part. The moderation of Sir Robert in matters connected with the church, evinced in this transaction, may have been the reason why Clarendon termed him "a cunning and a dexterous man;" and accused him of attempting, under the pretext of bringing the king to peace with the Scots, a coalition betwixt the Roman catholics and presbyterians, to the destruction of the church of England.

On the 21st May, 1651, while Charles was in command of the army in Scotland, Sir Robert was appointed justice-clerk; and, on the 6th of June, he was chosen a lord of session, and nominated a privy councillor.⁶ But the subversion of the courts by Cromwell prevented him from sitting in judgment. Burnet mentions that he was in great credit with the remains of the king's

¹ Burnet's Own Times, i. 59. ² Mem. of D. of Hamilton, 307. ³ Balf. An., iii. 337.

⁴ Balf. An., iv. 17.

⁵ Ib. 18. 35, Act. Par., vii. 516.

⁶ Ib.

army surviving in Scotland, when "lord Glencairn took a strange course to break it, and to ruin him." A letter written by him to William Murray, a low minion, who had risen in the court of Charles I., by the performance of the most despicable offices, was pretended to have been found at Antwerp. "This ill-forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir Robert had made with Monk for killing the king, which was to be executed by Mr Murray: so he prayed him in his letter to make haste and despatch it. This was brought to the earl of Glencairn: so Sir Robert was severely questioned upon it, and put in arrest: and it was spread about through a rude army that he intended to kill the king, hoping, it seems, that some of these wild people, believing it, would have fallen upon him, without using any forms. Upon this occasion, Sir Robert practised, in a very eminent manner, his true Christian philosophy, without showing so much as a cloud in his whole behaviour."⁷

At the discussion at Whitehall, on the question of the future established religion in Scotland, Sir Robert Murray, along with Hamilton and Lauderdale, proposed to delay the establishment of episcopacy, until the temper of the people should be ascertained.⁸ In the attempt, by means of ballot, to disqualify those who had been favourable to the government of Cromwell from serving under Charles, Sir Robert was one of those whose downfall, along with that of Lauderdale, was particularly aimed at.⁹ This association with Lauderdale seems not to have been called for by the previous conduct, the party opinions, or the moral character of Sir Robert. Afterwards Lauderdale's aversion to so moderate and honest a man, disturbed his councils, and was partly productive of his downfall. He joined the rising administration of Tweeddale; and, having at the Restoration been re-appointed a lord of session, was promoted to be justice-clerk. "The people were pleased and gratified," says Laing, "when a judicial office, so important and dangerous, was conferred on the most upright and accomplished character which the nation produced."¹⁰ But Sir Robert was made justice-clerk, not to be a judge, but that the salary might induce him to be a partizan. He never sat on the bench, and was probably quite ignorant of law. Meanwhile, in 1662, took place the most important event in his life, and one of the most interesting transactions of the period. He was one of the leaders of that body of naturalists and philosophers, who, with the assistance of lord Brouncker and Robert Boyle, procured for the Royal Society the sanction of a charter. The society had existed as a small debating club previous to the republic, at the establishment of which, the members separated. At the Restoration, they re-established themselves, and conducted their meetings and operations on a rather more extensive scale. On the 28th November, 1660, we find Sir Robert present at, probably, the first meeting, where it was proposed "that some course might be thought of to improve this meeting to a more regular way of debating things; and that, according to the manner in other countries, where there were voluntary associations of men into academies for the advancement of various parts of learning, they might do something answerable here for the promoting of experimental philosophy."¹¹ Sir Robert undertook to communicate the views of the society to the court, and at next meeting returned an answer, indicative of encouragement from that quarter.¹² After rules for holding meetings, and for the appointment of office-bearers, were established, Sir Robert was successively chosen president during the first and second month of the existence of the society.¹³ He was a member of almost all committees and councils, delivered several papers, prepared and exhibited experiments, and

⁷ *Own Times*, i. 103.⁸ *Ib.* 132⁹ *Ib.* 150¹⁰ *Hist.* ii. 47.¹¹ *Kirch. Hist. R. Soc.*, i. 3.¹² *Ib.* 4.¹³ *Ib.* 21.

gave information in natural history, chiefly relating to the geology of Scotland. The charter was obtained on 15th July, 1662.

This useful and high-minded man died suddenly in June, 1673. Burnett says of this event: "He was the wisest and worthiest man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was sensible how much I lost on so critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the truest and faithfulest friend I had ever known: and so I saw I was in danger of committing great errors for want of so kind a monitor."¹⁴ But the same partial hand, on all occasions graphic and rich in description, has elsewhere excelled its usual power, in drawing the character of Sir Robert Murray. "He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my whole life. He was a pious man, and, in the midst of armies and courts, he spent many hours a-day in devotion, which was in a most elevating strain. He had gone through the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peiriski, as he is described by Gassandi. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal Society, and its first president; and while he lived, he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him, which nothing could alter: and was in practice the only stoic I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles: for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men; and had the plainest, but, withal, the softest way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults, that I ever knew of."¹⁵

MURRAY, WILLIAM, earl of Mansfield, and lord chief justice of the King's Bench, the fourth son of Andrew, viscount Stormont, was born at Perth on the 2nd March, 1704.¹ In 1719, he was admitted a king's scholar at Westminster. On the 18th June, 1723, he entered Christ church, Oxford, having been first in the list of those promoted to the university. In 1730, he visited the continent, after having graduated as master of arts; and, on his return, was called to the bar at Michaelmas term 1731. As a schoolboy and student, he gained prizes, and is said to have shown promise of literary distinction; while, even after having joined his profession, he did not appear to direct his powers to the acquisition of legal knowledge. The office of a special pleader frequently damps the energy of talents formed to cast honour on the bar or the bench; and Murray, along with many who have, and many who have not, been able to overcome the rigid barrier to the pursuit in which their talents made them capable of shining, was generally esteemed more fitted for a scholar than a lawyer. It is probable that the success of his first attempts showed him how successfully he might employ his energies in this direction. He was early engaged in a few important appeals, his appearance in which brought so speedy an accumulation of business, that it is said to have been remarked by himself, that he never knew the difference between absolute want of employment, and a professional income of £3000 a-year. He soon threw the whole powers of his mind into the most minute acquirements necessary to procure eminence as a speaker, and is known to have been caught practising gesture before a mirror, with his friend Pope at his side acting as teacher of elocution. The intimacy with the illustrious poet probably commenced in similarity of pursuits (for Murray wrote poetry in his youth, which has fallen into probably merited oblivion), and was fostered by the absence of rivalry in after life. Pope condescended to turn his verses into compliments on his forensic friend, and the latter must

¹⁴ Own Times, i 356.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 59.

¹ Holliday's Life of Mansfield, p. 1.

Rescoe's Lives of British Lawyers, 171.

have felt what the Roman has so well described, "pulchrum est laudari a laudato." It would be difficult to conceive a greater incentive to the rising ambition of an aspiring mind than these concluding lines :

"Graced as thou art with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured, in the house of lords—
Conspicuous scene! another yet is nigh,
More silent far, where kings and poets lie;
Where Murray (long enough his country's pride)
Shall be no more than Tully or than Hyde!"

Like lord Eldon, he made the first exhibition of his full power in commanding a jury, from the accidental illness of his senior counsel; a circumstance which happened in the action for criminal conversation brought by Theophilus Cibber against Mr Sloper. He requested a postponement for an hour, and never being void of self-possession except when personally attacked, he omitted nothing which his opportunities enabled him to accomplish, and made an impressive charge, which produced a decided effect in favour of his client. He was soon after employed in a professional service which may be said to have been in defence of his native country. When, after the murder of Porteous, the lords passed and sent down to the commons a bill for disqualifying and imprisoning the provost of Edinburgh, abolishing the city guard, and taking away the gates of the Netherbow port, he, assisted by Barnard, Shippen, Ogelthorpe, and most of the Scots members, pertinaciously resisted the insulting measure through a stormy conference, and was partly the means of lopping away the portion most offensive to the public; and the bill as returned and passed by the lords, merely disqualified the provost, and imposed a fine of £2000 on the city, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. Murray's services on this occasion were rewarded by the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, which was presented to him in a gold box.²

In 1743, the attention of a ministry, not supported by extensive political talent, and obliged to combat with strong adversaries, was directed towards the commanding powers of Mr Murray. He was chosen solicitor-general, and being thus initiated as a responsible legislator, was one of the few lawyers whose genius proved as great in the senate as it had been at the bar. In 1742, he took his seat in the house as member for Boroughbridge. In 1746, he was *ex officio* one of the counsel against the rebel lords. It is said that he performed an unwelcome duty. He certainly exhibited a disposition to act as a high-minded public prosecutor ought always to do, by showing that he was rather the instrument through which the law acted in doing justice, than a person employed to procure the punishment of a fellow citizen. "Every gentleman," he observed, choosing the collective term as the least invidious mode of expressing his own feelings, "who has spoken in this trial, has made it a rule to himself to urge nothing against the prisoner but plain facts and positive evidence without aggravation." Whether he acted from principle, or a secret leaning towards the cause he ostensibly opposed, is not likely to be ever known; but those who brought the accusation against him should have founded it on different evidence from the circumstance, that, as crown counsel, he was unwilling to stretch the law against the accused. The humbled lord Lovat, the person on whose trial he made the above remark, in a fit of liberality or national feeling, made the following observations on the solicitor in his defence. "I am very sorry I gave your lordships so much trouble on my trial, and I give you a mil-

² Coxe's Walpole, i. 495.

lion of thanks for being so good in your patience and attention while it lasted. I thought myself very much loaded by one Mr Murray, who, your lordships know, was the bitterest enemy there was against me. I have since suffered by another Mr Murray, who, I must say with pleasure, is an honour to his country, and whose eloquence and learning are much beyond what is to be expressed by an ignorant man like me. I heard him with pleasure, though it was against me. I have the honour to be his relation, though perhaps he neither knows it nor values it. I wish that his being born in the north may not hinder him from the preferment that his merit and learning deserve. Till that gentleman spoke, your lordships were inclined to grant my earnest request, and to allow me farther time to bring up my witnesses to prove my innocence; but it seems that has been overruled."³ But one who was present, and who has dipped his pen in gall, has given a less pleasing account than that generally believed, of his conduct at these trials. Horace Walpole says, in a letter to Horace Man, "While the lords were withdrawn, the solicitor-general Murray, (brother of the Pretender's minister) officiously and insolently went up to lord Balmerino, and asked him, how he could give the lords so much trouble, when his solicitor had informed him that his plea would be of no use to him? Balmerino asked the bystanders who this person was? and being told, he said, 'Oh Mr Murray! I am extremely glad to see you: I have been with several of your relations: the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth;' are not you charmed with this speech: how just it was!" But Murray did not escape charges of disaffection more apparently serious. A dinner had been given by the dean of Durham on occasion of the king's birthday, when a conversation was commenced by an individual of the name of Fawcett, an old class-fellow of Murray, as to the probable preferment of Johnson, a mutual friend, then bishop of Gloucester. On this occasion Fawcett observed, that "he was glad Johnson was so well off, for he remembered him a Jacobite several years ago, and that he used to be with a relation of his who was very disaffected, one Vernon Mercer, where the Pretender's health was frequently drunk. On a ministerial inquiry, the charge of drinking the Pretender's health was transferred to Murray, and the matter became the subject of an accusation before the cabinet council. Murray was the intimate friend and companion of Vernon's eldest son, and had so established himself as a virtual brother to the young man, that the father, on his son's death, left to Murray a considerable fortune."⁴ This man was a Jacobite. The university of Oxford was at that period a nest of traitors; and, taking into view Murray's family connexions, his youth, his ardour, and the circumstance that he must have been aware that almost every noble family in Britain then conducted a correspondence with the exiled Stuarts, no man was more likely to have drunk the Pretender's health in a moment of conviviality. However, he denied the charge, stating his loyalty towards the existing government, which, by the time he was made solicitor-general, was probably sincere. Inquiry was stifled, and nothing was proved to the public on either side. But the accusation was never entirely dropped by his opponents; every one knows the use made of it by Junius. Pitt would use it to poison the sharpest darts of his eloquence, and on such occasions Murray is said to have felt, but never to have dared to answer. Pitt had been detailing some symptoms of Jacobitism which he had seen at Oxford. Horace Walpole says on this occasion,⁵ "colours, much less words, could not paint the confusion and agitation that worked in Murray's face during this almost apostrophe. His countenance spoke everything that Fawcett had been terrified to prevaricate away." On

³ State Trial, xvi. 877.⁴ Holliday, 51.⁵ Memoir of the last ten years of George II., i. 358.

another occasion, the scene is thus told: "After Murray had suffered for some time, Pitt stopped, threw his eyes around, then fixing their whole power on Murray, said, 'I must now address a few words to Mr Solicitor: they shall be few, but they shall be daggers.' Murray was agitated: the look was continued; the agitation increased. 'Judge Festus trembles,' exclaimed Pitt, 'he shall hear me some other day.' He sat down, Murray made no reply, and a languid debate is said to have shown the paralysis of the house."⁶ It may be well here to give the picture which Walpole has furnished us of Murray and his two great rivals in oratory, Pitt and Fox. The picture is beautiful, and though too glaringly coloured, must be to a certain extent founded on truth. "Murray, who at the beginning of the session was awed by Pitt, finding himself supported by Fox, surmounted his fears, and convinced the house, and Pitt too, of his superior abilities. He grew most uneasy to the latter. Pitt could only attack, Murray only defend. Fox, the boldest and ablest champion, was still more formed to worry, but the keenness of his sabre was blunted by the difficulty with which he drew it from the scabbard: I mean the hesitation and ungracefulness of his delivery took off from the force of his arguments. Murray, the brightest genius of the three, had too much, and too little of the lawyer; he refined too much, and could wrangle too little, for a popular assembly. Pitt's figure was commanding; Murray's engaging from a decent openness; Fox's dark and troubled; yet the latter was the only agreeable man. Pitt could not unbend; Murray in private was inelegant: Fox was cheerful, social, communicative. In conversation, none of them had wit: Murray never had: Fox had in his speeches, from clearness of head and asperity of argument. Pitt's wit was genuine, not tortured into the service, like the quaintnesses of my lord Chesterfield."⁷ On the accession of the duke of Newcastle's ministry in 1754, Mr Murray was advanced to the office of attorney-general, in place of Sir Dudley Ryder, made chief justice of the court of King's Bench. It was at that period whispered, that the highest honours to which a British statesman can be presumed to aspire, were almost within the grasp of Murray, but that he declined a contest for any distinction which was not professional. His character presents a strange mixture of eager, unremitting ambition, with an unwillingness to grasp the highest objects within his reach, probably from a mental misgiving as to his ability to perform the part of leader. In pursuance of this feeling, on the death of Sir Dudley Ryder, in 1756, he followed him as chief justice of the King's Bench, the post to which he always looked as the most desirable, and which he preferred to the labours and responsibilities of the chancellorship or premiership. He probably had no wish to remain longer a member of such a government as Newcastle's; but that weak head of a cabinet had sufficient wisdom to calculate the loss of such a man as Murray, and extravagant offers are said to have been made to induce him to remain for some time a working partizan of the ministry. In his promotion, however, he does not seem to have wished to relinquish the honours of administration, while he eschewed the responsibility. Contrary to custom, but not to precedent, he remained a member of the cabinet, and changed his sphere of action for the house of lords, with the title of baron Mansfield of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham. On his taking leave of the society of Lincoln's Inn, he received the usual congratulatory address, which was presented by the honourable C. York, son to lord Hardwicke.

Let us now cast a glance at lord Mansfield's character, and services to the public, as a judge. It is in this capacity that we will find the only practical

⁶ Butler's Remains. Roscoe, 181.

⁷ Walpole's Memoirs, i. 400.

memorial which he has left for posterity; but it is such a memorial as few, if any other judges, have left. The declaration of what the law is, is generally thought sufficient duty for a judge, and he is praised if he does it well,—the evils which his train of decisions may have produced to posterity, when their principle was applied to other cases, are not to be attributed to him; he was not prophetic, and could not foresee such events. But lord Mansfield, in more than one branch of law, framed his decisions for the advantage of posterity; and of the law of marine insurance, which is now a vast system both in England and Scotland, he may be said to have been the framer. On this subject, the opinion of one of the most ample writers on the English law of marine insurance, will best explain what lord Mansfield accomplished. “Before the time of this venerable judge, the legal proceedings, even on contracts of insurance, were subject to great vexations and oppressions. If the underwriters refused payment, it was usual for the insured to bring a separate action against each of the underwriters on the policy, and to proceed to trial on all. The multiplicity of trials was oppressive both to the insurers and insured; and the insurers, if they had any real point to try, were put to an enormous expense before they could obtain any decision of the question which they wished to agitate. Some underwriters, who thought they had a sound defence, and who were desirous of avoiding unnecessary cost or delay to themselves or the insured, applied to the court of King’s Bench, to stay the proceedings in all the actions but one, undertaking to pay the amount of their subscriptions with costs, if the plaintiff should succeed in the cause which was tried; and offering to admit, on their part, everything which might bring the true merits of the case before the court and jury. Reasonable as this offer was, the plaintiff, either from perverseness of disposition, or the illiberality or cunning of his advisers, refused his consent to the application. The court did not think themselves warranted to make such a rule without his consent; but Mr Justice Denison intimated, that if the plaintiff persisted, against his own interest, on his right to try all the causes, the court had the power of granting imparlances in all but one, till there was an opportunity of granting that one action. Lord Mansfield then stated the great advantages resulting to each party, by consenting to the application which was made; and added, that, if the plaintiff consented to such a rule, the defendant should undertake not to file any bill in equity for delay, nor to bring a writ of error, and should produce all books and papers that were material to the point in issue. This rule was afterwards consented to by the plaintiff, and was found so beneficial to all parties, that it is now grown into general use, and is called the consolidation rule. Thus, on the one hand, defendants may have questions of real importance tried at a small expense; and plaintiffs are not delayed in their suits by those arts which have too frequently been resorted to, in order to evade the payment of a just demand.⁸ Such is one out of the several judicial measures by which lord Mansfield erected this great system. But it is said that he made the changes in the law, by changing himself from the administrator of the law into the legislator; that he did not adhere to the letter of the law, but gave it an equitable interpretation, virtually altering it himself, in place of leaving to the legislature the correction of bad laws, a system which, whatever good use he might himself have made of it, was not to be intrusted to a chief justice, and never was so by the law of England. The charge is not without foundation. Junius says to him, in his celebrated letter of 14th November, 1770, “No learned man ever among your own tribe, thinks you qualified to preside in a court of common law. Yet it is confessed that, under Justinian, you might have made an incomparable pretor.” The Roman law was, in all its branches, the excess of equity,

⁸ Park on Insurance. Introduction, 12.

even when compared to the equity court of England; but the pretorian branch was the equity of the Roman law. It is probable that the institute was at all times a more pleasing study to the elegant mind of lord Mansfield, than the rigid common and statute law of England. He frequently made reference to it, and may have been induced to study it, in capacitating himself for pleading Scotch appeals; yet he is understood to have been the author of the chapter in Blackstone's Commentary, which answers the arguments of lord Kames in favour of the extension of equity in England. His opinions on the rights of jury trials in cases of libel, have met with still more extensive censure. He maintained "that the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of." The intent with which this was done, (as it is singularly termed the law,) he retained for the consideration of the court. In the cases of *Almon* and of *Woodfall*, he so instructed the jury. In the latter case, the verdict was "guilty of printing and publishing only." There was no charge, except for printing and publishing, in the information, the intent being for the consideration of the court. On the motion for arrest of judgment, it is clear from lord Mansfield's opinion, that, had the verdict been "guilty of printing and publishing," he would have given judgment on the opinion of the court as to intent; but the word "only" was a subject of doubt, and a new trial was ruled.⁹ The verdict, in this case, was "not guilty." Lord Mansfield could not prevent such a verdict, without unconstitutional coercion; but he accommodated it to his principles, by presuming that the meaning of such a verdict was a denial as to the *fact* of printing and publishing, and that the juror who gave it, in consideration of the *intent*, perjured himself. Yet Junius accomplished a signal triumph over him, in making him virtually contradict his favourite principle, in a theory too nice for practice, when he said, that "if, after all, they would take upon themselves to determine the law, *they might do it*; but they must be very sure that they determined according to law: for they touched their consciences, and they acted at their peril." A declaratory act, introduced by Fox, has since put a stop to the powers of a judge, to infringe in a similar manner the rights of juries.¹⁰ In only two instances has lord Mansfield been *accused* of wilfully perverting his judicial authority. In the *Douglas* cause, it must be admitted that his address to the house was more like the speech of an advocate, than of a judge. It is believed to have swayed the house, although the decision was not, as in the general case, unanimous in favour of the side taken by the law officer who gives his opinion. Mr Stuart, the agent for the losing party, wrote letters to lord Mansfield, solemnly charging him with improper conduct as a judge. Of these very beautiful specimens of composition, it is scarcely possible to judge of the merit, without a knowledge of the elaborate cause with which they are connected; but the reasoning is clear and accurate, and the calm solemnity of the charges, with the want of that personal asperity, or dependence on satirical or declamatory powers, which appear in Junius, must have made these letters keenly felt, even by a judge conscious of rectitude. The other charge was brought against him by Junius, for admitting to bail a thief caught in the manner, or with the stolen property, contrary to law. The thief was a man of large property, his theft trifling, and, probably, the consequence of a species of mental disease of not unfrequent occurrence. The reason of granting bail was, we believe, to enable him to dispose of his property to his family; and the act probably one of those in which the lord chief justice stretched the law, to what he conceived a useful purpose.

A brief narrative of his political proceedings, while on the bench, will suffice, as their merits are matter of history. He attended the meetings of the council

⁹ State Trials, xx. 919—21.

¹⁰ 32 Geo III., c. 60.

from 1760 to 1763, when he declined attending, from not agreeing with the measures of the duke of Bedford. In 1765, he returned, but again retired within the same year, on the formation of the Rockingham administration. On the dismissal of Mr Pitt, the seals of the chancellorship of the exchequer, from which Mr Legge had retired, were *pro tempore* placed in his hands. When lord Waldegrave was directed to form a new administration, he was employed to negotiate with the duke of Newcastle, and his opponent, Pitt; but the conclusion of the treaty was intrusted to the earl of Hardwicke. On the resignation of lord Hardwicke, several attempts were made to prevail on Mansfield to succeed him as chancellor; but the timidity before explained, or some principle not easily defined, induced him to decline the preferment. He strongly resisted an attempt to amend the application of *Habeas Corpus*, to cases not criminal, suggested from the circumstance of a gentleman having remained for a considerable period in prison, on a commitment for contempt of court. On this occasion, "he spoke," says Horace Walpole, "for two hours and a half: his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much sense and so much oratory united." This was an occasion of which Junius made ample use. The amendment was rejected, and a similar legislative measure was not passed until 1816. Lord Mansfield was not less eloquent in supporting the right of Britain to tax America, without representation; he maintained the plea, that there was virtual, though not nominal, representation, and urged decisive measures. "You may abdicate," he said, "your right over the colonies. Take care, my lords, how you do so; for such an act will be irrevocable. Proceed then, my lords, with spirit and firmness; and when you have established your authority, it will then be time to show your lenity." But if his views in civil politics were narrow and bigoted, he was liberal in religious matters; and both as a judge and a legislator, afforded toleration to all classes of dissenters, from Roman catholics to methodists. He was indeed a greater enemy to liberal institutions, than to liberal acts. He could bear to see the people enjoying privileges, provided they flowed from himself; but he did not wish them to be the custodiers of their own freedom. In spiritual matters, the authority did not spring from the chief justice. When he left Pitt behind him in the commons, he found one to act his part in the house of lords. Lord Camden was his unceasing opponent; and Mansfield was often obliged to meet his attacks with silence. He suffered severely in the riots of 1780; his house, with considerable other property, being destroyed; while he suffered the far more lamentable loss of all his books and manuscripts. In pursuance of a vote of the house of commons, the treasury made an application for the particulars and amount of his loss, for the purpose of arranging a compensation; but he declined making any claim. In 1788, he retired from his judicial office, when the usual address from the bar was presented to him by his countryman, Mr Erskine, and in July, 1792, he was raised to the dignity of earl of Mansfield, with remainder to his nephew, David viscount Stormont, whose grandson now enjoys the title. He died on the 20th March, 1793, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

MYLNE, ROBERT, a distinguished architect, was born in Edinburgh, January 4, 1734. He was the son of Thomas Mylne, a magistrate of the city, and an architect, whose predecessors for several generations had been master-masons to the king, and one of whom built the additions to Holyrood house in the reign of Charles II., and is interred in the neighbourhood of that palace, with a highly panegyric epitaph. After receiving a general education in Edinburgh, the subject of this article travelled on the continent for improvement in his hereditary science. At Rome, where he resided five years, he gained in 1758, the

first prize of the academy of St Luke in the first class of architecture, and was unanimously elected a member of that body. In the course of his travels, he was able, by the minuteness of his research, to discover many points in ancient architecture which no one ever before or ever after remarked, and to illustrate by this means some obscure passages in Vitruvius. On returning to London, a friendless adventurer, the superiority of a plan which he presented, among those of twenty other candidates, for the contemplated Blackfriars' bridge, gained him the employment of superintending that great public work, which was commenced in 1761. This plan and the duty of superintendence were rewarded, according to agreement, by a salary of £300 a-year, and five per cent. upon all the money expended. So well had he calculated the cost, that the bridge was completed (1765) for the exact sum specified in the estimate, £153,000. As a specimen of bridge architecture, on a large scale, it was long held in the very highest rank; and a learned writer has even pronounced it the most perfect in existence. The mode of *centering* employed by Mr Mylne, has, in particular, been the theme of much praise.

This eminent architect was afterwards appointed surveyor of St Paul's cathedral; and he it was who suggested the inscription in that building to the memory of Wren—"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice," an idea so felicitous, that it may safely be described as more generally known, and committed to more memories, than almost any similar thing in existence. Among the buildings erected or altered by him, may be mentioned—Rochester cathedral, Greenwich hospital, (of which he was clerk of the works for fifteen years,) King's Weston, Ardincaple house, and Inverary Castle. He was a man of extensive knowledge in his profession, both in regard to its theory and practice. After a long career of distinguished employment, he died, May 5, 1811, in his seventy-eighth year, at the New River Head, London, where he had long resided as engineer to that company, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren. By his wife, Miss Mary Home, whom he married in 1770, he had nine children, five of whom survived him.

N

NAPIER, JOHN, of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, the celebrated inventor of the logarithms, was born in the year 1550. He was descended from an ancient race of land proprietors in Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire. His father, Sir Alexander Napier of Edinbellie, in the former county, and Merchiston, in the county of Edinburgh, was master of the mint to James VI., and was only sixteen years of age when the subject of this memoir was born. The mother of the inventor of the logarithms was Janet, only daughter of Sir Francis Bothwell, a lord of session, and sister of Adam, bishop of Orkney. There is a prevalent notion that the inventor of the logarithms was a nobleman: this has arisen from his styling himself, in one of his title pages, *Baro Merchistonii*; in reality, this implied *baron* in the sense of a superior of a barony, or what in England would be called lord of a manor. Napier was simply *laird* of Merchiston—a class who in Scotland sat in parliament under the denomination of the *lesser barons*.

Napier was educated at St Salvator's college, in the university of St Andrews which he entered in 1562. He afterwards travelled on the continent, probably to improve himself by intercourse with learned and scientific men. Nothing

farther is ascertained respecting him, till after he had reached the fortieth year of his age. He is then found settled at the family seats of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, and Gartness, in Stirlingshire, where he seems to have practised the life of a recluse student, without the least desire to mingle actively in political affairs. That his mind was alive, however, to the civil and religious interests of his country, is proved by his publishing, in 1593, an exposition of the Revelations, in the dedication of which to the king, he urged his majesty, in very plain language, to attend better than he did to the enforcement of the laws, and the protection of religion, beginning reformation in his own "house, family, and court." From this it appears that Napier belonged to the strict order of presbyterians in Scotland; for such are exactly the sentiments chiefly found prevalent among that class of men at this period of our history.

In the scantiness of authenticated materials for the biography of Napier, some traditional traits become interesting. It is said that, in his more secluded residence at Gartness, he had both a waterfall and a mill in his immediate neighbourhood, which considerably interrupted his studies. He was, however, a great deal more tolerant of the waterfall than of the mill; for while the one produced an incessant and equable sound, the other was attended with an irregular *clack-clack*, which marred the processes of his mind, and sometimes even rendered it necessary for him, when engaged in an unusually abstruse calculation, to desire the miller to stop work. He often walked abroad in the evening, in a long mantle, and attended by a large dog; and these circumstances, working upon minds totally unable to appreciate the real nature of his researches, raised a popular rumour of his being addicted to the black art. It is certain that, no more than other great men of his age, was he exempt from a belief in several sciences now fully proved to have been full of imposture. The practice of forming theories only from facts, however reasonable and unavoidable it may appear, was enforced only for the first time by a contemporary of Napier—the celebrated Bacon; and, as yet, the bounds between true and false knowledge were hardly known. Napier, therefore, practised an art which seems nearly akin to divination, as is proved by a contract entered into, in 1594, between him and Logan of Fastcastle—afterwards so celebrated for his supposed concern in the Gowry conspiracy. This document states it to have been agreed upon, that, as there were old reports and appearances that a sum of money was hid within Logan's house of Fastcastle, John Napier should do his utmost diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and ingine [a phrase for mental power] to find out the same, or make it sure that no such thing has been there. For his reward he was to have the exact third of all that was found, and to be safely guarded by Logan back to Edinburgh; and in case he should find nothing, after all trial and diligence taken, he was content to refer the satisfaction of his travels and pains to the discretion of Logan. What was the result of the attempt, or if the attempt itself was ever made, has not been ascertained.

Besides dabbling in sciences which had no foundation in nature, Napier addicted himself to certain speculations which have always been considered as just hovering between the possible and the impossible, a number of which he disclosed, in 1596, to Anthony Bacon, the brother of the more celebrated philosopher of that name. One of these schemes was for a burning mirror, similar to that of Archimedes, for setting fire to ships; another was for a mirror to produce the same effects by a material fire; a third for an engine which should send forth such quantities of shot in all directions as to clear everything in its neighbourhood; and so forth. In fact, Napier's seems to have been one of those active and excursive minds, which are sometimes found to spend a

whole life in projects and speculations without producing a single article of real utility, and in other instances hit upon one or two things, perhaps, of the highest order of usefulness. As he advanced in years, he seems to have gradually forsaken wild and hopeless projects, and applied himself more and more to the useful sciences. In 1596, he is found suggesting the use of salt in improving laud; an idea probably passed over in his own time as chimerical, but revived in the present age with good effect. No more is heard of him till, in 1614, he astonished the world by the publication of his book of logarithms. He is understood to have devoted the intermediate time to the study of astronomy, a science then reviving to a new life, under the auspices of Kepler and Galileo, the former of whom dedicated his *Ephemerides* to Napier, considering him as the greatest man of his age in the particular department to which he applied his abilities.

“The demonstrations, problems, and calculations of astronomy, most commonly involve some one or more of the cases of trigonometry, or that branch of mathematics, which, from certain parts, whether sides or angles, of a triangle being given, teaches how to find the others which are unknown. On this account, trigonometry, both plane and spherical, engaged much of Napier’s thoughts; and he spent a great deal of his time in endeavouring to contrive some methods by which the operations in both might be facilitated. Now, these operations, the reader, who may be ignorant of mathematics, will observe, always proceed by geometrical ratios, or proportions. Thus, if certain lines be described in or about a triangle, one of these lines will bear the same geometrical proportion to another, as a certain side of the triangle does to a certain other side. Of the four particulars thus arranged, three must be known, and then the fourth will be found by multiplying together certain two of those known, and dividing the product by the other. This rule is derived from the very nature of geometrical proportion, but it is not necessary that we should stop to demonstrate here how it is deduced. It will be perceived, however, that it must give occasion, in solving the problems of trigonometry, to a great deal of multiplying and dividing—operations which, as everybody knows, become very tedious whenever the numbers concerned are large; and they are generally so in astronomical calculations. Hence such calculations used to exact immense time and labour, and it became most important to discover, if possible, a way of shortening them. Napier, as we have said, applied himself assiduously to this object; and he was, probably, not the only person of that age whose attention it occupied. He was, however, undoubtedly the first who succeeded in it, which he did most completely by the admirable contrivance which we are now about to explain.

“When we say that 1 bears a certain proportion, ratio, or relation to 2, we may mean any one of two things; either that 1 is the half of 2, or that it is less than 2 by 1. If the former be what we mean, we may say that the relation in question is the same as that of 2 to 4, or of 4 to 8; if the latter, we may say that it is the same as that of 2 to 3, or of 3 to 4. Now, in the former case, we should be exemplifying what is called a *geometrical*, in the latter, what is called an *arithmetical* proportion: the former being that which regards the number of times, or parts of times, the one quantity is contained in the other; the latter regarding only the difference between the two quantities. We have already stated that the property of four quantities arranged in geometrical proportion, is, that the *product* of the second and third, *divided* by the first, gives the fourth. But when four quantities are in arithmetical proportion, the *sum* of the second and third, diminished by the *subtraction* of the first, gives the fourth. Thus, in the geometrical proportion, 1 is to 2 as 2 is to 4; if 2 be multiplied

by 2 it gives 4; which divided by 1 still remains 4; while, in the arithmetical proportion, 1 is to 2 as 2 is to 3; if 2 be added to 2 it gives 4; from which if 1 be subtracted, there remains the fourth term 3. It is plain, therefore, that, especially where large numbers are concerned, operations by arithmetical must be much more easily performed than operations by geometrical proportion; for, in the one case you have only to add and subtract, while in the other you have to go through the greatly more laborious processes of multiplication and division.

“Now, it occurred to Napier, reflecting upon this important distinction, that a method of abbreviating the calculation of a *geometrical* proportion might perhaps be found, by substituting, upon certain fixed principles, for its known terms, others in *arithmetical* proportion, and then finding, in the quantity which should result from the addition and subtraction of these last, an indication of that which should have resulted from the multiplication and division of the original figures. It had been remarked before this, by more than one writer, that if the series of numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, &c., that proceed in geometrical progression, that is, by a continuation of geometrical ratios, were placed under or along side of the series 0, 1, 2, 3, &c., which are in arithmetical progression, the addition of any two terms of the latter series would give a sum, which would stand opposite to a number in the former series indicating the product of the two terms in that series, which corresponded in place to the two in the arithmetical series first taken. Thus, in the two lines,

1,	2,	4,	8,	16,	32,	64,	128,	256,
0,	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,

the first of which consists of numbers in geometrical, and the second of numbers in arithmetical progression, if any two terms, such as 2 and 4, be taken from the latter, their sum 6, in the same line, will stand opposite to 64 in the other, which is the product of 4 multiplied by 16, the two terms of the geometrical series which stand opposite to the 2 and 4 of the arithmetical. It is also true, and follows directly from this, that if any three terms, as, for instance, 2, 4, 6, be taken in the arithmetical series, the sum of the second and third, diminished by the subtraction of the first, which makes 8, will stand opposite to a number (256) in the geometrical series which is equal to the product of 16 and 64 (the opposites of 4 and 6), divided by 4 (the opposite of 2).

“Here, then, is, to a certain extent, exactly such an arrangement or table as Napier wanted. Having any geometrical proportion to calculate, the known terms of which were to be found in the first line or its continuation, he could substitute for them at once, by reference to such a table, the terms of an arithmetical proportion, which, wrought in the usual simple manner, would give him a result that would point out or indicate the unknown term of the geometrical proportion. But, unfortunately, there were many numbers which did not occur in the upper line at all, as it here appears. Thus, there were not to be found in it either 3, or 5, or 6, or 7, or 9, or 10, or any other numbers, indeed, except the few that happen to result from the multiplication of any of its terms by two. Between 128 and 256, for example, there were 127 numbers wanting, and between 256 and the next term (512) there would be 255 not to be found.

“We cannot here attempt to explain the methods by which Napier’s ingenuity succeeded in filling up these chasms, but must refer the reader, for full information upon this subject, to the professedly scientific works which treat of the history and construction of logarithms. Suffice it to say, that he devised a mode by which he could calculate the proper number to be placed in the table over against any number whatever, whether integral or fractional. The new numerical expressions thus found, he called *Logarithms*, a term of Greek etymology,

which signifies the ratios or proportions of numbers. He afterwards fixed upon the progression, 1, 10, 100, 1000, &c., or that which results from continued multiplication by 10, and which is the same according to which the present tables are constructed. This improvement, which possesses many advantages, had suggested itself about the same time to the learned Henry Briggs, then professor of geometry in Gresham college, one of the persons who had the merit of first appreciating the value of Napier's invention, and who certainly did more than any other to spread the knowledge of it, and also to contribute to its perfection."¹

The invention was very soon known over all Europe, and was everywhere hailed with admiration by men of science. Napier followed it up, in 1617, by publishing a small treatise, giving an account of a method of performing the operations of multiplication and division, by means of a number of small rods. These materials for calculation have maintained their place in science, and are known by the appellation of Napier's Bones.

In 1608, Napier succeeded his father, when he had a contest with his brothers and sisters, on account of some settlements made to his prejudice by his father, in breach of a promise made in 1586, in presence of some friends of the family, not to sell, wadset, or dispose, from his son John, the lands of Over Merchiston, or any part thereof. The family disputes were probably accommodated before June 9, 1613, on which day John Napier was served and returned heir of his father in the lands of Over Merchiston.

This illustrious man did not long enjoy the inheritance which had fallen to him so unusually late in life. He died, April 3, 1617, at Merchiston castle, and was buried in the church of St Giles, on the eastern side of its southern entrance, where is still to be seen a stone tablet, exposed to the street, and bearing the following inscription:—"Sep. familiæ Napieroru. interius hic situm est."

Napier was twice married; first, in 1571, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, by whom he had a son and a daughter; secondly, to Agnes, daughter of James Chisholm of Cronlix, by whom he had ten children. His eldest son, Archibald, who succeeded him, was raised to the rank of a baron by Charles I., in 1627, under the title of lord Napier, which is still borne by his descendants. A very elaborate life of him was published in 1835, (Blackwood, Edinburgh).

NICOLL, (The Rev.) ALEXANDER, D. C. L., canon of Christchurch, and regius professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, was the youngest son of John Nicoll, at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, where he was born, April 3, 1793. The subject of this memoir was carefully reared by his parent in the principles of the Scottish episcopal church; and, while little more than four years of age, was placed at a private school, conducted by a Mr Sivewright, where he received the first rudiments of learning. Two years afterwards, he was put to the parish school, then and still taught by Mr Duff, who grounded him in classical literature. His behaviour at school was that of a modest, assiduous student, and nothing but a reprimand ever disturbed the composure which was natural to him. At this school, his attainments were such as to attract the notice of the clergymen of the presbytery, in the course of their professional visitations. In 1805, he removed to the grammar school of Aberdeen, at which city, his elder brother, Mr Lewis Nicoll, advocate, was able to take charge of his personal conduct. At the commencement of the winter session of the same year, he became a candidate for a bursary at the Marischal college, and obtained one of

¹ The above account of logarithms, which has the advantage of being very simple and intelligible, is extracted from the Library of Entertaining Knowledge.

the smallest in the gift of that institution. He, therefore, attended the classes of Latin and Greek during the session 1805-6, at the close of which he gained the prize of the Silver Pen, always bestowed on the best scholar. This honour, being, as usual, announced in the provincial newspapers, caused him to be noticed by various eminent individuals, as a young man of peculiar promise. Before the next session, he had studied mathematics at home, and pursued a course of miscellaneous reading. Besides attending the classes formerly mentioned, he entered, in 1808, that of mathematics, then taught by Dr Hamilton, the well-known expositor of the national debt; and also attended the lectures of Mr Beattie, in natural and civil history. During the ensuing vacation, he directed his attention to drawing, and produced several maps, sketched in a very neat manner.

Soon after the commencement of his third year, in 1807, Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen, informed him, that there was a vacancy at Baliol college, in one of the exhibitions upon Snell's foundation, which he thought might be obtained. By the advice of his elder brother, he proceeded to Oxford, with a letter of recommendation from Bishop Skinner to Dr Parsons, the master of the college, and was at once elected to the vacant exhibition. Having been put under the charge of a tutor, (the Rev. Mr Jenkyns,) he commenced his studies with great eagerness, particularly in the department of Greek, where his chief deficiency lay, and where he found himself, with only seven months' study of that language in a Scotch university, pitted against youths who had studied at the much superior schools of Oxford for three years. His native capacity and unwearied application soon placed him on a level with his companions, and a college life then began to have great charms for him. At Baliol, he had the society of a little knot of Scottish students, partners with himself in the enjoyment of Snell's foundation, and among whom were several individuals now distinguished in public life. For several years he prosecuted his studies with much diligence and success; and, in 1811, after the usual examination, obtained the degree of bachelor of arts. It was not till 1813, that he directed his attention to the Oriental languages, in which he was destined to become so noted a proficient. In a letter to his brother, dated in December that year, he says: "For the last year, I have been chiefly engaged in the study of the Oriental languages, the Hebrew, Arabic, and Persic, and occasionally the modern languages. I have latterly obtained some knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German. There is no place where there are finer opportunities for studying the Oriental languages, than in Oxford. The Bodleian library, to which I have had access for the last two years, is said to be richer in that department than any other. I have lately been introduced to Dr Winstanley, principal of Alban Hall, one of the best linguists in Oxford. I also know Dr Macbride, who has lately been appointed principal of Magdalen Hall, and lecturer in Arabic, who has already shown me great kindness." Soon after, on account of his knowledge of languages, particularly those of the East, he was appointed, without solicitation, one of the sub-librarians of the Bodleian; a situation which greatly favoured the progress of his studies.

In 1817, Mr Nicoll received deacon's orders, and was appointed the curate of one of the churches in Oxford, where he had part of the duty to perform. This, however, did not in the least retard his studies, or his exertions in the Bodleian. On considering various circumstances in the history of this institution, he had marked out for himself a line of duty, by which he greatly benefited its interests, and elevated his own reputation. He perceived that the enormous treasure of Oriental manuscripts, about thirty thousand in number, was in a great measure useless, from being imperfectly catalogued; and to re-

medy this defect he forthwith applied himself. He first drew up a catalogue of the manuscripts brought from the East by Dr E. D. Clarke, and, by publishing it, at once established his fame as an Orientalist of the first class. He then entered on the gigantic task of completing the general catalogue of the eastern manuscripts, which had been begun about a hundred years before by Uri, the celebrated Hungarian. The first fasciculus which he put forth of this work, embracing manuscripts in nearly a dozen different tongues, analyzing their contents, and estimating their merits in clear, forcible, and elegant Latin, diffused Nicoll's reputation throughout Europe, and brought him into acquaintance and correspondence with all the eminent Orientalists at home and abroad. Every summer thereafter he visited the continent, in order to examine various celebrated collections; and, ere he died, there was not one of any note which he had not seen. His epistolary correspondence with the eminent foreign literati, was conducted chiefly in Latin, which he wrote with perfect facility; but his knowledge of the modern European languages, was hardly less extraordinary than his orientalism. He spoke and wrote, with ease and accuracy, French, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, and Romaic. In short, it was the common saying of the Oxonian common-rooms, that Nicoll could walk to the wall of China without need of an interpreter. In the midst of all the honours that were paid to him, and though his intercourse with so many distinguished men had given ease and elegance to his manners, he never lost the original modesty and reserve of his nature. It was forcibly said of him by an eminent scholar, after conversing with him, "Sir, he is not modest,—he is modesty itself."

The time at length arrived when he was to receive a reward due to his great merits and exertions. In June, 1822, on the promotion of Dr Richard Laurence to the archbishopric of Cashel, Nicoll was, without solicitation, appointed to the vacant chair of regius professor of Oriental languages; the following being the letter in which lord Liverpool announced the appointment:—

"Fife House, 19th June, 1822.

"SIR,—In consequence of the promotion of Dr Laurence to the archbishopric of Cashel, the regius professorship of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, together with the canonry of Christ Church attached to it, becomes vacant. The high reputation which you have acquired as an Oriental scholar, and the value attached to your labours, have induced his majesty to approve of you as Dr Laurence's successor; and I can entertain no doubt that this mark of royal favour, conferred upon you without solicitation, will be a strong inducement to you to persevere in those studies by which you have acquired so much credit, and to use your utmost endeavours to promote the study of Oriental literature in the university of Oxford.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"LIVERPOOL."

Nicoll was thus elevated from a salary of about £200 a-year, and the comparatively humble situation of a sub-librarian in the Bodleian, to the enjoyment of £2000, and two of the highest dignities in the university. He soon after took the degree of D. C. L.

For some years, Dr Nicoll performed the duties of his high station with the greatest zeal and success, producing a considerable increase in the attendance of his class, and not neglecting, at the same time, the important task which he had undertaken at the Bodleian. He had nearly completed the catalogue, when, on the 24th of September, 1828, having previously weakened his constitution by intense study, he was cut off by an inflammation in the windpipe, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Dr Nicoll was twice married; first, to a Danish lady, who died in 1825; secondly, to Sophia, daughter of the reverend J. Parsons, the learned editor of the Oxford Septuagint, and by whom a memoir of Dr Nicoll was prefixed to a posthumous volume of his sermons. By his second wife, Dr Nicoll had three daughters, who survived him. "This great scholar," said one of the journals, in alluding to his death, "has left behind him a reputation which his family may well consider as their dearest treasure. While his attainments were of the first order, his personal character was without spot or blemish. He was virtuous in every relation of life; cheerful in poverty; humble in prosperity; sincere, kind, generous, and eminently pious."

O

OGILVIE, JOHN, D. D., a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1733. His father was one of the ministers of Aberdeen, and he received his education in the Marischal college in that city. Having qualified himself as a preacher, he was settled, in the year 1759, as minister of the parish of Midmar, in Aberdeenshire, where he continued to exercise his useful duties till the close of his life, in 1814. With the exception of the publication of a book, and an occasional visit to London, the life of Dr Ogilvie was marked by hardly any incident. The list of his works is as follows: "The Day of Judgment," a poem, 1758; a second edition of the same, with additional poems, 1759; "Poems on several Subjects," 1762; "Providence, an Allegorical Poem," 1763; "Solitude, or the Elysium of the Poets, a Vision," 1765; "Paradise," a poem, and two volumes of poems on several subjects, 1760; "Philosophical and Critical Observations on the Nature, Character, and various Species of Composition," 1774; "Rome," a poem, 1775; "An Inquiry into the Causes of Infidelity and Scepticism in all Times," 1783; "The Theology of Plato compared with the Principles of the Oriental and Grecian Philosophy," 1793; "Britannia," an epic poem, in twenty books, 1801; and "An Examination of the Evidence from Prophecy, in behalf of the Christian Religion," 1802.

The name of Ogilvie is certainly not unknown to fame; yet it cannot be said that any of his numerous works has maintained a place in the public eye. To account for this, one of his biographers makes the following remarks: "Ogilvie, with powers far above the common order, did not know how to use them with effect. He was an able man lost. His intellectual wealth and industry were wasted in huge and unhappy speculations. Of all his books, there is not one which, as a whole, can be expected to please the general reader. Noble sentiments, brilliant conceptions, and poetic graces, may be culled in profusion from the mass; but there is no one production in which they so predominate, (if we except some of his minor pieces,) as to induce it to be selected for a happier fate than the rest. Had the same talent which Ogilvie threw away on a number of objects, been concentrated on one, and that one chosen with judgment and taste, he might have rivalled in popularity the most renowned of his contemporaries."¹

OGILVY, JOHN, a poet and geographer, was born in the year 1600, at or near Edinburgh. While he was very young, his parents removed with him to London, where his father, some time after, fell into debt, and was confined in the King's Bench prison. Notwithstanding family misfortunes, the subject of

¹ Lives of Eminent Scotsmen, ii. 137.

this memoir was able to pick up a slender knowledge of Latin grammar. What is still more to his praise, he put himself apprentice to a teacher of dancing, and with the first money he procured from his master, freed his father from confinement. A sprain which he got in dancing at a masque put a temporary stop to his career in this profession, and made him slightly lame ever after, yet he is found to have been retained by the celebrated earl of Strafford as teacher of dancing in his lordship's family, at the same time that he accompanied the earl to Ireland, as one of his troop of guards. At this time he wrote a humorous piece, entitled "The Character of a Trooper." Under favour of the earl of Strafford, he became in time Master of Revels, and built a theatre in Dublin. The civil war, however, which had made shipwreck of the fortunes of his patron, seems to have also blasted the prospects of Ogilvy, who, about the time of its conclusion, arrived in a necessitous condition in London, and soon after applied himself at Cambridge to remedy the defects of his original education. In the latter object he succeeded so far as to be able to publish, in 1649, his translation of Virgil into English verse; which was followed in 1660 by a similar version of Homer. In 1651 he produced "The Fables of Æsop, paraphrased in verse," in a quarto volume, with commendatory verses prefixed by Sir William Davenant, and James Shirley, the dramatic poet. Four years afterwards he published another volume of translations from Æsop, with some fables of his own. Ogilvy was a fertile writer of original verses. We are fortunately saved the trouble of making an estimate of his literary character, by Winstanly, whose panegyric, utterly preclusive of all rivalry, is as follows:— "John Ogilvy was one who, from a late initiation into literature, made such progress as might well style him the prodigy of his time; sending into the world so many *large volumes*; his translations of Homer and Virgil, *done to the life*, and with *such excellent sculptures*; and, what *added great grace to his works*, he printed them all on *special good paper*, and of a *very good letter*." Miserable as his translation of Homer is allowed to have been, it was a favourite of Pope in his younger days, and it is impossible to say to what extent we may be indebted for the beautiful versions of the latter writer to the early bias thus given to his taste. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of Ogilvy, that the elegance of the typography of his translations was in a great measure owing to his own exertions for the improvement of that art. The engravings, moreover, which he caused to be executed for his Virgil were of such superior merit for their time, as to be afterwards employed in illustrating an edition of the original poet, and subsequently for the decoration of Dryden's translation. At the Restoration, our author was replaced in his situation of Master of the Revels in Ireland, and once more erected his theatre in the capital of that kingdom. His chief attention, however, seems to have been now devoted to the composition of an epic poem, entitled the "Carolies," in honour of Charles I., the manuscript of which was lost in the great fire of London, when his house was burnt down. He immediately commenced reprinting all his former publications, and sold them, as he had previously done, by means of a lottery, whereby he now raised £4210, which enabled him to set up a printing office, for the purpose of producing geographical works, he having received the appointment of cosmographer and geographic printer to the king. In this capacity he projected a general Atlas of the world, of which he only lived to complete the parts descriptive of China, Japan, Africa, Persia, Britain, &c. He also produced several topographical works, one of which, entitled, "The Traveller's Guide," describing the roads of England from his own actual survey, was long a well-known and serviceable book. Mr Ogilvy concluded an active, and, upon the whole, useful life, in 1676.

P

PANTHER, DAVID, (whose name is diversely spelled Panter and Paniter,) a learned diplomatic character of the sixteenth century, was descended from an ancient family near Montrose. He successively held the ecclesiastical offices of vicar of Carstairs, prior of St Mary's Isle, commendator of Cambuskenneth, and bishop of Ross, and in the latter part of the reign of James V., and for some years later, was principal secretary of state. In this latter character, he wrote many official letters to foreign courts, which have been highly praised for the extraordinary elegance of their Latinity. In 1722, Ruddiman published two well-known volumes, entitled "Epistolæ Jacobi Quarti, Quinti, et Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum, eorumque Tutorum et Regni Gubernatorum, ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Civitates et Alios, ab Anno 1505 ad Annum 1545;" of which the whole of the second is the composition of David Panther, while the first contains letters written in a similar official character, by Patrick Panther, his near relation.

Panther subsequently acted for seven years as ambassador of Scotland at the French court. After a life distinguished by high services, but, it appears, by no great purity of morals, he died at Stirling, October 1, 1558.

PARK, Mungo, a distinguished, but unfortunate traveller, was born at Fowlshiels, in Selkirkshire, September 10, 1771. His father, who rented the farm of Fowlshiels from the duke of Buccleuch, had thirteen children, of whom Mungo was the seventh. Notwithstanding his limited resources, he kept a private tutor in his house, for the education of his family; and of the advantage of this arrangement, the subject of the present memoir largely partook. He was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Selkirk, where he made astonishing progress, not so much by his ready talents, as by his remarkable perseverance and application; and, despite of many disadvantages, uniformly kept the place of *dux*, or head of his class. This early devotion to study and aptitude of acquirement, together with his thoughtful and reserved disposition, seemed to his father to point out the church as his future profession, but upon his son's expressing a decided preference for that of medicine, he at once agreed, and bound him apprentice for three years to Mr Thomas Anderson, surgeon in Selkirk. At the close of his indenture in 1789, being then eighteen years of age, he went to Edinburgh, and attended the classes for three successive sessions, continuing to exhibit the same thirst of knowledge, and unwearied application to all the studies connected with his profession, particularly botany. In the latter, he is said to have been greatly assisted and encouraged by a brother-in-law, Mr James Dickson, who, from an origin even more humble and obscure than that of Park himself, subsequently raised himself to fame and fortune, and became celebrated as one of the first botanists in the kingdom. He had gone to London in search of employment as a journeyman gardener, and procured an engagement, in that humble capacity, with a nurseryman at Hammersmith, where he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, to whose kind friendship and patronage he was mainly indebted for his future success and celebrity.

After qualifying himself in his profession at Edinburgh, young Park went to London in search of employment, and was very speedily appointed assistant-surgeon on board the Worcester, East Indiaman, through the interest of Sir Joseph Banks, to whom Mr Dickson had introduced him. Mr Park showed

himself every way worthy of this appointment, and made an adequate return to his distinguished patron, by the valuable observations and discoveries he made in botany, and other branches of natural history, in a voyage to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra. On his return in 1794, being then only twenty-three years old, he had the honour of reading a paper before the Linnæan Society in London, giving a description of eight new species of fishes he had observed in Sumatra, which was afterwards published in the Transactions of the Society.

After leaving the Worcester, Mr Park appears to have had no certain or fixed views as to his future career, but his talents and genius had already distinguished him too much to allow him to remain long unemployed. The wealthy and scientific Association for the Promotion of Discovery through the Interior of Africa, were at that time preparing to send out an expedition, with the view of endeavouring to trace the course of the Niger, and procuring every information relative to the great central city of Timbuctoo, of which little more than the name was then known. Sir Joseph Banks, one of the leading men of the Association, immediately pointed out Park as one peculiarly eligible for taking the management of the expedition, and the offer being accordingly made to him, was eagerly accepted. He immediately prepared himself, therefore, for the task, being liberally supplied, according to his own statement, with the means of furnishing himself with everything he reckoned necessary, and sailed from Portsmouth on the 22nd of May, 1795, in the brig Endeavour. His instructions were, to proceed to the Niger by the nearest and most convenient route, and endeavour to trace its course, from its rise to its termination; as also to visit, if possible, all the principal towns and cities on its banks, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa, and afterwards return to Europe by the river Gambia, or any other way he thought advisable. He arrived at Jillicca, in the kingdom of Barra, and lying on the northern bank of the Gambia, on the 21st of June; and after proceeding up the river as far as Jonkakonda, he quitted the Endeavour, and proceeded by land to a small British factory, which had been established at Pisania; in the king of Yam's territories, where he took up his residence for a short time with Dr Laidley. He immediately applied himself to the study of the Mandingo tongue, and to collect all the information possible, relative to the various people and countries in the interior, preparatory to his journey. In consequence, however, of exposure to the night dew, while observing an eclipse of the moon, in the month of July, he was seized with fever, attended with delirium, which brought him almost to the grave; nor was he sufficiently recovered to commence his journey till December. On the 2nd of that month he set out, having for his escort a negro servant, named Johnson, who had resided many years in Great Britain, and understood both the English and Mandingo languages, as a guide and interpreter; a negro boy belonging to Dr Laidley, and whom that gentleman promised to set free on his return, in the event of his good conduct; with four others, not immediately under his control, but who were made to understand that their own safety depended upon their fidelity to him. It may be interesting also to notice the nature and value of his equipments for a journey of such length, peril, and importance. These consisted of a horse for himself, two asses for his servants, provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, a few changes of linen and other apparel, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two fowling-pieces, two pairs of pistols, and a few other trifling articles. Such were all the means of sustenance, comfort, and safety, with which this intrepid man was provided for an expedition, the duration of which it was out of his power to calculate, but whose route, he well knew, lay, in some places, through pathless deserts, where neither tree grew, nor water ran, and

beset with beasts of prey ; in others, through the territories of barbarous tribes, from whose inhospitality or savage dispositions he had scarcely less to fear.

At the very outset, an event occurred which seemed to bode ill for the result of his journey. Dr Laidley, and a few other of the Europeans at Pisanía, having escorted him during the first two days, bade him adieu, convinced that they would never see him more ; and scarcely were they out of sight, when he was surrounded by a horde of native banditti, from whom he only got free by surrendering the greater part of his small store of tobacco. Park, however, was not a man to be depressed by evil auguries, and he accordingly pushed on to Medina, the capital of Woollí, where the king, a benevolent old man, received him with much kindness, and furnished him with a trusty guide to the frontiers of his dominions. Our traveller then engaged three elephant hunters, as guides and water-bearers, through the sandy desert which lay before him, where water was frequently not to be found for several days together. He performed the journey in safety, but after much fatigue, and reached Fátteconda, the residence of the king of Bondon, situated upon the very frontiers of his dominions, adjoining the kingdom of Kajaaga. It was at Fátteconda, and at the hands of the same chief, that Park's predecessor in enterprise, Major Houghton, had received such ill usage, and was plundered of almost everything he possessed ; but the only article he exacted from Park, and that not by force, but by such warm and animated expressions of admiration as left our traveller no alternative to choose, was his new blue coat, with gilt buttons, in return for which he presented him with five drachms of gold. From Fátteconda he proceeded to Joag, the frontier town of Kajaaga, travelling in the night-time for fear of robbers, and through thickets abounding with wolves and hyenas, which glided across their silent path in the clear moonshine, and lung round the small party with yells and howlings, as if watching an opportunity to spring upon them. At Joag, and whilst preparing to proceed on his journey, he was honoured by a visit from the king's son, who plundered him of the half of his little stores, on pretence of his having forfeited all his property by entering the kingdom without leave. As a sort of consolation for this disaster, and whilst appeasing his hunger with a few ground nuts which a poor negro slave had given him in charity, he was waited upon by the nephew of the king of Kasson, who had been at Kajaaga on an embassy, and who, taking pity on him, offered to escort him to his uncle's capital, to which he was now returning, and which lay in the line of our traveller's route. After crossing the river Senegal, however, which was the boundary of Kasson, his royal guide left him, having first taken from him the half of the little property he had left. A few days after this, Park, for the first time, had an opportunity of observing the manners of the barbarous and untutored natives of Africa in all their primitive simplicity and unchecked ardour. They came to a village which was the birth-place of one of his faithful escort, a blacksmith that had accompanied him from Pisanía, and who was now about to leave him, having amassed a considerable deal of money in his profession on the coast, and resolving to spend the rest of his days in ease and independence amongst his family and friends. The meeting which ensued was characterized by the most extravagant demonstrations of joy and triumph, and Park was convinced, that "whatever difference there is between the negro and European, in the conformation of the nose, and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature." With these warm-hearted villagers, our traveller rested for a day or two, and then proceeded to Kooniakary, where the king, a worthy old man, who was greatly beloved by his subjects, received him with much kindness. From this point new perils beset Mr Park's further progress, in consequence of war

breaking out between the people of Bambarra, to which kingdom his course was directed, and other tribes, through whose territories he had to pass on his way thither. He nevertheless persevered, although even his faithful negro Johnson, who was aware of the dangers he was running into, refused to accompany him farther. They parted accordingly at Jarra, in the kingdom of Ludimar (the people of which, as well as of the neighbouring nations, were found to be Mahomedans), and Mr Park, having intrusted Johnson with a copy of his journal to carry back with him to Pisania, set out for the camp of Ali at Benown, accompanied only by Dr Laidley's slave boy, and a messenger who had arrived from Ali to conduct him thither. On the way he suffered great privations, and was repeatedly beaten and robbed by the fanatical Moors, to whom he was an object of peculiar detestation as a Christian. All the sufferings and insults which he had yet undergone, however, were nothing to what he was doomed to endure while in the power of the tyrant Ali. His appearance at Benown excited the greatest astonishment and consternation amongst the inhabitants, scarcely one of whom had ever seen a white man before. When taken before Ali, the latter was engaged in the dignified occupation of clipping his beard with a pair of scissors, and paid little regard to him; but the ladies of the court fully maintained the character of their sex for inquisitiveness, searched his pockets, opened his waistcoat to examine his white skin, and even counted his toes and fingers to make sure of his being human. It would occupy far more space than the limits of this memoir will allow, to detail the innumerable and unremitting sufferings of our unfortunate countryman during his detention at this place. The unfeeling tyrant would neither permit him to depart, nor grant him any protection from the persecution of the fanatical rabble. He was beat, reviled, compelled to perform the meanest offices, frequently on the point of starvation, and was often necessitated to sleep in the open air. All his baggage was taken from him to deter him from running away, with the exception of a pocket compass, which was supposed to be the work of magic, from the needle always pointing in the same direction, and was therefore returned to him. At last it began to be debated how he was to be disposed of—some advising that he should be put to death, others, that his right hand should be cut off, and another party, that his eyes should be put out. Park's health at length gave way under the accumulated horrors of his situation, and he was seized with a fever and delirium, which brought him to the brink of the grave. Yet even in this extremity, his persecutors never desisted from their cruelties, and tormented him like some obnoxious animal, for their amusement. Perhaps the strongest proof that can be given of the extent of his sufferings at this time, and of the deep and lasting impression they made on his mind, is the fact, that years afterwards, subsequent to his return to Scotland, and while residing with his family on the peaceful banks of the Tweed, he frequently started up in horror from his sleep, imagining himself still in the camp of Ali at Benown. But perhaps nothing gave our traveller so much permanent grief as the fate of his faithful slave boy Demba, whom Ali impressed into his service as a soldier, and who had conceived a great affection for Mr Park, who describes their parting as very affecting. After a month's residence at Benown, Ali removed to Jarra, back to which place, of course, Mr Park was obliged to accompany him. Here all was alarm and terror, from the approach and apprehended attack of the king of Kaarta; and amid the bustle and confusion of the inhabitants flying from their homes, the preparations for war, &c., Mr Park at last, after great difficulty, and amid many perils, found an opportunity of escaping, and struck into the woods back towards Bambarra. Being under the necessity of avoiding all intercourse with the natives, in order to avoid being recaptured by the emissaries

ries of Ali, who were in pursuit of him, he was at one time nearly famished in the wilderness, and we will take his own account of his sensations at this awful crisis. Thirst, intense and burning thirst, was the first and direst of his sufferings; his mouth and throat became parched and inflamed, and a sudden dimness frequently came over his eyes, accompanied with symptoms of fainting. The leaves of the few shrubs that grew around were all too bitter for chewing. After climbing up a tree in the hopes of discovering some signs of a human habitation, but without success, he again descended in despair. "As I was now," says he, "too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle, and let him shift for himself; in doing which, I was affected with sickness and giddiness, and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here, then, thought I, after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation; here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast, as I believed, a last look on the surrounding scene; and whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed her functions; and, on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence: and as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering place. With this view, I put the bridle upon my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the northeast; a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly, and, in less than an hour, I heard the wind roaring behind the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected, but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind, as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms; and I was obliged to mount my horse, and stop under a bush, to avoid being suffocated. The sand continued to fly for nearly an hour in amazing quantities, after which I again set forwards, and travelled with difficulty until ten o'clock. At this time, I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. I alighted, and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes." Park at length entered the kingdom of Bambarra, where he found the people hospitable, and was astonished at the opulence and extent of cultivation he everywhere found. The country, he says, was beautiful, intersected on all sides by rivulets, which, after a rain-storm, were swelled into rapid streams. He was, however, such an object of amusement and ridicule to the inhabitants, from his own tattered condition, together with the appearance of his horse, which was a perfect skeleton, and which he drove before him, that the very slaves, he says, were ashamed to be seen in his company. Notwithstanding all this, however, he held on his way, and at last, on the 21st of July (1796), had the inexpressible gratification of coming in sight of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, situated on the Niger, which the natives denominated *Joliba*, or the "Great Water." "As we approached the town," says Park, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I anxiously looked around for

the river, one of them called out *Geo affilli* (see the water). Looking forwards, I saw, with infinite pleasure, the great object of my mission—the long sought for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success." Segou consisted of four distinct towns, two on the northern, and two on the southern bank of the Niger; "and the view of this extensive capital," says our traveller, "the numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa." The king, Mansong, however, refused to see Mr Park, for fear of exciting the envy and jealousy of the Moorish inhabitants, and ordered him to remove to a village in the vicinity. He had no alternative but to comply; and it was here that one of those fine traits of female compassion, and of the kind interposition of Providence in his favour when at the last extremity, which he has frequently borne testimony to with thankfulness and gratitude, occurred; and this truly affecting incident we cannot avoid giving in his own simple language. On arriving at the village, he was inhospitably driven from every door, with marks of fear and astonishment. He passed the day without victuals, and was preparing to spend the night under a tree, exposed to the rain and the fury of the wild beasts, which there greatly abounded, "when a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving me weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat upon the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which having caused to be broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension), called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour with songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it; it was sung by one of the young women; the rest joining in a chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were these: 'The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree—he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn.' Chorus—'Let us pity the white man; no mother has he!' &c. &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was so oppressed by such unexpected kindness, that sleep fled before my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons that remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her." Mansong, the king, having ordered Park to leave the neighbourhood, (sending him, however, a guide, and a present of 5000 cowries, as some recompense for his involuntary inhospitality,) our traveller proceeded down the Niger, along the northern bank. On one occasion, while passing through the woods, he narrowly escaped being devoured by a large red lion, which he suddenly came upon,

crouching in a bush, but which did not attack him. He proceeded first to Sansanding, thence to Moodiboo, Moorzan, and finally to Silla. Here, worn out by fatigue and suffering of mind and body, destitute of all means, either of subsistence or of prosecuting his journey—for even his horse had dropped down by the way—his resolution and energy, of which no man ever possessed a greater share, began to fail him. The rainy season had set in, and he could only travel in a canoe, which he had no money to hire; and he was advancing farther and farther into the territories of the fanatical Moors, who looked upon him with loathing and detestation, and whose compassion he had no gifts to propitiate. It was with great anguish of mind that he was at last brought to the conviction of the necessity of returning; but no one who has read his own simple and manly statement of his actual situation, and of the prospect before him, together with his poignant sensations at his disappointment, can for a moment blame him for turning back. Preparatory to doing so, he collected all the information in his power respecting the future course of the Niger, and the various kingdoms through which it flowed; but subsequent discoveries have since proved how little credit could be attached to the accounts of the natives, either from their positive ignorance or their suspicious jealousy of strangers. Later and more fortunate travellers, have solved the great problem, the honour of explaining which was denied to Park; and we now know that this great river, after flowing to a considerable distance eastward of Timbuctoo, makes a bend or elbow, like the Burampooter, and, after pursuing a south-westerly course, falls into the Atlantic Ocean on the coast of Benin. The narrative of Mr Park's return from the interior of Africa would be little else than a repetition of the various sufferings, adventures, and dangers he experienced on his way there, but only in a more aggravated form, in consequence both of his utterly destitute condition, and from the inundation of the level country, which compelled him to seek his way over chasms and precipices, without a guide, or any other means of shaping his course. He frequently waded for miles breast-deep in water. Once he was beset by banditti, who stripped him of everything but two shirts, his hat, and a pair of trousers; and on arriving at Sibidooloo, he was attacked by fever, which stretched him on his back for many weeks. Here, however, he was fortunate enough to meet with a slave merchant, named Karfa Taura, who treated him with great kindness and humanity—took him into his own house—nursed him until he was well—kept him as his guest for seven months, without asking the smallest recompense—and finally conducted him in safety to Pisania, with a cargo of his living merchandise. Our traveller immediately took his passage in an American vessel, bound for the West Indies, whence he had no difficulty in getting to Britain, and landed at Falmouth on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Mr Park was received with distinguished honour by the African Association, and almost all the other scientific bodies and eminent literary characters of the metropolis, and was for some time, what is familiarly termed, the *lion* of the town. Having made arrangements in London for the publication of his travels, he proceeded to Scotland in June 1798, and spent the succeeding summer and autumn at his native place, Fowlshiels, among his relations and friends, his mother being the only parent then alive. His time, however, was far from being passed in idleness, or merely in social meetings with old friends and acquaintance, much as his company, as may readily be imagined, was sought after. He applied himself indefatigably to the compilation and composition of his travels, which he finished and carried back with him to London in the end of the year. In the following spring they were published, and it is needless to

say how universally, or with what avidity, not to mention *incredulity* by many, they were read. For the latter contingency, Mr Park himself was prepared, and with a judicious caution, which few of his rivals in discovery, either before or since, have had the prudence or *self-denial*, as it may aptly be termed, to adopt, omitted the relation of many real incidents and adventures, which he feared might shake the probability of his narrative in the public estimation. This fact has been proved beyond doubt, by the testimony of many of his intimate friends and relatives, to whom, although by no means of a communicative disposition, he freely mentioned many singular anecdotes and particulars, which he scrupled to submit to the jealous eye of the critical public. Amongst those friends to whom Mr Park frequently communicated in a colloquial way many most interesting and remarkable circumstances which did not appear in his printed travels, was Sir Walter Scott, between whom and Mr Park a strong intimacy was contracted subsequent to the return of the latter from Africa, and who tells us, that having once noticed to his friend the omissions in question (which appeared to one of his romantic temperament and ardent imagination to be unaccountable), and asked an explanation, Mr Park replied, "that in all cases where he had information to communicate, which he thought of importance to the public, he had stated the facts boldly, leaving it to his readers to give such credit to his statements as they might appear justly to deserve; but that he would not shock their credulity, or render his travels more marvellous, by introducing circumstances, which, however true, were of little or no moment, as they related solely to his own personal adventures and escapes." If this scrupulousness on the part of the traveller is to be regretted in one sense, as consigning to oblivion many curious and interesting facts, it certainly raises him as a man and an author incalculably in our estimation, and bespeaks the most implicit belief and confidence in what he *has* promulgated to the world.

After the publication of his travels, he returned to Scotland, and in August the same year married Miss Anderson, the eldest daughter of his old master at Selkirk. For some time after his marriage, and before he set out on his second expedition, Mr Park appears to have been quite undecided as to his prospects in life; and perhaps the comparative independence of his circumstances, from the profits of his publication, and the remuneration he obtained from the African Association, rendered him somewhat indifferent to any immediate permanent situation. But it was likewise strongly suspected by his intimate friends, that he entertained hopes of being soon called upon to undertake another mission to the Niger, although he kept perfectly silent on the subject.

As time continued to elapse, without any such proposition from the expected quarter being made, Mr Park perceived the imprudence of remaining in idleness, and in 1801, removed to Peebles, where he commenced practice as a surgeon. But it would appear he was not very successful in this speculation; and this fact, together with the natural restlessness of his disposition, seems to have rendered his situation peculiarly irksome to him. In answer to a friend, who suspected his design of again proceeding abroad, and earnestly remonstrated with him against it, he writes, "that a few inglorious winters of practice at Peebles was a risk as great, and would tend as effectually to shorten life, as the journey he was about to undertake." In the mean time, his *ennui*, or impatience, was much relieved by the enjoyment of the best society in the neighbourhood, and by being honoured with the friendship of many of the most distinguished characters in Scotland at that time. Amongst these were the venerable Dr Adam Ferguson, then resident at Hallyards, near Peebles; colonel Murray of Cringletie; and professor Dugald Stewart. As before men-

tioned, too, a strong intimacy sprung up between our traveller and Sir Walter Scott, then but little known in the literary world, and who resided with his family at Ashiestiel, on the banks of the Tweed. This friendship commenced in 1804, after Mr Park had removed from Peebles to Fowlshiels, and was preparing for his second expedition to Africa, of which he had then got intimation. It is pleasing to know the cordiality and affectionate familiarity which subsisted between these celebrated men, and also that it arose from a marked congeniality in their tastes and habits.¹ Park was an enthusiastic lover of poetry, especially the minstrelsy with which his native district was rife; and although he made no pretensions to the laurel crown himself, he occasionally gave expression to his feelings and thoughts in verse, even from his earliest years. It was little wonder, then, that he should own a particular predilection for the society of one whose heart and memory were so richly stored with the ancient ballad lore of his country, although his reserve towards strangers in general, which was carried even to a repulsive degree, was notorious. In particular, Sir Walter Scott has noticed the strong aversion of his friend to being questioned in a promiscuous company on the subject of his adventures, of which grievance, as may be imagined, he had frequent cause to complain.

The new mission to Africa, which was now sanctioned and promoted by government, had been projected so far back as 1801; but owing to changes in the ministry, and other causes of delay, the preparations for it were not completed till 1805. Mr Park parted from his family, and proceeded to London with his brother-in-law, Mr James Anderson, who, as well as Mr Scott, an artist, had resolved to accompany him in his expedition. On this occasion, Mr Park received the brevet commission of captain in Africa, and a similar commission of lieutenant to his relative Mr Anderson. Mr Scott also was employed by government to accompany the expedition as draughtsman. Mr Park was, at the same time, empowered to enlist soldiers from the garrison of the island of Goree, to the number of forty-five, to accompany him in his journey; and the sum of £5000 was placed at his disposal, together with directions as to his route, &c. The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 30th January, 1806, and arrived at Pisania on the 28th of April, where preparations were immediately made for the inland journey. The party consisted of forty men, two lieutenants, a draughtsman (Mr Scott), and Park himself; they had horses for themselves, and asses for carrying the provisions and merchandise. Mr Park wrote to several friends at home, previously to setting out, in the highest spirits, and seemingly perfectly confident of success. In his letter to Mr Dickson, he says, "this day six weeks, I expect to drink all your healths in the Niger;" and again, "I have little doubt but that I shall be able, with presents and fair words, to pass through the country to the Niger; and if once we are fairly afloat, *the day is won.*" Alas! how sadly these sanguine expressions contrast with the melancholy issue of the expedition. Park's chance of reaching the Niger in safety depended mainly upon his doing so previously to the commencement of the rainy season, which is always most fatal to Europeans; but scarcely had they got half way when the rain set in, and the effect on the health of the men was as speedy as disastrous. They were seized with vomiting, sickness, dysentery, and delirium; some died on the road, others were drowned in the rivers, and several were left in the precarious charge of the natives in the villages. Some, still more unfortunate, were lost in the woods, where they would inevitably be devoured by wild beasts; while the native banditti, who imagined the caravan to contain immense wealth, hung upon their

¹ It chanced that they were born within a month of each other.

march, and plundered them at every opportunity. In crossing the Woundu, they nearly lost their guide Isaaco, by a large crocodile, which pulled him below the water several times, but from which he at last got free, much lacerated. At another time they were encountered by three large lions, but which took to flight at the sound of Mr Park's musket. At last the miserable remnant of the party—only nine out of forty-four, and these nine all sick, and some in a state of mental derangement—reached Bambakoo, on the Niger. Here Mr Scott was left behind on account of sickness, of which he shortly died; while the rest proceeded to Segou, the capital of Bambarra, which they reached on the 19th of September. Mansong was still king, and was so highly gratified with the presents brought to him, that he gave them permission to build a boat, and promised to protect them as far as lay in his power. Mr Park forthwith opened a shop for the sale of his European goods, which immediately obtained such demand, that his shop was crowded with customers from morning till night, and one day he turned over no less than 25,756 cowries. Here, however, he lost his brother-in-law Mr Anderson, a circumstance which afflicted him greatly, and made him feel, as he himself expressed it, “as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa.” But not all the sufferings he had undergone, the loss of his companions, or the dismal condition of the remainder, and the perilousness of his situation—nothing could damp the native ardour of his mind. Having got a sort of schooner constructed and rigged out, he prepared for setting out on his formidable journey, previously to which, however, he took care to bring his journal up to the latest hour, and wrote several letters to his friends and relatives in Britain. These were intrusted to his faithful guide Isaaco, to carry back to the Gambia, whence they were transmitted to England. His letter to Mrs Park, excepting that part of it which mentions the death of her brother and Mr Scott, was written in a cheering and hopeful strain; speaks with confidence of his reaching the ocean in safety, and of the probability of his being in England before the letter itself! His companions were now reduced to four, viz., lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, one of whom was deranged in his mind; and with this miserable remnant, and a guide named Amadi Fatouma, he set sail, as near as could be ascertained, on the 19th of November, 1806. The progress of the unfortunate travellers after this period, and their ultimate fate, so long a mystery, are now familiarly known, although there are many circumstances attending the unhappy closing scene which are yet shrouded in doubt and uncertainty.

Vague rumours of the death of Park and his companions were brought by some of the natives to the British settlements on the coast, even so early as the end of 1806; but no information could be got for several years of a nature to be at all relied on, during which time the suspense of his friends and of the public at large, but more particularly of his afflicted family, was of the most painful nature. At length, in 1810, colonel Maxwell, governor of Senegal, despatched Isaaco, Park's former guide, into the interior, in order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the reports which prevailed. After an absence of a year and eight months, this individual returned, and the many facts of the narrative, which he gave as the result of his labours, are not only but too probable in themselves, but seem to have been thoroughly confirmed by the investigations of subsequent travellers. Isaaco stated, that he had fallen in with Mr Park's guide, Amadi Fatouma, at Medina, near Sansanding, who, on seeing Isaaco, and hearing the name of Park, began to weep, saying, “they are all dead;” and was with great difficulty induced to detail the melancholy circumstances of the catastrophe. The account which he gave is too long to be introduced entire here, but the substance of it was as follows:—After leaving Sansanding, Mr Park navi-

gated his way down the Niger, as far as Boossa, in the kingdom of Yaour, which was more than two-thirds of the distance between the ocean, or Gulf of Guinea, and where the river is termed by the natives *Quorra*. They had frequent skirmishes with the natives, particularly in passing Timbuctoo, where several of the natives were killed. On reaching Yaour, Mr Park sent Amadi Fatouma ashore with various presents, some of which were to the chief or governor of the place, but the most valuable portion for the king, to whom the chief was requested to send them. A short while after, the latter sent to inquire if Mr Park intended to come back; and on being answered that he could return no more, the treacherous chief appropriated the presents intended for the king to his own use. This piece of knavery proved fatal to the unfortunate travellers. The king, indignant at the supposed slight cast on him, assembled a large army at the above mentioned village of Boussa, where a large high rock stretches across the whole breadth of the river, the only passage for the river being through an opening in the rock in the form of a door. The army posted themselves on the top of the rock, and on Mr Park's attempting to pass, assailed him with lances, pikes, arrows, stones, and missiles of every description. The beleaguered travellers defended themselves for a long time, till all were either killed or severely wounded; when, seeing the uselessness of further resistance, Mr Park, lieutenant Martyn, and one or two more, jumped out of the boat, and were drowned in attempting to get ashore. Only one slave was left alive. Such was the narrative of Amadi Fatouma, who had left Mr Park at Yaour, where his engagement with him terminated, and where he was for many months afterwards confined in irons on suspicion of having purloined the presents intended for the king, which had been made away with by the treacherous chief. Amadi had obtained the accounts of the fatal scene from those who had taken a part in it. The natives afterwards endeavoured to account for the disappearance of Park, to the inquiries of subsequent travellers, by saying that his vessel had foundered against the rock, and that he and his companions were drowned by accident. But there is now not the shadow of a doubt that the above narrative of Amadi is substantially true.

So perished Mungo Park, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.—a man whose natural enthusiasm, scientific acquirements, undaunted intrepidity, patience of suffering, and inflexible perseverance, in short, every quality requisite for a traveller in the path he adopted, have never been surpassed, and who, had he survived, would no doubt have reaped those laurels which more fortunate successors in the same career have won. To these qualities in his public character, it is pleasing to be able to add those of amiable simplicity of manners, constancy of affection, and sterling integrity in private life.

Mr Park's papers were, with the exception of a few scraps,² unfortunately all lost with him, and this is much to be regretted, as, notwithstanding the important discoveries of the Landers, who subsequently traced the course of the *Quorra* or Niger from Boussa, where Park fell, down to the Gulf of Guinea, they were un-

² These were, an old nautical publication (of which the title-page was amissing, and its contents chiefly tables of logarithms), with a few loose memoranda of no importance between the leaves. One of these papers, however, was curious enough, from the situation and circumstances in which it was found. It was a card of invitation to dinner, and was in the following terms:—

"Mr and Mrs Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half-past five o'clock. An answer is requested.

"Strand, 9th Nov., 1804."

These were the only written documents belonging to Park which the Messrs Landers, after the most anxious inquiries and investigations, were able to discover. They succeeded, however, in recovering his double-barrelled gun, and the tobe, or short cloak, which he wore when he was drowned.

able to explore a great part of that immense portion of it which flows between Boussa and Timbuctoo, and which Park must of necessity have navigated. Their united labours have, however, solved the grand problem which has engaged the attention of all civilized nations from the earliest ages to which history leads us back; and there seems little cause for doubt, that, in a short time, the still broken links in the great chain of communication with the centre of Africa will be united.

PATERSON, WILLIAM, the original projector of the banks of England and of Scotland, and of the celebrated settlement of Darien, was born, it is supposed, in the year 1660 at Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfries-shire. It is deeply to be regretted that no satisfactory memorials have been preserved of this remarkable man. Of his education nothing is known, but it is stated in one memoir that he was bred to the church. He is also said to have represented the burgh of Dumfries more than once in the Scottish parliament; to have gone out to the West Indies, in the character of a Christian missionary, for the purpose of converting the negroes; and to have, while in that quarter, joined the buccaneers, a gang of desperadoes who infested the shores of America and the West Indian islands, making prizes indiscriminately of the ships of all nations; and it is in this character he is said to have acquired that intimate knowledge of the seas and coasts of America which led him to form the splendid idea of a settlement at Darien, by which he meant to connect the seas on the opposite sides of the globe, and to form a grand emporium of the productions of all the quarters of the earth. That Mr Paterson, however, was either a churchman or a buccaneer at any period of his life appears a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by any direct evidence, and at variance with the known course of his after life. It is certain, however, that he was in the West Indies, but it is much more likely that his pursuits there were commercial than either clerical or piratical. In whatever capacity he may have acquired his commercial and geographical knowledge, he returned to Europe with a scheme of trade wholly different from the methods and principles of any of the then trading companies of England, and which he was desirous of establishing under the protection and patronage of some European power, which might give greater privileges and immunities than were consistent with the laws of England then in force. This scheme he seems to have laid first before the merchants of Hamburg, afterwards before the Dutch, and then before the elector of Brandenburg, who all, however, received his proposals coldly. Paterson next applied to the merchants of London, and with them concerted the plan of the bank of England, of which there seems no reason to doubt that he gave the first hint. As it has very frequently happened, however, in similar cases, though he was admitted one of the original directors, his richer associates no sooner became fully possessed of his ideas, than they found out pretexts for quarrelling with him, and finally expelled him from all share in conducting that business of which he had been the author. Under these circumstances, he became acquainted in London with some of his countrymen, particularly with Fletcher of Salton, who had penetration enough to see and to appreciate the simple splendour of his project with regard to Darien, and patriotism enough to desire to secure the benefits of it to his own country. Paterson had all the patriotism of Fletcher, without any of that national partiality which, in the former, somewhat dimmed its lustre and lessened its effect; but he was yet, from the manner in which he had already been treated by all to whom he had communicated his plans, easily persuaded to give the benefit of his conceptions to the country to which he owed his birth, and where he had as yet suffered none of that painful mortification, of which he had experienced less or more in all the places he had yet visited. He accord-

ingly came to Scotland along with Fletcher, who introduced him to the Scottish administration, at the time greatly embarrassed by the affair of Glencoe, and who easily persuaded king William, that a little more freedom, and some new facilities of trade would have a happy effect in diverting the public attention from the investigation of that unfortunate affair, in which his majesty's credit was almost as deeply implicated as their own. The earl of Stair, in particular, gave the project of Mr Paterson the support of his powerful eloquence.

The result of all this was, that an act was passed by the Scottish parliament on the 26th of June, 1695, "constituting John, lord Bellhaven, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, lord justice-clerk, Francis Montgomery of Giffen, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Sir Robert Chiesly, present provost of Edinburgh, John Swinton of that ilk, George Clark, late baillie of Edinburgh, Robert Blackwood, and James Balfour, merchants in Edinburgh, John Corse, merchant in Glasgow; WILLIAM PATERSON, Esq., James Fowlis, David Nairn, Esqrs., Thomas Deans, Esq., James Chiesly, John Smith, Thomas Coutes, Hugh Frazer, Joseph Cohaine, Daves Ovedo, and Walter Stuart, merchants in London, with such others as shall join with them within the space of twelve months after the first day of August next, and all others whom the foresaid persons, and those joined, or major part of them, being assembled, shall admit, and join into their joint-stock and trade, who shall all be reputed as if herein originally insert, to be one body incorporate, and a free incorporation, with perpetual succession, by the name of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. Providing always, like as it is hereby in the first place provided, that of the fund or capital stock that shall be agreed to be advanced, and employed by the said undertakers, and their copartners, the half at least shall be appointed and allotted for Scotsmen within this kingdom, who shall enter and subscribe to the said company before the first day of August, 1696. And if it shall happen, that Scotsmen living within the kingdom, shall not, betwixt and the foresaid term, subscribe for, and make up the equal half of the said fund or capital stock, then, and in that case allenary, it shall be, and is hereby allowed to Scotsmen residing abroad, or to foreigners, to come in, subscribe, and be assumed for the superplus of the said half, and no otherwise." By the same act the lowest subscription was fixed at one hundred pounds sterling, and the highest at three thousand. The shares of Scotsmen, too, it was provided could be sold, and alienated only to Scotsmen. The company was also vested with full powers to hold parliaments, make laws, and administer justice, &c., in any colonies they might plant; enter into treaties of peace and commerce with sovereigns, princes, estates, rulers, governors, or proprietors of lands in Asia, Africa, and America; all their ships being bound, under penalty of confiscation, to return with their cargoes in the first instance to this country, without breaking bulk by the way. They had also the exclusive privilege of trading to Asia, Africa, and America, for the period of thirty-one years; together with the free and absolute right of property to all lands, islands, colonies, cities, towns, ports, and plantations they might come to establish or possess; paying yearly to his majesty, and his successors in sovereignty, one hogshead of tobacco in name of blench duty, if required. They had also the power of purchasing, for the enlargement of their trade and navigation, from foreign potentates, such exceptions, liberties, privileges, &c., as they might find convenient. Their ships were also exempted from all customs, cesses, and supplies, and their stock in trade from all taxes for the space of twenty-one years. All persons concerned in the company were declared denizens of the kingdom, and all persons settling in any of their colonies, cities, &c., were to be reputed natives of the kingdom, and enjoy privileges accordingly. This act, of which the above are some of the outlines, was drawn up under the

eye of Mr Paterson, and was certainly highly favourable for his purposes. The isthmus of Darien, where there was a large tract of land bordering on both seas the Indian and the Atlantic, which had never been in possession of any European nation, was the spot he had fixed upon for the scene of his operations, and the advantages of which he thus graphically pointed out: "The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greater part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactures, will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus, this door of the seas, and key of the universe, with any thing of a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood, of Alexander and Cæsar. In all our empires that have been any thing universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar, but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such as can much more effectually bring empire home to the proprietors' doors. But from what hath been said, you may easily perceive, that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we may see in the case of Spain and Portugal, who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as to go to or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated and ruined their countries therewith, so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugal than they have conquered the Indies; for by their permitting all to go out, and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to the remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing. Thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countries, and not gotten the Indies. People, and their industry, are the true riches of a prince or nation, and in respect to them all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunities of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world than ever they did or possibly could have done by the sword." Seeing clearly his way, Mr Paterson seems not to have had the smallest suspicion but that others would see it also, and "he makes no doubt, but that the affection we owe to our sister nation will incline the company to be zealous in using all becoming endeavours for bringing our fellow subjects to be jointly concerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking. That a proposal of this kind from the company will be other than acceptable ought not to be supposed, since by this means the consumption and demand of English manufactures, and consequently the employment of their people, will soon be more than doubled. England will be hereby enabled to become the long desired sea port, and yet its public revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be greatly increased. By this their nation will at once be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being encouragements, always have, and still continue to be, the greatest lets to its trade and happiness." These liberal views seem to have made a greater impression on the public mind than at that time could have been anticipated. In the month of October, 1695, lord Belhaven, Mr Robert Blackwood, and Mr James Balfour, went on a deputation to London, accompanied by Mr Paterson, where the subscription books were first opened, and in the course of nine days three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed; one-fourth

of all subscriptions being paid in cash. This promising state of things, however, was by the jealousy of the English monopolists suddenly reversed. The East India company were the first to take the alarm, and they communicated their terrors to the house of lords. The latter requested a conference with the commons on the alarming circumstance, and a committee was appointed to inquire by what methods such an act had been obtained, who were the promoters, and who had become subscribers to the company. This was followed by an address to the king from both houses of parliament, stating, "That by reason of the superior advantages granted to the Scottish East India company, and the duties imposed upon the Indian trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried thither, by which means Scotland would be rendered a free port, and Europe from thence supplied with the products of the East much cheaper than through them, and thus a great article in the balance of foreign commerce would be lost to England, to the prejudice of the national navigation and the royal revenue." The address went on to state, "that when the Scots should have established themselves in plantations in America, the western branch of traffic would also be lost. The privileges granted their company would render their country the general storehouse for tobacco, sugar, cotton, hides, and timber; the low rates at which they would be enabled to carry on their manufactures, would render it impossible for the English to compete with them, while, in addition, his majesty stood engaged to protect, by the naval strength of England, a company whose success was incompatible with its existence." This address his majesty received graciously, observing, "that he had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedy might yet be found to prevent the inconvenience that might arise from the act." To satisfy his English parliament that he was in earnest, William dismissed his Scottish ministers, and among the rest the earl of Stair.

The English parliament, with a spirit worthy of the darkest ages, and the most barbarous nations, proceeded to declare lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and the other members of the deputation guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, for administering in that kingdom the oath *de fidei* to a foreign association. Those of their own people who had become partners in the company were threatened with an impeachment, and were by this means compelled to withdraw their subscriptions. Upwards of two hundred thousand pounds sterling had been subscribed to the scheme by the merchants of Holland and Hamburg, and the English resident at the latter city, Sir Paul Rycault, was instructed to present a remonstrance on the part of the king, to the magistrates, complaining of the countenance they had given to the commissioners of the Darien company, who had formed, and were prosecuting a plan fraught with many evils; a plan which his majesty did not intend to support, and from which, if the Hamburgers did not withdraw their aid, they might be prepared for an interruption of that kindly feeling, and those good offices, that it was the wish of his majesty to cultivate and to exercise towards them. The answer of the city was worthy of itself in its best days. "They considered it strange, that the king of England should dictate to them, a free people, how, or with whom they were to engage in the arrangements of commerce, and still more so, that they should be blamed for offering to connect themselves in this way with a body of his own subjects incorporated under a special act of parliament." From this interference, however, the Hamburgers, aware that the company was to be thwarted in all its proceedings by the superior power of England, lost confidence in the scheme, and finally withdrew their subscriptions. The Dutch, too, equally jealous of commercial rivalry with the English, and influenced perhaps by the same motives with the Hamburgers, withdrew their subscriptions

also, and the company was left to the unassisted resources of their own poor and depressed country. The eagerness with which the scheme had been patronized abroad by wealthy individuals, and the bitterness of the opposition directed against it by the government of England equally tended to give it importance in the eyes of Scotsmen, and they determined to go on with such means as they could command, secure of abundant support when the practicability of the plan should be demonstrated. The books for subscription were not opened in Glasgow and Edinburgh till the month of February, 1696, and they were not filled up till the month of August, when, owing to the interference of the English, and the consequent withdrawal of the foreign partners, another hundred thousand pounds sterling was shared in Scotland fourteen months after the passing of the act. Nothing could exceed the eagerness with which all classes of the Scottish people hastened to enroll themselves in the magnificent copartnery now forming. Every burgh, every city, and almost every family of any consequence became shareholders. Four hundred thousand pounds were subscribed; an astonishing sum when it is known, that at that time the circulating capital of the kingdom did not exceed eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. To this enthusiasm a variety of causes contributed. The scheme of Paterson was politically good. It was drawn up with great ability, and promised important results in a moral and religious, as well as in a commercial point of view. Many of the subscribers, indeed, were influenced solely by religious motives, as they considered the setting up of a church, regularly constituted, on that continent, the most likely means for spreading the gospel among the natives, and as affording facilities for that purpose which could not in any other way be obtained. But it must also be admitted, that the scheme, having become a national mania, was not left to work its way by its own intrinsic merits. The scene of the intended operations became the subject of numberless pamphlets, wherein fancy was much more largely employed than fact. The soil was represented as rich, and teeming with the most luxuriant fertility; the rivers, as full of fish, and their sands sparkling with gold; the woods smiling in perpetual verdure, at all times ringing with the melody of spring, and loading every breeze that swept over them with the most delightful odours.

Having completed their preparations, and the public authorities having assured them of protection and encouragement, the colony, in presence of the whole city of Edinburgh, which poured out its inhabitants to witness the scene, embarked; Mr Paterson going first on board at Leith, from the roads of which they sailed on the 26th of July, 1698. The fleet consisted of five ships purchased at Hamburg or Holland—for they were refused even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war which was laid up at Bruntisland—and were named the Caledonia, St Andrew, Unicorn, Dolphin, and Endeavour; the two last being yachts laden with provisions and military stores. The colony consisted of twelve hundred men; three hundred of them being young men of the best Scottish families. Among them were also sixty officers who had been thrown out of employment by the peace which had just been concluded, and who carried along with them the troops they had commanded; all of whom were men who had been raised on their own estates, or on those of their relations. Many soldiers and sailors, whose services had been refused—for many more than could be employed had offered themselves—were found hid in the ships, and when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes imploring to be allowed to go with their countrymen without fee or reward. The whole sailed amidst the praises, the prayers, and the tears of relations, friends, and countrymen; “and neighbouring nations,” says Dalrymple, “saw with a mixture of surprise and respect the poorest nation of Europe sending forth the most gallant colony which had ever

gone from the old to the new world." The parliament of Scotland met in the same week that the expedition for Darien sailed, and on the 5th of August they presented a unanimous address to the king, requesting that he would be pleased to support the company. The lord president, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, and Sir James Stuart, lord advocate, also drew out memorials to the king in behalf of the company, in which they proved their rights to be irrefragable on the principles both of constitutional and public law. All this, however, did not prevent orders being sent out by the English ministry to all the English governors in America and the West Indies, to withhold all supplies from the Scottish colony at Darien, and to have no manner of communication with it either in one shape or another. Meanwhile, the colony proceeded on its voyage without any thing remarkable occurring, and on the 3d of November landed between Portobella and Carthagea at a place called Acta, where there was an excellent harbour, about four miles from Golden island. Having obtained the sanction of the natives to settle among them, they proceeded to cut through a peninsula, by which they obtained what they conceived to be a favourable site for a city, and they accordingly began to build one under the name of New Edinburgh. They also constructed a fort in a commanding situation for the protection of the town and the harbour, which they named St Andrew; and on the country itself they imposed the name of Caledonia. The first care of the council, which had been appointed by the company, and of which Mr Paterson was one of the chief, was to establish a friendly correspondence with the native chiefs, which they found no difficulty in doing. To the Spanish authorities at Carthagea and Panama, they also sent friendly deputations, stating their desire to live with them upon terms of amity and reciprocal intercourse. On the 28th of December, 1698, the council issued a proclamation dated at New Edinburgh, to the following effect:—"We do hereby publish and declare, That all manner of persons, of what nation or people soever, are and shall from hence forward be equally free, and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of government, granted unto us; and the merchants and merchant ships of all nations may freely come to and trade with us without being liable in their persons or goods to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition for, or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of marque, or reprisals, declaration of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever. And we do hereby not only grant, concede, and declare, a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of or concerned with us; but also, a full and free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at, or indulge, the blaspheming of God's holy name, or any of his divine attributes, or of the unhallowing or profaning the Sabbath day; and, finally, as the best and surest means to render any government successful, durable, and happy, it shall, by the help of Almighty God, be ever our constant and chiefest care, that all our further constitutions, laws, and ordinances be consonant and agreeable to the holy Scriptures, right reason, and the examples of the wisest and justest nations; that from the righteousness thereof we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of prosperity and increase." So far all was well, but the want of a leading spirit, of one who could overawe the refractory, and of summary laws for their punishment, soon began to be felt; Mr Paterson was too modest a man himself to assume such a position, and the event showed that he had trusted too much to the constancy and good sense of others. After all his expense of time and trouble of contrivance, he seems to have reserved nothing for himself above the meanest councillor upon the list. In the original articles of

the company it had been agreed, that he should be allowed two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. on the profits, but he had given up both these claims long before leaving Scotland. "It was not," he said, "suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a consciousness that his services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in him to ask a retribution for six years of his time, and ten thousand pounds spent in promoting the establishment of the company. But now," he continues, "that I see it standing upon the authority of parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution; happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it." With the same simplicity and generosity of character which led him to relinquish the pecuniary advantages he had secured for himself, he relinquished all claim to any superiority in the direction of the colony, which was intrusted to men evidently but of ordinary capacity, and under regulations which supposed the persons composing it to be men of better tempers, and greater self-command, than they really were. The whole management was vested in a council of seven, under regulations, the fifth of which ran thus—"That after their landing and settlement as aforesaid, they, the council, shall class and divide the whole freemen inhabitants of the said colony into districts, each district to contain at least fifty, and not exceeding sixty freemen inhabitants, who shall elect yearly any one freeman inhabitant whom they shall think fit to represent them in a parliament or council general of the said colony, which parliament shall be called or adjourned by the said council as they see cause: and being so constitute, may, with consent of the said council, make and enact such rules, ordinances, and constitutions, and impose such taxes as they think fit and needful for the good of the establishment, improvement and support of the said colony; providing always, that they lay no further duties or impositions of trade than what is after stated." This parliament was accordingly called, and held at least two sessions. During the first session, in the month of April, 1699, it enacted thirty-four statutes for the regulation of civil and criminal justice in the colony. This is a curious document, and in several items bears strong marks of the liberal spirit and philosophic mind of Paterson. It discovers a marked regard to personal liberty, and great jealousy of its infraction. Violation of women is declared a crime to be punished with death, though the women should belong to an enemy; and to plunder Indians is rated as common theft. No man was to be confined more than three months before being brought to trial, and in all criminal cases no judgment was to pass without the consent and concurrence of a jury of fifteen persons. No freeman could be subjected to any restraint for debt unless there should be fraud, or the design thereof, or wilful or apparent breach of trust, misapplication, or concealment first proved upon him. One of the councillors, writing at this time to the directors at home, says, "we found the inconvenience of calling a parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they were freemen so soon. They had not the true notion of liberty. The thoughts of it made them insolent, and ruined command. You know that it's expressly in the 'Encouragements,' that they are to serve for three years, and at the three years' end to have a division of land." It was the opinion of this director, that no parliament should have been called till at least the three years of servitude had expired. Even then, from the character of the settlers, who had not been selected with that care which an experiment of such vast consequence demanded, there might have existed causes for delaying the escape. Among the better class, there were too many young men of birth. These were inexperienced and wholly unfit for exercising authority, and equally ill adapted for submitting to it. Among the

lower class were many who had been opposed to the Revolution, and who had resorted to the colony purely from dissatisfaction with the government at home. These, instead of submitting with patience to the privations and labour necessary in that state of society in which they were now placed, would gladly have laid aside the mattock and the axe, and have employed themselves in plundering incursions upon the Indians or the Spaniards. The subscribers to the scheme were so numerous, that the idle, the unprincipled, and profligate had found but too little difficulty in attaching themselves to the infant colony. Those who were nominated to the council, too, had been selected without judgment; and it was not till after a violent struggle, that Paterson could prevail on his colleagues to exercise their authority. "There was not," he writes in a letter to Mr Shields, "one of the old council fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took place."

Mr Paterson, when he first established his colony, had taken the precaution to land his people at the beginning of winter, the best season for Europeans first encountering the climate of Darien; and the first letter from the council to the directors thus expresses the satisfaction of the colonists with their new destination:—"As to the country, we find it very healthful; for, though we arrived here in the rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several weeks together, and many sick among us, yet we are so far recovered, and in so good a state of health, as could hardly anywhere be expected among such a number of men together. In fruitfulness, this country seems not to give place to any in the world; for we have seen several of the fruits, as cocoa nuts, barillas, sugar canes, maize, oranges, &c. &c., all of them, in their kinds, the best anywhere to be found. Nay, there is hardly a foot of ground but may be cultivated; for even upon the very tops and sides of the hills, there is commonly three or four feet deep of rich earth, without so much as a stone to be found therein. Here is good hunting, and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and creeks of the coast; so that, could we improve the season of the year just now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves; but building and fortifying will lose us a whole year's planting." This was, however, no more than all of them must have foreseen; and they never doubted of obtaining more provisions than they could want, from the West India islands, or from the American colonies. Orders, however, as has already been noticed, were sent out after them to all the English governors, prohibiting all communication with them. These proclamations were rigidly adhered to, and the unfortunate Scottish colonists were denied those supplies which had seldom been withheld from lawless smugglers, buccaneers, and pirates. In addition to this, which was the principal source of all their misfortunes, those who superintended the equipment of the expedition, had, through carelessness or design, furnished them with provisions, part of which were uneatable; the consequence of which was, that the colony had to be put on short allowance, when the sickly season was thinning their numbers, and bringing additional duty on those who were in health. In this emergency, their Indian friends exerted themselves on their behalf, putting to shame their Christian brethren, who, from a mean jealousy, were attempting to starve them; and they might still have done better, had not insubordination broken out among themselves, and a conspiracy been formed, in which some of the council were implicated, to seize one of the vessels, and to make their escape from the colony. After matters had come this length, Paterson succeeded in assuming new councillors; a measure which had the effect of checking the turbulence of the discontented. The new council also despatched one of their own number to Britain, with an address to the king, and a pressing request to send them out supplies of provisions, ammunition, and men. On receiving this des-

patch, the directors lost no time in sending out the requisite supplies. They had already sent despatches and provisions by a brig, which sailed from the Clyde in the end of February, 1699, but which unhappily never reached her destination. On the arrival in Britain of another of their number, Mr Hamilton, who was accountant-general to the colony, and whose absence was highly detrimental to its interests, the Olive Branch, captain Jamieson, and another vessel, with three hundred recruits and store of provisions, arms and ammunition, were despatched from Leith roads on the 12th of May, 1699. Matters in the colony were in the mean time getting worse; and on the 22nd of June, they came to the resolution of abandoning the place within eight months of the time they had taken possession of it. The unfortunate projector himself was at the time on board the Union, whither he had been conveyed some days before in a fever, brought on by anxiety and grief for the weakness of his colleagues, and the frustration of those hopes which he had so sanguinely cherished, and which he had found so nearly realized. The depression of his spirits continued long after the fever had left him; and while he was at Boston in the month of September following, one of his friends writes concerning him:—"Grief has broke Mr Paterson's heart and turned his brain, and now he's a child; they may do what they like for him." He, however, recovered the full powers of his mind at New York, whence he returned to Scotland, to make his report to the company, and give them his best advice regarding the further prosecution of their undertaking. Two of their captains, Samuel Veitch and Thomas Drummond, remained at New York, to be ready to join the colony, should it be again revived. The Olive Branch, the vessel alluded to as having gone out to the colony with recruits and provisions, was followed by a fleet of four ships, the Rising Sun, Hope, Duke Hamilton, and Hope of Borrowstonness, with thirteen hundred men. These ships all sailed from the Isle of Bute, on the 24th of September, 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay on the 30th of November following. With this fleet went out William Veitch, son of the reverend William Veitch of Dumfries, and brother to Samuel already mentioned. This person went out in the double capacity of a captain and a councillor. Individuals were also sent out by various conveyances, with bills of credit for the use of the colony. Everything now, however, went against them. The Olive Branch and her consort having arrived in the harbour of New Edinburgh, the recruits determined to land, and repossess themselves of the place, the huts of which they found burnt down, and totally deserted. One of their ships, however, took fire, and was burnt in the harbour, on which the others set sail for Jamaica. When the fleet which followed arrived in November, and, instead of a colony ready to receive them, found the huts burnt down, the fort dismantled, and the ground which had been cleared, overgrown with shrubs and weeds, with all the tools and implements of husbandry taken away, they were at a loss what to do. A general cry was raised in the ships to be conducted home, which was encouraged by Mr James Byres, one of the new councillors, who seems to have been himself deeply impressed with that dejection of spirit which, as a councillor, it was his duty to suppress. Veitch, however, assisted by captain Thomas Drummond, who had come out in the Olive Branch, and had taken up his residence among the natives till the fleet which he expected should arrive, succeeded in persuading the men to land. As the Spaniards had already shown their hostility, and, having been defeated by a detachment of the colonists in the preceding February, were preparing for another attack; encouraged, no doubt, by the treatment which the colony had met with from the English government; Drummond proposed an immediate attack on Portobella, which they could easily have reduced, and where they might have been supplied with such things as they were

most in want of. In this he was cordially seconded by Veitch, but was prevented by the timidity of his colleagues, and the intrigues of Byres, who at length succeeded in ejecting him from the council. Two ministers, Messrs James and Scott, went out with the first expedition, but the one died on the passage, and the other shortly after landing in New Caledonia. The council having written home to the directors, regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, at the particular desire of the board of directors, sent out the reverend Messrs Alexander Shields, (the well-known author of the "Hind let Loose," "Life of Renwick," &c.) Borland, Stobo, and Dalgliesh. These persons sailed in the last fleet. They were instructed, on their arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the government, to set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving, to form themselves into a presbytery, to ordain elders and deacons, and to divide the colony into parishes, that thus each minister might have a particular charge. After which it was recommended to them, "so soon as they should find the colony in case for it, to assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together for solemn prayer and fasting, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness to avouch the Lord to be their God, and dedicate themselves and the land to the Lord." The church of Scotland took so deep an interest in the colony of Darien, that the commission sent a particular admonition by the ministers, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:—"We shall, in the next place, particularly address ourselves to you that are in military charge and have command over the soldiery, whether by land or sea. It is on you, honoured and worthy gentlemen, that a great share of the burden of the public safety lies. You are, in some respects, both the hands and the eyes of this infant colony. Many of you have lately been engaged in a just and glorious war, for retrieving and defending the protestant religion, the liberties and rights of your country, under the conduct of a matchless prince. And, now, when, through the blessing of the Lord of hosts, his and your arms have procured an honourable peace at home; you, and others with you, have, with much bravery, embarked yourselves in a great, generous, and just undertaking, in the remote parts of the earth, for advancing the honour and interest of your native country. If in this you acquit yourselves like men and Christians, your fame will be renowned both abroad and at home." The ministers found the colony in circumstances very different from what the address of the commission naturally supposed; and it was but few of their instructions they were able to carry into effect. Two of them, however, preached on land, and one on board the *Rising Sun*, every Sabbath-day. But, in addition to the unfavourable aspect of their affairs, the irreligion and licentiousness of the colonists, oppressed their spirits and paralyzed their efforts. With the view of forming an acquaintance with the natives, they undertook a journey into the interior, accompanied by a lieutenant Turnbull, who had some slight knowledge of the Indian language. They spent several nights in the cabins of the natives, by whom they were received with great kindness; and on their return, brought back to the colonists the first notice of the approach of the Spaniards. When apprized of all the circumstances, the directors felt highly indignant at the conduct of those who, upon such slight grounds, had left the settlement desolate; and whose glory, they said, it ought to have been to have perished there, rather than to have abandoned it so shamefully. In their letters to their new councillors and officers, they implored them to keep the example of their predecessors before their eyes as a beacon, and to avoid those ruinous dissensions and shameful vices, on which they had wrecked so hopeful an enterprise. "It is a lasting disgrace," they add, "to the memories of those officers who went

in the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalized at the licentiousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge, whilst the sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty. Nor can we, upon serious reflection, wonder if an enterprise of this nature has misgiven in the hands of such as, we have too much reason to believe, neither feared God nor regarded man." They also blamed the old council heavily for deserting the place, without ever calling a parliament, or general meeting of the colony, or in any way consulting their inclinations, but commanding them to a blind and implicit obedience, which is more than they ever can be answerable for. "Wherefore," they continue, "we desire you would constitute a parliament, whose advice you are to take in all important matters. And in the mean time you are to acquaint the officers and planters with the constitutions, and the few additional ones sent with Mr Mackay, that all and every person in the colony may know their duty, advantages, and privileges." Alarmed by the accounts which they soon after received from Darien, the council-general of the company despatched a proclamation, declaring "that it shall be lawful to any person of whatever degree inhabiting the colony, not only to protest against, but to disobey, and oppose any resolution to desert the colony;" and, "that it shall be death, either publicly or privately, to move, deliberate, or reason upon any such desertion or surrender, without special order from the council-general for that effect. And they order and require the council of Caledonia to proclaim this solemnly, as they shall be answerable." Before this act was passed in Edinburgh, however, New Caledonia was once more evacuated. The men had set busily to the rebuilding the huts, and repairing the fort; but strenuous efforts were still made in the council to discourage them, by those who wished to evacuate the settlement. Veitch was with difficulty allowed to protest against some of their resolutions; and for opposing them with warmth, captain Drummond was laid under arrest. Speaking of Drummond, Mr Shields says, "Under God, it is owing to him, and the prudence of captain Veitch, that we have staid here so long, which was no small difficulty to accomplish." And again, "If we had not met with Drummond at our arrival, we had never settled in this place, Byres and Lindsay being averse from it, and designing to discourage it from the very first; Gibson being indifferent, if he got his pipe and dram; only Veitch remained resolved to promote it, who was all along Drummond's friend, and concurred with his proposal to send men against the Spaniards at first, and took the patronizing as long as he could conveniently, but with such caution and prudence, as to avoid and prevent animosity and faction, which he saw were unavoidable, threatening the speedier dissolution of this interest, if he should insist on the prosecution of that plea, and in opposition to that spate that was running against Drummond. But now Finab coming, who was Drummond's comrade and fellow officer in Lorne's regiment in Flanders, he is set at liberty." This was colonel Campbell of Finab, who, with three hundred of his own men, had come out and joined this last party about two months after their arrival. The Spanish troops meantime from Panama and Santa Maria, conducted through the woods by negroes, were approaching them. They had advanced, to the number of sixteen hundred men, as far as Tubucantee, in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, when Finab marched against them with two hundred men, and defeated them in a slight skirmish, in which he was wounded. The victory, which at one time would have been of signal service to the colony, was now unavailing; a fleet of eleven ships, under the command of the governor of Carthagená, Don Juan Pimienta, having blocked up the harbour, and landed a number of troops, who, advancing along with the party which had found their way through the woods,

invested the fort. Cut off from water, reduced by sickness, and otherwise dispirited, the garrison was loud in its demands for a capitulation, and the council had no other alternative but to comply with it. Finab being laid up at the time with a fever, Veitch conducted the treaty, and was allowed honourable terms. The inhabitants of the colony having gone on shipboard, with all that belonged to them, they weighed anchor on the 11th of April, 1700, and sailed for Jamaica, after having occupied New Caledonia somewhat more than four months. The Hope, on board of which was captain Veitch, and the greater part of the property, was wrecked on the rocks of Colorades, on the western coast of Cuba. Veitch, however, was dead before this accident happened. The Rising Sun was wrecked on the bar of Carolina, and the captain and crew, with the exception of sixteen persons who had previously landed, were lost. Of the few survivors, some remained in the English settlements, some died in Spanish prisons; and of the three thousand men that at different periods went out to the settlement, perhaps not above twenty ever regained their native land.

In this melancholy manner terminated the only attempt at colonization ever made by Scotland. That it was an attempt far beyond the means of the nation, must be admitted. The conception, however, was splendid, the promise great, and every way worthy of the experiment; and but for the jealousy of the English and the Dutch, more particularly the former, might possibly have succeeded. The settlers, indeed, were not well selected; the principles attempted to be acted on, were theoretic, and too refined for the elements upon which they were to operate; and, above all, the council were men of feeble minds, utterly unqualified to act in a situation of such difficulty as that in which they came to be placed. Had the wants of the Scottish settlers been supplied by the English colonies, which they could very well have been, even with advantage to the colonies, the first and most fatal disunion, and abandonment of their station, could not have happened; and had they been acknowledged by their sovereign, the attack made upon them by the Spaniards, which put an end to the colony, would never have been made. Time would have smoothed down the asperities among the settlers themselves; experience would have corrected their errors in legislation; and New Caledonia, which remains to this day a wilderness, might have become the emporium of half the commerce of the world.

Mr Paterson, not disheartened by the failure of his Darien project, instead of repining, revived the scheme in a form that he supposed might be less startling, and which might induce England, whose hostility had hitherto thwarted all his measures, to become the principals in the undertaking, reserving only one-fifth part for Scotland. The controversy between the nations, however, was now running too high, and the ill blood of both was too hot to admit of any thing of the kind being listened to.

Mr Paterson, though he was pitied, and must have been respected, was almost entirely neglected, and died at an advanced age in poor circumstances. After the Union, he claimed upon the Equivalent Money for the losses he had sustained at Darien, and none of the proprietors certainly had a fairer claim. But he never received one farthing. Had Paterson's scheme succeeded, and it was no fault of his that it did not, his name had unquestionably been enrolled among the most illustrious benefactors of his species; and if we examine his character in the light of true philosophy, we shall find it greatly heightened by his failure. Though defrauded of the honour due to him in the formation of the Bank of England, by persons, as has been well said, "as inferior to him in genius, as they were in generosity," we never hear from him a single murmur. When disappointed or defeated, he did not give way to de-

spair, but set himself coolly and calmly to another and still greater undertaking, for which he had no guarantee for the gratitude of mankind, more than for the former. When this, too, failed, through the injustice of those who ought to have been his protectors, and the imbecility of those whom he ought to have commanded, he never seems for a moment to have thought of abating his mortifications, or of vindicating his fame by recrimination, though he might, with the utmost truth and justice, have recriminated upon every one with whom he had been connected. So far from this, however, he only sought to improve his plan, and enable them to correct their errors; and even when this, the last and bitterest insult that can be offered to an ingenuous mind, was neglected, he modestly retired to the vale of private life, and seems to have closed his days almost, if not altogether, without a murmur at the ingratitude of mankind. There is one part of his character which, in a man of so much genius, ought not to pass unnoticed: "He was void of passion; and he was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drank wine."

PATRICK, SAINT, the celebrated Apostle of Ireland, was born near the town of Dumbarton, in the west of Scotland, about the year 372 of the Christian era. His father, whose name was Calpurnius, was in a respectable station in life, being municipal magistrate in the town in which he lived. What town this was, however, is not certainly known, whether Kilpatrick, a small village on the Clyde, five miles east of Dumbarton, Duntochar, another small village about a mile north of Kilpatrick, or Dumbarton itself. One of the three, however, it is presumed, it must have been, as it is described as being situated in the north-west part of the Roman province; but though various biographers of the saint have assigned each of these towns by turns as his birthplace, conjecture has decided in favour of Kilpatrick. His father is supposed, (for nearly all that is recorded of the holy man is conjectural, or at best but inferential,) to have come to Scotland in a civil capacity with the Roman troops, under Theodosius. His mother, whose name was Cenevessa, was sister or niece of St Martin, bishop of Tours; and from this circumstance, it is presumed that his family were Christians.

The original name of St Patrick was Succat or Succach, supposed to have some relation to Succoth, the name at this day of an estate not far distant from his birthplace, the property of the late Sir Hlay Campbell. The name of Patricius, or Patrick, was not assumed by the saint until he became invested with the clerical character.

In his sixteenth year, up to which time he had remained with his father, he was taken prisoner, along with his two sisters, on the occasion of an incursion of the Irish, and carried over a captive to Ireland. Here he was reduced to a state of slavery, in which he remained for six or seven years with Milcho, a petty king in the northern part of that country. The particular locality is said to be Skerry, in the county of Antrim. At the end of this period, he effected his escape; on which occasion, it is recorded, he had warning that a ship was ready for him, although she lay at a distance of 200 miles, and in a part of the country where he never had been, and where he was unacquainted with any one. On making his escape, he proceeded with the vessel to France, and repaired to his uncle at Tours, who made him a canon regular of his church. St Patrick had already entertained the idea of converting the Irish, a design which first occurred to him during his slavery, and he now seriously and assiduously prepared himself for this important duty. But so impressed was he with the difficulty and importance of the undertaking, and the extent of the qualifications necessary to fit him for its accomplishment, that he did not adventure on it, until he had attained his sixtieth year, employing the whole of this long interval in

travelling from place to place, in quest of religious instruction and information. During this period he studied, also, for some time, under St Germanus, bishop of Gaul. By this ecclesiastic he was sent to Rome with recommendations to pope Celestine, who conferred upon him ordination as a bishop, and furnished him with instructions and authority to proceed to Ireland to convert its natives. On this mission he set out in the year 432, about the time that a similar attempt by Palladius had been made, and abandoned as hopeless. St Patrick was, on this occasion, accompanied by a train of upwards of twenty persons, among whom was Germanus. He sailed for Ireland from Wales, having come first to Britain from France, and attempted to land at Wicklow, but being here opposed by the natives, he proceeded along the coast, till he came to Ulster, where, meeting with a more favourable reception, he and his followers disembarked. He soon afterwards obtained a gift of some land, and founded a monastery and a church at Downe, or Downpatrick. From this establishment, he gradually extended his ministry to other parts of Ireland, devoting an equal portion of time to its three provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, in each of which he is said to have resided seven years, making altogether a period of one and twenty. During this time, he paid frequent visits to the Western Isles, with the view of disseminating there the doctrines which he taught. Being now far advanced in years, he resigned his ecclesiastical duties in Ireland, and returned to his native country, where he died. The place, however, at which this event occurred, the year in which it occurred, the age which he attained, and the original place of his interment, have all been disputed, and differently stated by different authors. The most probable account is, that he died and was buried at Kilpatrick—this, indeed, appears all but certain from many circumstances, not the least remarkably corroborative of which is, the name of the place itself, which signifies, the word being a Gaelic compound, the burial place of Patrick—that he died about the year 458; and that he was about eighty-six years of age when this event took place.

PENNECUIK, ALEXANDER, M.D., author of a "Description of the County of Tweeddale," and of various poems, was born in 1652, being the eldest son of Alexander Pennecuik of Newhall, county of Edinburgh; who had served as a surgeon, first to general Bannier in the Thirty Years' war, and afterwards in the army sent by the Scots into England, in 1644, in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. The latter individual sold, in 1647, the original property of his family, to the ancestor of the Clerks, baronets, who have since possessed it, and purchased, instead, the smaller adjacent estate of Newhall, to which he afterwards added by marriage, that of Romanno in Peeblesshire. The subject of the present memoir, after being educated to the medical profession and travelling, as would appear, on the continent, settled at no advanced period of life on these patrimonial estates, where for some years he devoted himself with warm filial affection to the care of his aged parent. The elder gentleman died at an advanced age, after having seen five kings of Scotland, and been contemporaneous with four revolutions in the state religion; which would seem to indicate that he survived the year 1692, the date of the last establishment of presbytery. The subject of this memoir then acceded to the possession of Newhall and Romanno, continuing, however, to practise as a physician, in which profession he seems to have enjoyed a high reputation. Dr Pennecuik was one of a small knot of Scottish gentlemen who cultivated letters and science at a time of comparative darkness in this country, the latter end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. His literary efforts were chiefly confined to facetious poetry, for which he seems to have found models in Butler

and Dryden, and in the homely strains of the native muse. His poems refer mostly to local characters and affairs, and are now only to be valued for the vestiges of contemporary manners which are to be traced in them, but which are not always remarkable for their good taste and purity. The presbytery meetings of a moderate district, with their convivial accompaniments, occasionally provoked the satire of his pen. The following are almost the only verses deserving to be remembered:—

INSCRIPTION FOR MY CLOSET.

Are not the ravens fed, great God, by thee?
 And wilt thou clothe the lilies, and not me?
 I'll ne'er distrust my God for clothes nor bread,
 Whilst lilies flourish, and the raven's fed.

Dr Pennecuik has less credit for his poetry than for his devotion to botanical pursuits, as science was then even more rare than literature. For this study he enjoyed some advantages in the peripatetic nature of his life as a country physician, and in a correspondence which he carried on with Mr James Sutherland, the superintendent of the first botanic garden in Edinburgh. In 1715, he was induced to give the result of his literary and scientific labours to the world, in a small quarto volume, containing a description of Tweeddale, and his miscellaneous poems; the botany of the county being a prominent department of the volume. About a century afterwards this production was reprinted by the late Mr Constable. Dr Pennecuik is not only meritorious as himself a cultivator of letters, but as an encourager of the same pursuits in others. He was one of the literary gentlemen to whom Ramsay so frequently expresses his obligations, and not improbably communicated the incidents upon which that poet founded his "Gentle Shepherd," the scene of which pastoral is, almost beyond question, the estate of Newhall, which, however, through the extravagance of a son-in-law of Dr Pennecuik, had then passed into a different family. The subject of this memoir died in 1722.

Another writer of Scottish verses, named Alexander Pennecuik, flourished in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. He was a burgher of Edinburgh; the author of "Streams from Helicon," published in 1720, and "Flowers from Parnassus," in 1726. He wrote also an historical account of "The Blue Blanket, or Craftsman's Banner;" and shortly before his death, commenced a periodical, under the title of "Entertainment for the Curious." In his verses he imitated Allan Ramsay. Several of his poems display considerable talent for humour. His life was dissipated, and his death miserable.

PERRY, WILLIAM, an eminent journalist, was born in Aberdeen, on the 30th of October, 1756. He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Garioch, and was afterwards removed to the high school of Aberdeen. Having gone through the usual course of learning at this seminary, with much credit to himself and satisfaction to his teachers, he entered Marischal college in 1771, and was afterwards, on completing his curriculum at the university, placed under Dr Arthur Dingwall Fordyce, to qualify him for the profession of the law, a profession to which he originally intended to devote himself. The misfortunes of his father, however, who was an eminent house-builder in Aberdeen, and who had about this period entered into some ruinous speculations, compelled him suddenly to abandon his legal studies, and to resign all idea of adopting the law as a profession. In these unfortunate circumstances, young Perry went to Edinburgh, in 1774, with the humble hope of procuring em-

ployment as a clerk in some writer's chambers. Even this, however, he could not obtain; and, after hanging about the city for many weeks, making daily, but ineffectual efforts to get into a way of earning a subsistence, he came to the resolution of trying his fortune in England. With this view, he proceeded to Manchester, where he succeeded in obtaining a situation in the counting-house of a Mr Dinwiddie, a respectable manufacturer, in which he remained for two years. During his stay in Manchester, Mr Perry, who was yet only in the nineteenth year of his age, attracted the notice, and procured the friendship and patronage, of several of the principal gentlemen in the town, by the singular talents he displayed in a debating society, which they had established for the discussion of moral and philosophical subjects. This favourable opinion of the youthful orator's abilities was still further increased, by his producing several literary essays of great merit.

Encouraged by this success, Mr Perry determined to seek a wider field for the exercise of his talents; and with this view set out for London, in the beginning of the year 1777, carrying with him a number of letters of introduction and recommendations from his friends in Manchester to influential individuals in the metropolis. For some time, however, these were unavailing. He could find no employment; and he seemed as hopelessly situated now in the English, as he had been in the Scottish capital two years before. But the occurrence of a circumstance, not uninteresting in the memoirs of a literary man, who fought his way to fame and fortune by the mere force of his talents, at length procured him at once the employment which he sought, and placed him on the path to that eminence which he afterwards attained.

While waiting in London for some situation presenting itself, Mr Perry amused himself by writing fugitive verses and short essays for a journal, called the "General Advertiser." These he dropped into the letter-box of that paper, as the casual contributions of an anonymous correspondent, and they were of such merit as to procure immediate insertion. It happened that one of the parties to whom he had a letter of recommendation, namely, Messrs Richardson and Urquhart, were part proprietors of the Advertiser, and on these gentlemen Mr Perry was in the habit of calling daily, to inquire whether any situation had yet offered for him. On entering their shop one day to make the usual inquiry, Mr Perry found Mr Urquhart earnestly engaged in reading an article in the Advertiser, and evidently with great satisfaction. When he had finished, the former put the now almost hopeless question, Whether any situation had yet presented itself? and it was answered in the usual negative; "but," added Mr Urquhart, "if you could write such articles as this," pointing to that which he had just been reading, "you would find immediate employment." Mr Perry glanced at the article which had so strongly attracted the attention of his friend, and discovered that it was one of his own. He instantly communicated the information to Mr Urquhart; and at the same time pulled from his pocket another article in manuscript, which he had intended to put into the box, as usual, before returning home. Pleased with the discovery, Mr Urquhart immediately said that he would propose him as a stipendiary writer for the paper, at a meeting of the proprietors, which was to take place that very evening. The result was, that on the next day he was employed at the rate of a guinea a-week, with an additional half guinea for assistance to the "London Evening Post," printed by the same person.

On receiving these appointments, Mr Perry devoted himself with great assiduity to the discharge of their duties, and made efforts before unknown in the newspaper establishments of London. On the memorable trials of admirals Keppel and Palliser, he, by his own individual exertions, transmitted daily

from Portsmouth eight columns of a report of proceedings taken in court, an achievement which had the effect of adding several thousands to the daily impression of the paper. Even while thus laboriously engaged, Mr Perry wrote and published several political pamphlets and poems on the leading topics of the day, all possessed of much merit, though of only transient interest.

In 1762, Mr Perry commenced a periodical publication, entitled "The European Magazine." This work, which was on a plan then new, comprising a miscellany on popular subjects and reviews of new books, appeared monthly, and from the ability with which it was conducted, added greatly to the reputation and popularity of its editor. Having conducted this journal for twelve months, Mr Perry was, at the end of that period, chosen by the proprietors of the *Gazetteer* to be editor of that paper, in which shares were held by some of the principal booksellers in London, at a salary of four guineas per week; but under an express condition, made by himself, that he should be in no way constrained in his political opinions and sentiments, which were those of Mr Fox, of whom he was a devoted admirer. While acting as editor of the *Gazetteer*, Mr Perry effected a great improvement in the reporting department, by employing a series of reporters who should relieve each other by turns, and thus supply a constant and uninterrupted succession of matter. By this means he was enabled to give in the morning all the debates which had taken place on the preceding night, a point on which his predecessor in the editorship of the *Gazetteer* had frequently been in arrears for months, and in every case for several weeks.

One of Mr Perry's favourite recreations was that of attending and taking part in the discussions of debating societies. In these humble, but not inefficient schools of oratory, he always took a warm and active interest, and himself acquired a habit of speaking with singular fluency and force; a talent which procured him the notice of Pitt, who, then a very young man, was in the practice of frequenting a society in which Mr Perry was a very frequent speaker, and who is said to have been so impressed with his abilities as an orator, as to have had an offer of a seat in parliament conveyed to him, after he had himself attained the dignity of chancellor of the exchequer. A similar offer was afterwards made to Mr Perry by lord Shelburne; but his political principles, from which no temptation could divert him, prevented his accepting either of these flattering propositions.

Mr Perry edited for several years Debrett's *Parliamentary Debates*, and afterwards, in conjunction with a Mr Gray, bought the *Morning Chronicle* from Mr Woodfall, a paper which he continued to conduct with great ability and independence of spirit and principle till his death, which took place at Brighton, after a painful and protracted illness, on the 6th December, 1821, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

PINKERTON, JOHN, a voluminous historian and critic, was born at Edinburgh on the 17th February, 1758.¹ He was the youngest of three sons of James Pinkerton, who had, in Somersetshire, acquired an independence as a dealer in hair, and returned to his native country, Scotland, where he married a widow whose maiden name was Heron. The opening of young Pinkerton's intellect, fell to the charge of an old woman acting as schoolmistress of a village near Edinburgh, and he was afterwards removed to the grammar school of Lanark. At school he is said to have shown, in apathy and abstinence from the usual boyish gratifications, the acidity of disposition for which he was afterwards more particularly distinguished. Hypochondria, inherited from his father, is believed to have been the primary cause of the characteristic. He is said to

¹ Nichols' *Lit. Illustrations*, v. 666.

have publicly distinguished himself at school by his early classical acquirements, having, as an exercise, translated a portion of Livy, which his preceptor, on a comparison, decided to be superior to the same passage as translated in Hooker's Roman History. After having remained at school for six years, he returned to Edinburgh. The dislike of his father to a university education seems to have for some time after this period subjected him to a sort of half literary imprisonment, in which, by alternate fits, he devoted his whole time to French, the classics, and mathematics. Intended for the legal profession, he was apprenticed to Mr Aytoun, an eminent writer to the signet, under whose direction he remained for the usual period of five years. Apparently during his apprenticeship, in 1776, he published an "Ode to Craigmillar Castle," dedicated to Dr Beattie. The professor seems to have given the young poet as little encouragement as a dedicatee could in politeness restrict himself to. "There are many good lines," he says, "in your poem; but when you have kept it by you a week or two, I fancy you will not think it correct enough as yet to appear in public."² But Pinkerton had a mind too roughly cast for poetry, and it was only when his imitations were mistaken for the rudeness of antiquity that his verses were at all admired. After 1780, when his father died, he visited London, and having previously contracted a slight bibliomania, the extent and variety of the booksellers' catalogues are said to have proved a motive for his taking up his residence in the metropolis as a literary man, and eschewing Scotch law. In 1781, he published in octavo some trifles, which it pleased him in his independence of orthography to term "Rimes." This work contained a second part to Hardyknute, which he represented as "now first published complete." If Pinkerton thought that his imposition was to get currency by being added to a ballad *really* ancient, the circumstance would show the extreme ignorance of the period as to the literature of our ancestors; for it is now needless to remark how unlike this composition is to the genuine productions of the elder muse. The imposition in this case was not entirely successful. "I read over again," says Mr Porden the architect, "the second part of Hardyknute; and I must inform you that I have made up my mind with respect to the author of it. I know not whether you will value a compliment paid to your genius at the expense of your imitative art, but certainly that genius sheds a splendour on some passages which betrays you."³ In 1782 appeared a second edition of the "Rimes," and at the same time he published two separate volumes of poetry which have dropped into oblivion. In the ensuing year he published in two volumes his "Select Scottish Ballads," a work rather more esteemed. At this period he turned the current of his laborious intellect to numismatics. Early in life a latent passion for the collection of antiquities had been accidentally (as is generally the case with antiquaries,) called into action. He drew up a manual and table of coins for his own use, which afterwards expanded itself into the celebrated "Essay on Medals," published in two volumes, 8vo, in 1784; and published a third time in 1808. These volumes form a manual which is continually in the hands of numismatists. In 1785, he published, under the assumed name of Robert Heron, a work termed "Letters of Literature;" the singularity of this work suggests that its author was guilty of affecting strangeness, for the purpose of attracting notice. Among the most prominent subjects, was a new system of orthography, or, more properly, of grammar, which, by various transmutations, such as classical terminations, (e. g. the use of *a* instead of *s* in forming plurals,) was to reduce the harshness of the English language. The attempt on the public sense was not in all respects effective, but the odium occasioned very naturally fell on poor Robert Heron, who was just then strug-

²Pinkerton's Correspondence, i. 2.

³Pinkerton's Correspondence i. 25.

gling into being as a literary man. The work, however, procured to Pinkerton an introduction to Horace Walpole, who made him acquainted with Gibbon. The proud spirit of that great historian seems to have found something congenial in the restless and acrid Pinkerton. He recommended him to the booksellers as a person fit to translate the "English Monkish Historians." In an address which Gibbon had intended to prefix to the work, his protégé was almost extravagantly lauded: but the plan as then designed was never put in practice. The friendship of Walpole continued till his death; and, light and versatile in his own acquirements, he seems to have looked on the dogged perseverance, and continually accumulating knowledge of Pinkerton with some respect. After Walpole's death, Pinkerton sold a collection of his "Ana" to the proprietors of the Monthly Magazine, and they were afterwards published under the title "Walpoliana." In 1786, Pinkerton published "Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print, but now published from the manuscript collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland; comprising pieces written from about 1420 till 1586: with large Notes and a Glossary." Pinkerton maintained that he had found the manuscript in the Pepysian library at Cambridge, and in his correspondence he sometimes alludes to the circumstances with very admirable coolness. The forgery was one of the most audacious recorded in the annals of transcribing. Time, place, and circumstances were all minutely stated—there was no mystery. Among Pinkerton's opinions as to character, that of literary impostor was of the most degraded order. The whole force of his nature and power over the language were employed to describe his loathing and contempt. On Macpherson, who executed the task with more genius, but certainly much less historical knowledge than himself, he poured the choice of his denunciations. In 1787, he published "The Treasury of Wit; being a Methodical Selection of about Twelve Hundred of the best Apothegms and Jests, from books in several languages." This work is not one of those which may be presumed to have been consonant with Pinkerton's pursuits, and it probably owed its existence to a favourable engagement with a bookseller; but even in a book of anecdotes this author could not withstand the desire of being distinct from other men, and took the opportunity of making four divisions of wit and humour, viz., "serious wit, comic wit; serious humour, and comic humour." During the same year, he produced "A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, being an Introduction to the Ancient and Modern History of Europe." In the compilation of this small treatise, he boasts of having employed himself eight hours per day for one year in the examination of classical authors: the period occupied in consulting those of the Gothic period, which he found to be "a mass of superfluity and error," he does not venture to limit. This production was suggested by his reading for his celebrated account of the early "History of Scotland," and was devised for the laudable purpose of proving that the Celtic race was more degraded than the Gothic, as a preparatory position to the arguments maintained in that work. He accordingly shows the Greeks to have been a Gothic race, in as far as they were descended from the Pelasgi, who were Scythians or Goths—a theory which, by the way, in the secondary application, has received the sanction of late etymologists and ethnologists of eminence—and, by a similar progress, he showed the Gothic origin of the Romans. Distinct from the general account of the progress of the Goths, which is certainly full of information and acuteness, he had a particular object to gain, in fixing on an island formed by the influx of the Danube in the Euxine sea, fortunately termed by the ancient geographers "Peuke," and inhabited by Peukini. From this little island, of the importance of which he produces many highly respectable certificates, he

brings the Peukini along the Danube, whence, passing to the Baltic, they afterwards appear in Scotland as the Picts or Pechts. At this period Pinkerton appears to have been an unsuccessful candidate for a situation in the British museum. Horace Walpole says to him in a letter of the 11th February, 1788, "I wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, soliciting his interest for you, should there be a vacancy at the museum. He answers, (and I will show you his answer when I see you,) that he is positively engaged to Mr Thorkelin, should Mr Planta resign; but that, the chancellor having refused to sign the permission for the latter, who will not go abroad without that indulgence, no vacancy is likely to happen from that event." In 1789, he edited from early works, printed and manuscript, "*Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotorum.*" This work, of which only one hundred copies were printed, is now scarce and expensive; but at its appearance it seems to have met little encouragement from the author's countrymen. "Mr Cardounel," he says in a letter to the earl of Buchan, "some months since informed me that, upon calling at Creech's shop, he learned there were about a dozen subscribers to the '*Vitæ Sanctorum Scotiæ.*' Upon desiring my factor, Mr Buchan, since to call on Mr Creech, and learn the names, Creech informed him 'there were about two or three; and the subscription paper was lost, so he could not tell the names.'" During the same year, Pinkerton published his edition of "*Barbour's Bruce.*" Although the most correct edition up to the period of Dr Jamieson's publication, it was far from accurate, and gave the editor ample opportunity of vituperating those friends who incautiously undertook to point out its mistakes. In 1790, appeared "*The Medallie History of England to the Revolution,*" in 4to, with forty plates; and, at the same time, the "*Inquiry into the History of Scotland, preceding the reign of Malcolm III., or 1056: including the authentic history of that period.*" This work contained a sort of concentration of all his peculiarities. It may be said to have been the first work which thoroughly sifted the great "*Pictish question;*" the question whether the Picts were Goths or Celts. In pursuance of his line of argument in the progress of the Goths, he takes up the latter position; and in the minds of those who have no opinions of their own, and have consulted no other authorities, by means of his confidence and his hard terms, he may be said to have taken the point by storm. But he went farther in his proofs. It was an undoubted fact that the Scots were Celts, and all old authorities bore that the Scots had subdued the Picts. This was something which Pinkerton could not patiently contemplate; but he found no readier means of overcoming it than by proving that the Picts conquered the Scots; a doctrine founded chiefly on the natural falsehood of the Celtic race, which prompted a man of sense, whenever he heard anything asserted by a Celt, to believe that the converse was the truth. He amused himself with picking out terms of vituperation for the Macphersons; "of the doctor," he said, "his etymological nonsense he assists with gross falsehoods, and pretends to skill in the Celtic without quoting a single MS.; in short he deals wholly in assertion and opinion; and it is clear that he had not even an idea what learning and science are:"⁵ of the translator he not less politely observes, "He seems resolved to set every law of common science and common understanding at defiance."⁶

His numberless observations on the Celts, are thus pithily brought to a focus: "Being mere savages, but one degree above brutes, they remain still in much the same state of society as in the days of Julius Cæsar; and he who travels among the Scottish Highlanders, the old Welch, or wild Irish, may see at once the ancient and modern state of women among the Celts, when he beholds these savages stretched in their huts, and their poor women toiling like beasts of bur-

⁴ Correspondence, i. 180. Ib., 177.

⁵ Inquiry, Introd., 63.

⁶ Ib., 64.

den for their unmanly husbands."⁷ And he thus draws up a comparison betwixt these unfortunates and his favourite Goths. "The Lowlanders are acute, industrious, sensible, erect, free: the Highlanders, indolent, slavish, strangers to industry. The former, in short, have every attribute of a civilized people: the latter are absolute savages; and, like Indians and negroes, will ever continue to * * * * All we can do is to plant colonies among them, and, by this and encouraging their emigration, try to get rid of the breed."⁸ Pinkerton proved, indeed, a sore visitation to the Celts. Moderate men had no objections to a conflict which might, at least, bring amusement, and might serve to humble the pride, by displaying the ignorance of a people, who seemed to take an unfortunate pride in the continuance of barbarism. Few took their side; and Pinkerton had many triumphs over their native champions, in the recurrence of that ignorance of their own history, which he maintained to be their characteristic. His knowledge of history effectually foiled any claim put in for Celtic merit. He would call on the company to name a Celt of eminence. "If one mentioned Burke," observes a late writer: "What," said he, "a descendant of De Bourg? Class that high Norman chivalry with the rif-raff of O's and Mac's? Show me a great O', and I am done." He delighted to prove that the Scottish Highlanders had never had but a few great captains, such as Montrose, Dundee, the first duke of Argyle,—and these were all Goths,—the two first Lowlanders; the last a Norman, a *De Campo Bello*.⁹

In 1792, Pinkerton edited "Scottish Poems, reprinted from scarce editions," in three volumes octavo. In 1796, appeared his "History of Scotland, during the Reign of the Stuarts," in two volumes quarto, one of the most unexceptionable of his historical works, and still the most laboured and accurate complete history of the period. In 1798, he married Miss Burgess of Odiham, Hants, sister to Thomas, bishop of Salisbury. The union was unhappy, and the parties separated. In 1795 and 1797, he bestowed some pains in preparing lives of Scotsmen, for the "Iconographia Scotica," two volumes octavo; but the information in the work is very meagre, and the plates are wretchedly engraved. In 1802, he published, in two volumes quarto, "Modern Geography, digested on a new Plan;" a work somewhat hastily got up, and deficient in some of its parts, but still one of the most compendious and useful geographical works of the period. A second edition was published in 1806, in three volumes, and an abridgment, in one octavo, is well known. At the commencement of the century, he visited Paris; and, in 1806, published "Recollections of Paris in the Years 1802-3-4 and 5," two volumes octavo. For some years after this period, he found employment in editing "A General Collection of Voyages and Travels," extending to nineteen volumes quarto, and a "New Modern Atlas," in parts. For a short period, he also edited the "Critical Review." His last work was on a subject foreign to his previous studies, but which appears from his correspondence to have occupied much of his attention during his old age: it was entitled, "Petralogy, or a Treatise on Rocks," two volumes octavo, 1811. In his latter years, he resided in Paris, where he died, in indigent circumstances, on the 10th March, 1825, at the age of sixty-seven. He is described to have been "a very little and very thin old man, with a very small, sharp, yellow face, thickly pitted by the smallpox, and decked with a pair of green spectacles."¹⁰

PITCAIRNE, (DR) ARCHIBALD, an eminent physician of the seventeenth century, was born at Edinburgh on the 25th December, 1652. His father, who was descended of an ancient family in Fife, was an eminent merchant, and one of the magistrates of the city. His mother, whose name was Sydserf, was a mem-

⁷ Ib. i. 268.

⁸ Ib. i. 310.

⁹ Nichols' Illustrations, v. 609.

¹⁰ Ib. 671.

ber of a highly respectable family in East Lothian. Dr Pitcairne received the earlier part of his education at Dalkeith. He was afterwards removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he made great progress in classical learning, and completed a regular course of philosophy. His subsequent education ranged over the extensive field of the three professions pre-eminently styled learned. At the request of his friends, who were desirous that he should devote himself to the church, he first entered on the study of theology, but finding neither this study, nor the profession to which it led, at all suitable to his temper, disposition, or habits, he abandoned it, and turned his attention to law.

To this pursuit, which he found more congenial than the other, and in which he became fired with an ambition to excel, he devoted himself with an ardour and intensity of application, that induced symptoms of approaching consumption. To arrest the progress of this malady, he was advised by his physicians to repair to the south of France for the benefit of the milder climate of that country. By the time, however, that Mr Pitcairne reached Paris he found himself so much better, that he determined on remaining in that city, and resuming his legal studies there; but having formed an acquaintance, while in the French capital, with some agreeable young men from Scotland, who were engaged in the study of medicine, he was prevailed upon by them to abandon the law, and to join in their pursuits. To these he applied accordingly for several months, when he was recalled to Edinburgh by his father. This was now the third profession which he had begun, and the indecision of his conduct with regard to a permanent choice, naturally gave much uneasiness to his friends, but this was allayed by his finally declaring for physic, and applying himself with extraordinary diligence to the study of botany, pharmacy, and *materia medica*. He afterwards went a second time to Paris to complete his studies, and on that occasion acquired an entire and profound knowledge of medicine. Thus prepared he returned to his native city, where he practised with singular success till the year 1692, when his great reputation, which was now diffused throughout Europe, and which had been not a little increased by his able treatise regarding Hervey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, entitled, "*Solutio problemati de inventoribus*," procured him an invitation from Leyden to accept of the professorship of physic in the celebrated university of that city, and so sensible were those who had the nomination of this appointment, of the merits of Dr Pitcairne, and of the value of his services, that the invitation was accompanied by the offer of a much larger salary than had been usually attached to the office. Dr Pitcairne accepted the invitation, but remained in Leyden only twelvemonths. At the end of that period he came over to Edinburgh to marry a daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenson, an eminent physician in the latter city, to whom he had been betrothed before leaving Scotland, and whom it was his intention to carry along with him to Leyden; but the lady's friends objected to her going abroad, and Dr Pitcairne so far yielded to these objections, as to resign his professorship, and reconcile himself to the resumption of his practice as a physician in his native city. Nor had he any reason to regret the change thus in a manner forced upon him, for he soon found himself in possession of a most extensive and lucrative business. During the short time he was at Leyden, Dr Pitcairne chose the texts of his medical lectures from the writings of Bellini, who, in return for this flattering compliment, dedicated to the doctor his "*Opuscula*."

Dr Pitcairne's reputation for skill in his profession now daily increased. He was consulted by patients in distant parts of Scotland, and frequently from England and Wales, and was altogether looked upon as the most eminent physician of his time. Nor was his fame as a scholar behind that which he enjoy-

ed as a medical practitioner. His "Solutio problemati," &c., published soon after he had first commenced business in Edinburgh, had gained him much reputation as a learned man, as well as a skilful physician, and he still more strongly established his claims to the former character by a 4to work, entitled, "Archibaldi Pitcairni Dissertationes Medicæ," which was published at Rotterdam in 1701, and dedicated to his friend Bellini. Dr Pitcairne also wrote Latin poetry with very considerable elegance and taste, although Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, speaks of him in this capacity, as only "a sort of a poet." But he was something more than this, and had not the subjects of his muse unfortunately been all of but transitory interest, and therefore now nearly wholly unintelligible, his fame as a Latin poet would have been very far from contemptible. Some of these poems were published in 1727, by Ruddiman, in order to meet a charge which had been made upon Scotland, that it was deficient in this department of literature.

Dr Pitcairne's chief work was published in 1718, under the title of "*Elementa Medicinæ Physico Mathematica*," consisting of his lectures at Leyden. He was considered to be the first physician of his time. His library is said to have been one of the best private collections of that time; it was purchased, after his death, by the Czar of Russia. In addition to his Latin verses, he was the author of a comedy called "The Assembly," which is a sarcastic and profane production; also, "Babell, or the Assembly, a poem, 1692," both being intended to turn the proceedings of the General Assembly into ridicule. Dr Pitcairne was a Jacobite, and an Episcopalian; and his talent for satire was often directed against the Presbyterians, who accused him of being an atheist, and a scoffer and reviler of religion. Wodrow even goes the length of retaliating upon him by a serious charge as to his temperance. An atheistical pamphlet published in 1688, entitled, "*Epistola Archimedis ad regem Gelonem Albæ Græcæ, reperta anno æræ Christianæ*," was ascribed to Pitcairne; and when the Rev. Thomas Halyburton entered upon the office of professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews, in 1710, his inaugural discourse was a refutation of the arguments of this performance, and was published in 1714, under the title of "Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness." His verses written on Christmas Day have been referred to as a proof of Dr Pitcairne's orthodoxy, on which he had himself thrown a doubt by his profane jesting and his habitual scoffing at religious men; and it is added, on the authority of Dr Drummond, that, during his last illness, he evinced just apprehensions of God and religion, and experienced the tranquillity of mind which can arise from no other source. As a man of science, he was far in advance of the age in which he lived; and the zeal with which he propagated Hervey's beautiful discovery of the circulation of the blood, is a proof of liberality of feeling which was by no means common at that period among medical men, by whom the doctrine of the circulation was long treated as a heresy in science, and its discoverer nearly persecuted out of the profession. That his disposition was generous and friendly in a remarkable degree, is beyond doubt, and the reader may find a striking instance of it in the life of Ruddiman.

Dr Pitcairne died in Edinburgh on the 20th of October, 1713, in the 61st year of his age, and was interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard.

PLAYFAIR, JOHN, an eminent natural philosopher and mathematician, was the eldest son of James Playfair, minister of Benzie, in Forfarshire, where he was born on the 10th of March, 1748. He was educated at home until he reached the age of fourteen, when he was sent to the university of St Andrews, where it was intended that he should study for the Scottish church. The precocity of talent exhibited by great men, generally so ill authenticated, has been

strikingly vouched by two remarkable circumstances in the early history of Playfair. While a student at St Andrews, professor Wilkie, the author of the "Epigoniad," when in bad health, selected him to deliver lectures on natural philosophy to the class; and in the year 1766, when only eighteen years of age, he felt himself qualified to compete as a candidate for the chair of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. In this, his confidence in his powers was justified by the event. Of six candidates, two only excelled him, —Dr Trail, who was appointed to the chair, and Dr Hamilton, who afterwards succeeded to it.¹

In 1769, having finished his courses at the university, Mr Playfair lived for some time in Edinburgh, in the enjoyment of the very select literary society of the period. "It would appear," says his biographer,² "from letters published in the 'Life of the late Principal Hill,' that, during this time, Mr Playfair had twice hopes of obtaining a permanent situation. The nature of the first, which offered itself in 1769, is not there specified, and is not known to any of his own family; the second, was the professorship of natural philosophy in the university of St Andrews, vacant by the death of his friend Dr Wilkie, which took place in 1772. In this, which he earnestly desired, and for which he was eminently qualified, he was disappointed." During the same year, his father died, and the care of his mother, and of the education of his father's young family, rendered the acquisition of some permanent means of livelihood more anxiously desirable. He was immediately nominated by lord Gray to his father's livings of Liff and Benvie; but the right of presentation being disputed, he was unable to enter on possession, until August, 1773. From that period, his time was occupied in attending to the duties of his charge, superintending the education of his brothers, and prosecuting his philosophical studies. In 1774, he made an excursion to Perthshire, to witness the experiments of Dr Maskelyne, the astronomer royal, to illustrate the principles of gravitation, from the effect of mountains in disturbing the plumb line. A permanent friendship was at that time formed between the two philosophers. "I met," says Playfair, in his Journal of a visit to London in 1782, "with a very cordial reception from him (Dr Maskelyne), and found that an acquaintance contracted among wilds and mountains is much more likely to be durable than one made up in the bustle of a great city: nor would I, by living in London for many years, have become so well acquainted with this astronomer, as I did by partaking of his hardships and labours on Schehallien for a few days."

In 1779, Playfair's first scientific effort was given to the public, in "An Essay on the Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities," published in the sixty-eighth volume of the Philosophical Transactions. In 1782, an advantageous offer prompted him to give up his living, and become tutor to Mr Ferguson of Raith and his brother Sir Ronald Ferguson. It was at this period that he paid the visit to London in which he met Dr Maskelyne. By that gentleman he was introduced to some literary men, and to institutions of literary or philosophical interest. Some of these roused the calm enthusiasm for philosophical greatness which was one of the principal features of his character. "This," he says, "was the first time that I had seen the Observatory of Greenwich, and I entered with profound reverence into that temple of science, where Flamstead, and Halley, and Bradley, devoted their days and their nights to the contemplation of the Heavens. The shades of these ancient sages seemed still to

¹ Vide Life of Robert Hamilton in this collection.

² His nephew, by whom a Life of Mr Playfair was prefixed to an edition of his works, published in 1822.

hover round their former mansions, inspiring their worthy successor with the love of wisdom, and pointing out the road to immortality."

From his thirst after knowledge being untainted by political or local prejudices, Playfair had early turned himself to the important discoveries of the continental algebraists, and was the first man of eminence to introduce them to British notice. He perceived the prejudices entertained on the subject in England, and probably the discovery sharpened his appetite for a subject which he found was almost untouched. Speaking of Dr Maskelyne, he says, "He is much attached to the study of geometry, and I am not sure that he is very deeply versed in the late discoveries of the foreign algebraists. Indeed, this seems to be somewhat the case with all the English mathematicians: they despise their brethren on the continent, and think that everything great in science must be for ever confined to the country that produced Sir Isaac Newton." In the works of an eminent natural philosopher one may search long before he will find anything which shows in explicit terms the exact discipline of mind or system of reasoning, by which he has made it to happen that all he has said, has so much the appearance of being truth; but a petty remark, disconnected with the ordinary pursuits of the philosopher, may often strikingly illustrate the operation of his mind, and the means by which he has disciplined himself to approach as near as possible to truth; and, such a passage occurring in this short diary, we beg to insert it. "An anecdote of some Indians was told, that struck me very much, as holding up but too exact a picture of many of our theories and reasonings from analogy. Some American savages having experienced the effects of gunpowder, and having also accidentally become masters of a small quantity of it, set themselves to examine it, with a design of finding out what was its nature, and how it was to be procured. The oldest and wisest of the tribe, after considering it attentively, pronounced it to be a seed. A piece of ground was accordingly prepared for it, and it was sown in the fullest confidence that a great crop of it was to be produced. We smile at the mistake of these Indians, and we do not consider, that, for the extent of their experience, they reasoned well, and drew as logical a conclusion as many of the philosophers of Europe. Whenever we reason only from analogy and resemblance, and whenever we attempt to measure the nature of things by our conceptions, we are precisely in the situation of these poor Americans." In this Playfair exemplified the propensity to reason from certain qualities perceived to be identical, when it is not known but that other qualities not perceived, may be at variance. The wise American saw colour and form like those of a seed, and from these he drew his conclusion. Had he been a botanist, he would have discovered that the grain consisted of saltpetre and charcoal, instead of kernel; and, whatever else he could have made of it, he would have quickly perceived that it was not a seed. In connexion with this it is to be held in mind, that Playfair was essentially a reasoner, and that he was more celebrated for separating the true from the false in the writings of others, or for establishing and applying truths accidentally stumbled upon by others, than for extensive discoveries of his own.

In 1785, Dr Adam Ferguson exchanged the moral chair in the university for that of mathematics, taught by professor Dugald Stewart, and, being in bad health, chose Playfair as his assistant. He continued, however, to attend his two pupils until 1787, when he took up his residence with his mother, who had for some time lived in Edinburgh. He now commenced a series of papers which appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The first of these was the life of Dr Matthew Stewart, the late professor of mathe-

matics in the university of Edinburgh ; a paper written in his usual flowing, simple, and expressive style. A second was a paper on the causes which affect the accuracy of Barometrical Measurements. A third was Remarks on the Astronomy of the Brahmins. The early eastern astronomy was a subject to which he was very partial, and to which some conceive he has paid more attention than its importance warranted. He fought to a certain extent at disadvantage, from ignorance of the language, and consequently of external evidence as to the authenticity of the remarkable records containing the wisdom of the Brahmins; but he calculated their authenticity from the circumstance, that none but a European acquainted with the refinements of modern science could have made the calculations on which they might have been forged. The death of his brother James, in 1793, interrupted his philosophical pursuits, by forcing on his management some complicated business, along with the education of his brother's son. In 1795, he published an edition of Euclid's elements for the use of his class. In this work he adopted the plan of using algebraic signs instead of words, to render the proportions more compact and apparent. The plan has been repeatedly practised since that period, and "Playfair's Euclid" is a book well known to the boys in most mathematical schools, by whom, however, it is not always so much admired as it is known. In 1797 he suffered a severe attack of rheumatism, during which he sketched an essay on the accidental discoveries which have been made by men of science whilst in pursuit of something else, or when they had no determinate object in view; and wrote the observations on the trigonometrical tables of the Brahmins, and the theorems relating to the figure of the earth, which were afterwards published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. About the same time, his friend Dr Hutton died, and Playfair, who affectionately intended to have written his memoir, found in the study of his works a vast field in which he afterwards distinguished himself, by the preparation of the "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth." Few observers of nature have possessed the power of describing what they have seen, so as to make their facts and deductions perceivable to ordinary thinkers. Playfair possessed the quality, however, to a rare extent; and it was probably its deficiency in the works of his friend Hutton, which prompted him to prepare the elegant and logical "Analysis of the Volcanic Theory of the Earth," which has been so much admired for its own literary merits, and has been the means of rendering popular an important theory which otherwise might have remained in obscurity. It has been said, that the illustration of a theory of the earth was but a profitless employment for so accurately thinking a philosopher, and that the task might have been left to more imaginative minds, whose speculations would have afforded equal pleasure to those who delight in forming fabrics of theory on insufficient foundations. It is true, that even the lucid commentary of Playfair does not establish the Huttonian as a general and undeviating theory, in an undoubted and indisputable situation; he seems not to have aimed so high; and from the present state of science, no one can predicate that the elementary formation of the earth, or even of its crust, will ever be shown with chemical exactness. All that can be said is, that in as far as the respective experiments and deductions of the theorists have proceeded, the Huttonian Theory is not directly met by any fact produced on the part of the Neptunians, and the phenomena produced in its favour strongly show—indeed show to absolute certainty in some cases—the present formation of a great part of the crust of the earth to have been the effect of fire, how operating in respect to the whole substance of the globe it is impossible to determine. The defence of a theory of the earth had for some time been unpopular among many philosophers, from the production of such majestic fabrics of theory as those of Whis-

ton and Burnet, which, without a sufficient number of ascertained facts for the analysis of the component parts of any portion of the earth's surfaces, showed in detail the method of its abstraction from the rest of the universe, and the minutiae of its formation. But Playfair never went beyond rational deduction on the facts which were known to him, limiting the extent of his theories to reasonings on what he knew; and it shows the accuracy of his logic, that, while the experiments of Sir James Hall and others (which were in progress but not complete while he wrote,) have tended to support his explication, especially in justifying his opinion that the reason of calcination in bodies subjected to heat was the necessity of the escape of the gases contained in them, we are aware of none which have contradicted him.

The period between 1797 and 1802 was occupied by Mr Playfair in preparing his Illustrations, and in 1803 his biographical sketch of Hutton was published in the Society Transactions. In 1805 he quitted the mathematical chair, and succeeded professor John Robison in that of natural philosophy; during the same year his mother died at the age of eighty-five, and he retired along with a younger brother, his youngest sister, and two nephews, to Burntisland, that he might devote the summer to uninterrupted preparation for the duties of his new class. In the controversy with the clergymen of Edinburgh, regarding his successor to the chair of mathematics, he took an active part. A letter which he addressed to the provost of Edinburgh, in favour of the election of a *scientific* man, as opposed to a clergyman, was answered by Dr Inglis, and from the nature of the remarks directed against himself, he considered it necessary to reply. The pamphlet produced under these circumstances, showed that his calm temper might be made dangerous by interference: it is written in considerable asperity of spirit, but without vulgar raillery or much personality, and the serious reproof, mixed with occasional sarcasm which it contains, shows great power to wield the weapons of literary warfare. He next occupied himself in preparing papers on the solids of greatest attraction, and on the progress of heat in spherical bodies, which appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He also presented to the London Royal Society, of which he was admitted a member in 1807, an Account of the Survey of Schhallien. In 1814, he published for the use of his students his well known Outlines of Natural Philosophy, in two volumes octavo. The first volume of this work treats of Dynamics, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Aerostatics, and Pneumatics. The second is devoted to Astronomy. A third volume was intended to have embraced Optics, Electricity, and Magnetism; but the work was never completed. In the following year he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh a life of his predecessor, professor Robison. His labours for this institution will be perceived to have been very extensive, and they show him not to have been a mercenary man. He was long its chief support, arranging and publishing the Transactions, and gratuitously acting as secretary. In 1816, he published, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, a "Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science since the Revival of Letters in Europe," a work of great erudition and research. This work interrupted a new and much altered edition of his Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory, which he had previously designed, but which unfortunately he was never enabled to complete. "It was intended," says his biographer, "to commence with a description of all the well authenticated facts in geology collected during his extensive reading and personal observation, without any mixture of hypothesis whatever. To this followed the general inferences which may be deduced from the facts, an examination of the various geological systems hitherto offered to the world, and the exclusion of those which involved any

contradiction of the principles previously ascertained; while the conclusion would have presented the development of the system adopted by the author, and the application of it to explain the phenomena of geology." Previously to 1815, Mr Playfair had confined his geological observations to Britain and Ireland; nor was he able, from causes public or private, previously to that period, to extend them to the continent. His nephew accompanied him on a tour which he designed to extend as far as he could through Italy, Switzerland, and France. He spent a short time in the philosophical circle of Paris, to which his name could not fail to be an introduction. He then passed to Switzerland, and commenced the most important of his geological notices at Mount Jura, where he found blocks of granite, gneiss, and mica slate, lying loosely on the surface of mountains whose solid substance was entirely calcareous. At Lucerne and Chamouni, he was prevented by adverse weather, from making his intended searches among the interior valleys. Towards winter he was about to return, when he received a letter from the provost of Edinburgh, intimating that the patrons of the university permitted his absence during the ensuing session—a circumstance which enabled him to prolong his tour a whole year. After remaining for a month at Geneva, he entered Italy by the Simplon. In the *Accademia del Cimento* at Florence, his enthusiasm for philosophical history was gratified by an inspection of the instruments made by Galileo, among which was the original telescope, made of two pieces of wood, coarsely hollowed out, and tied together with thread. On the 12th of November he set out for Rome, which he reached on the 18th. There he remained during the winter, occupying himself with researches in the Vatican library, such geological observations as the neighbourhood afforded, and the select English society always to be found in the imperial city, among whom he found many of the friends he had met in England. After the termination of the winter he went to Naples, where a wider field for geological observation lay before him. The observations which he made on this part of his route, not so much connected with the action of the volcano as with the state of the surrounding country, are embodied in some interesting notes, an abstract of which may be found in the memoir above referred to; but it is to be regretted that the amount of so much accurate observation was not brought to bear on his *Analysis of the Theory of the Earth*. Mr Playfair returned to Rome, whence, after a second visit to Florence, he proceeded, by such gradations as enabled him accurately to observe the mineralogy of the country, to Geneva. While travelling through Switzerland, he visited, and prepared a short but curious account of the Slide of Alpuach, by which trees are conveyed from the sides of Pilatus into the lake of Lucerne, whence they proceed through the Aar to the Rhine. On his return, he passed through Venice, Lyons, and Paris. In the ensuing summer he retired to Burntisland, where he prepared a memoir on Naval Tactics, in illustration of the discoveries of Clerk of Eldin, which was published after his death. He had intended to publish in detached papers his observations on the remarkable objects of his tour, and to have prepared his *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth*, but he lived scarcely long enough to commence these labours. For some years he had been afflicted with a strangury, which alarmingly increased in the month of June, 1819, and he died on the ensuing 19th of July. He was buried on the 26th, when the members of the Royal Medical Society, and a numerous body of public and private friends, followed him to the grave.

The literary and domestic character of this great and excellent man, have been drawn by Francis Jeffrey, with whom, as the writer of many papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr Playfair must have been on an intimate footing. The

former part of the subject is open for the appreciation of the world, but as the latter can only be told by one acquainted with it, we beg to extract a portion. "The same admirable taste which is conspicuous in his writings, or rather the higher principles from which that taste was but an emanation, spread a similar charm over his whole life and conversation, and gave to the most learned philosopher of his day the manners and deportment of the most perfect gentleman. Nor was this in him the result merely of good sense and good temper, assisted by an early familiarity with good company, and a consequent knowledge of his own place and that of all around him. His good-breeding was of a higher descent; and his powers of pleasing rested on something better than mere companionable qualities. With the greatest kindness and generosity of nature, he united the most manly firmness, and the highest principles of honour; and the most cheerful and social dispositions, with the gentlest and steadiest affections. Towards women, he had always the most chivalrous feelings of regard and attention, and was, beyond almost all men, acceptable and agreeable in their society, though without the least levity or pretension unbefitting his age or condition. And such, indeed, was the fascination of the perfect simplicity and mildness of his manners, that the same tone and deportment seemed equally appropriate in all societies, and enabled him to delight the young and the gay with the same sort of conversation which instructed the learned and the grave. There never, indeed, was a man of learning and talent who appeared in society so perfectly free from all sorts of pretension, or notion of his own importance, or so little solicitous to distinguish himself, or so sincerely willing to give place to every one else. Even upon subjects which he had thoroughly studied, he was never in the least impatient to speak, and spoke at all times without any tone of authority; while so far from wishing to set off what he had to say by any brilliancy or emphasis of expression, it seemed generally as if he had studied to disguise the weight and originality of his thoughts under the plainest form of speech, and the most quiet and indifferent manner; so that the profoundest remarks and subtlest observations were often dropped, not only without any solicitude that their value should be observed, but without any apparent consciousness that they possessed any."

PLAYFAIR, WILLIAM, an ingenious mechanic and miscellaneous writer, brother to the preceding, was born in the year 1759. The personal history of this man when compared with that of his brother, shows in striking colours the necessity, not only of industry, but of steadiness and consistency of plan, as adjuncts of genius in raising its possessor to eminence. Being very young when his father died, his education was superintended by his brother. His early taste for mechanics prompted his friends to place him as apprentice to a mill-wright of the name of Mickle. He afterwards went to England, and in 1780, was engaged as draughtsman in the service of Mr James Watt. How long he remained in this situation we do not know, but the vast mass of pamphlets which he was unceasingly producing must have speedily interfered with his professional regularity, and he seems to have spent the remainder of his days in alternately making mechanical discoveries of importance, and penning literary or political pamphlets. Among the most useful of his mechanical efforts, was the unrequited discovery of the French telegraph, gathered from a few partial hints, and afterwards adapted by an alphabet of his own invention to British use. At the period when he was most busy as a writer, he received no less than five patents for new inventions; one of these was for the manufacture of sashes, constructed of a mixture of copper, zinc, and iron. These he termed Eldorado sashes. Another was for a machine for completing the ornamental part of fretwork on small implements of silver and other metal; such as

sugar tongs, buckles, &c., which had previously been executed by the hand. For some time he occupied a silversmith's shop in London, but, tiring of the business, or finding it unprofitable, he proceeded to Paris, where, among other mechanical speculations, he procured an exclusive privilege for the manufacture of a rolling mill on a new plan. While living in Paris, he was the means of forming the colony of Scioto in America. Having formed an acquaintance with Mr Joel Barlow, who had been sent to Paris to negotiate the disposal by lots of three millions of acres which had been purchased by a company at New York, on the banks of the Scioto, he undertook to procure for him the necessary introductions, and to conduct the disposal. The breaking out of the French revolution favoured the scheme. It was proposed that the lands should be disposed of at 5s. per acre, one half to be paid at signing the act of sale, the other to remain on mortgage to the United States, to be paid within two years after taking possession. In less than two months 50,000 acres were sold, and two vessels sailed from Havre de Grace, with the nucleus of the colony. Soon after accomplishing this project, he made a narrow escape from being arrested by the revolutionary government, a fate which his strongly expressed objections to the French revolution rendered a very likely event. On his return to London he projected a bank termed the Security Bank; its object was the division of large securities so as to facilitate small loans;—this bank unfortunately belied its name, and became insolvent, too little attention having been paid to the securities taken. On the restoration of the Bourbons, he returned to France, and became editor of Galignani's Messenger, but he was driven back to England by a libel prosecution, and continued to gain his subsistence by essay-writing and translating. His works being in general connected with the passing politics of the day, need not be all named and characterized. In books and pamphlets, his distinct works are said to amount to about a hundred. Several were politico-economical in their subject, discussing the sinking fund, the resources of France, the Asiatic establishments of Britain, the prospects of the manufacturing interest, &c. His political remarks were generally for the purpose of supporting and vindicating the conduct of Britain towards France, and received the designation "patriotic." Among his principal publications were a "History of Jacobinism," published in 1795; an edition of Smith's Wealth of Nations, with Notes, in 1806; and "British Family Antiquities," in 9 vols. 4to, published in 1809-11. This last work forms a Peerage and Baronetage of Britain and Ireland. It contains a great mass of matter, and is splendidly illustrated, but it is not looked on by genealogists as a work of much authority. He spent the last days of his laborious but irregular life without the competence which well-directed talent generally acquires, and his death was hurried on by anxiety of mind. He died in Covent Garden on the 11th February, 1823, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. "In private life," says a biographer, "Mr Playfair was inoffensive and amiable; not prepossessing in his appearance and address, but with a strong and decided physiognomy, like that of his late brother. With a thoughtlessness which is too frequently allied to genius, he neglected to secure that provision for his family, which from his talents they were justified to expect; and although he laboured ardently and abundantly for his country, yet he found it ungrateful, and was left in age and infirmity to regret that he had neglected his own interests to promote those of the public."¹

¹ Annual Obituary, 1824, 460.

POLLOK, ROBERT, author of the "Course of Time," a poem, was born in 1799, of respectable parents, at Muirhouse, in the parish of Eaglesham, Renfrewshire. After acquiring the rudiments of a literary education in the country, he passed through a regular course of literary and philosophical study at the university of Glasgow. Having sustained the ordinary previous presbyterial examinations, he was admitted to the divinity hall, under the superintendence of the late reverend Dr Dick of Glasgow, who at that time was sole professor of theology in the united secession church. On finishing his course of five years' study under this accomplished tutor, he was, by the united associate presbytery of Edinburgh, licensed to preach the gospel, in the spring of 1827. The only time he ever preached was in the former chapel of Dr John Brown, in Rose Street, Edinburgh.

A short time before receiving license to preach, he had prepared his poem, the "Course of Time," which extends to ten books, in blank verse, and describes the mortal and immortal destiny of man, in language the nearest, perhaps to that of Milton, which has ever been employed by a later bard. It has rarely happened that one so young has completed any work so extensive as this, much less one so successful; and we may be allowed to surmise, that the man who could form and execute such a design, at such a period of life, must have possessed not only an intellect of the first order of power, but a character of the first order of strength. On the recommendation of the late celebrated John Wilson, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the "Course of Time" was published by Mr Blackwood, early in 1827. Of the earlier attempts of Mr Pollok in prose and verse, little is known. He wrote three tales relative to the sufferings of the persecuted presbyterians of the reign of Charles II., which were published anonymously in his lifetime, and have since been reprinted with his name. They are manifestly juvenile and hasty productions; but they are the juvenile and hasty productions of a man of genius. The labour of preparing his poem for publication, and carrying it through the press, appears to have fatally impaired a constitution originally vigorous. Soon after his license, symptoms of pulmonary disease having become distinctly apparent, he spent the greater part of the summer of that year with the reverend Dr Belfrage of Slateford, under whose hospitable roof he enjoyed every advantage which medical skill, called forth into active exertion by cordial friendship, could furnish.

As the disease seemed obviously gaining ground, it was suggested by Dr Abercromby, and other eminent physicians, that a removal to a more genial climate, during the approaching winter, was the only probable means of protracting a life so full of promise. It was therefore resolved on, that he should, with as little delay as possible, set out for Italy; and the means for prosecuting such a journey were readily supplied by the admirers of his genius.

In the commencement of autumn he left Edinburgh, accompanied by a sister, and travelled by a steam vessel to London. During the short time he remained in that city, he resided at Camberwell, with the late John Pirie, Esq., afterwards Lord Mayor of London, to whom he had been introduced by a common friend, and who, with characteristic generosity, made every exertion to contribute to his comfort; and ceased not to take a deep interest in his happiness, till he was called on to commit his remains to the grave.

After arrangements had been made for his voyage to Italy, his medical advisers in London, fearing that he would never reach that country, recommended his immediate removal to the south-west of England, and the neighbourhood of Southampton was fixed on as a suitable situation. Having arrived there, he

took up his residence on Shirley-Common. His disease continued to make progress, and in the course of a few weeks he fell a victim to its power, on the 15th of September, 1827. "He died," says his biographer, "in the faith of the gospel, and in the hope of eternal life."

He is buried in the church-yard of Millbrook, the parish in which Shirley-Common lies. Those admirers of his genius who would fain have prolonged his life, have perpetuated their regard for him, by erecting an obelisk of Peter-head granite over his grave, bearing, with the dates of his birth and death, the following simple inscription:—

THE GRAVE
OF
ROBERT POLLOK, A.M.
AUTHOR OF "THE COURSE OF TIME."
HIS IMMORTAL POEM IS HIS
MONUMENT.

Such is a "faithful chronicle" of the principal external events in the short life of Robert Pollok. Of the most important inward revolution of which man's little world is susceptible, that change, without which a man "cannot enter the kingdom of God," he has given the following most impressive account in the "Course of Time." It is one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography we have ever met with, and compensates, in some measure, for the meagreness of the present sketch; which, imperfect as it is, seems all that circumstances will permit to be gathered together respecting Pollok. The extract, though perhaps rather too long for such a purpose, will also serve as a specimen of the poetry produced by the subject of our memoir. It will remind many readers of some passages of a similar kind, of exquisite beauty, in Cowper.

ONE of this mood I do remember well
We name him not, what now are earthly names?
In humble dwelling born, retired, remote;
In rural quietude, 'mong hills, and streams,
And melancholy deserts, where the sun
Saw, as he passed, a shepherd only, here
And there, watching his little flock, or heard
The ploughman talking to his steers; his hopes,
His morning hopes, awoke before him, smiling,
Among the dews and holy mountain airs;
And fancy coloured them with every hue
Of heavenly levelness. But soon his dreams
Of childhood fled away, those rainbow dreams
So innocent and fair, that withered Age,
Even at the grave, cleared up his dusty eye,
And passing all between, looked fondly back
To see them once again, ere he departed:
'These fled away, and anxious thought, that wished
To go, yet whither knew not well to go,
Possessed his soul, and held it still awhile.
He listened, and heard from far the voice of fame,
Heard and was charmed: and deep and sudden vow

Of resolution made to be renowned;
 And deeper vowed again to keep his vow.
 His parents saw, his parents whom God made
 Of kindest heart, saw, and indulged his hope.
 The ancient page he turned, read much, thought much,
 And with old bards of honourable name
 Measured his soul severely; and looked up
 To fame, ambitious of no second place.
 Hope grew from inward faith, and promised fair.
 And out before him opened many a path
 Ascending, where the laurel highest waved
 Her branch of endless green. He stood admiring;
 But stood, admired, not long. The harp he seized,
 The harp he loved, loved better than his life,
 The harp which uttered deepest notes, and held
 The ear of thought a captive to its song.
 He searched and meditated much, and whiles,
 With rapturous hand, in secret, touched the lyre,
 Aiming at glorious strains; and searched again
 For theme deserving of immortal verse;
 Chose now, and now refused, unsatisfied;
 Pleased, then displeased, and hesitating still.

Thus stood his mind, when round him came a cloud,
 Slowly and heavily it came, a cloud
 Of ills we mention not: enough to say
 'Twas cold, and dead, impenetrable gloom.
 He saw its dark approach, and saw his hopes,
 One after one, put out, as nearer still
 It drew his soul; but fainted not at first,
 Fainted not soon. He knew the lot of man
 Was trouble, and prepared to bear the worst;
 Endure whate'er should come, without a sigh:
 Endure, and drink, even to the very dregs,
 The bitterest cup that time could measure out:
 And, having done, look up, and ask for more.

He called philosophy, and with his heart
 Reasoned. He called religion too, but called
 Reluctantly, and therefore was not heard.
 Ashamed to be o'ermatched by earthly woes,
 He sought, and sought with eye that dimmed apace,
 To find some avenue to light, some place
 On which to rest a hope; but sought in vain.
 Darker and darker still the darkness grew.
 At length he sunk, and Disappointment stood
 His only comforter, and mournfully
 Told all was past. His interest in life,
 In being, ceased: and now he seemed to feel,
 And shuddered as he felt, his powers of mind
 Decaying in the spring-time of his day.
 The vigorous, weak became; the clear, obscure;
 Memory gave up her charge; Decision reeled;
 And from her flight, Fancy returned; returned
 Because she found no nourishment abroad.
 The blue heavens withered; and the moon, and sun,

And all the stars, and the green earth, and morn
 And evening, withered; and the eyes, and smiles,
 And faces of all men and women, withered,
 Withered to him; and all the universe,
 Like something which had been, appeared, but now
 Was dead and mouldering fast away. He tried
 No more to hope; wished to forget his vow,
 Wished to forget his harp; then ceased to wish.
 That was his last; enjoyment now was done.
 He had no hope; no wish, and scarce a fear
 Of being sensible, and sensible
 Of loss, he as some atom seemed, which God
 Had made superfluously, and needed not
 To build creation with; but back again
 To nothing threw, and left it in the void,
 With everlasting sense that once it was.

Oh! who can tell what days, what nights he spent,
 Of tideless, waveless, sailless, shoreless woe?
 And who can tell how many, glorious once,
 To others and themselves of promise full,
 Conducted to this pass of human thought,
 This wilderness of intellectual death,
 Wasted and pined, and vanished from the earth,
 Leaving no vestige of memorial there.

It was not so with him. When thus he lay,
 Forlorn of heart; withered and desolate,
 As leaf of Autumn, which the wolfish winds,
 Selecting from its falling sisters, chase,
 Far from its native grove, to lifeless wastes,
 And leave it there alone, to be forgotten
 Eternally, God passed in mercy by—
 His praise be ever new!—and on him breathed,
 And bade him live, and put into his hands
 A holy harp, into his lips a song,
 That rolled its numbers down the tide of Time,
 Ambitious now but little to be praised,
 Of men alone; ambitious most to be
 Approved of God, the Judge of all; and have
 His name recorded in the book of life.

The "Course of Time" was only beginning to attract attention at the time when its author's ear was about to be closed, alike to the voice of censure and praise. Almost immediately after his death, it became extensively read throughout the British empire, especially among the numerous and respectable classes of dissenters. It has, accordingly, passed through a considerable number of editions, and now appears likely to keep its place among the standard poems in our language. A portrait of the author was obtained by the reverend Dr John Brown, of Edinburgh, before his departure for London, and has been engraved. It conveys the impression of deep and grave intelligence, such as might have been expected from the author of the "Course of Time."¹

PONT, ROBERT, a churchman, judge of the court of session, and political and scientific writer of some eminence, was born at Culross, cir. 1524—30,

¹ This article is copied, (by permission,) with a few slight additions, from the preface to "Tales of the Covenanters, by Robert Pollok, A. M." Edinburgh, W. Oliphant, 1833.

of honourable, if not noble¹ parentage. After receiving his elementary education at the school of his native place, he was, in 1513, incorporated a student of St Leonard's college in St Andrews, where he prosecuted the study of philosophy and divinity with great success. From the period of his leaving the university, no notice of him has been discovered, till 1559, when he is mentioned as an elder in the kirk session record of St Andrews. His intimate knowledge of law, renders the supposition probable, that the interval was employed in that branch of study at some of the continental universities. He seems to have early embraced the protestant party. He was an elder of St Andrews from a very early period, and attended, as one of the commissioners from that place, the first General Assembly, by which he was declared qualified for ministering and teaching. In the year 1563, he competed for the office of superintendent of the diocese of Galloway. He appears to have failed in the attempt, but was shortly after appointed commissioner of the diocese of Moray. In 1566, he published, with the sanction and command of the General Assembly, a "Translation and Interpretation of the Helvetian Confession." In January, 1571, he was, through the same influence, appointed to the provostry of Trinity college, Edinburgh, and afterwards to the vicarage of St Cuthbert's church. At the same period he followed the directions of his party by excommunicating the bishop of Orkney, who had performed the marriage ceremony to Mary and Bothwell. Policy at this time dictated that the judicial dignities which had been conferred on the Roman catholic churchmen should be extended to the new church, of which the members, while their general principles were rather averse to the system, possessed some share of personal ambition, and in 1571, the regent proposed that Pont should be appointed a senator of the College of Justice. The zealous churchman declined acceptance without the sanction of the assembly, and on the 12th January, 1572, that body gave license "to the said Mr Robert to accept and use the said place of a senator in the said College of Justice, what tyme he shall be required thereto, providing allwayes, that he leave not the office of the ministrie, but that he exercise the same as he sould be appoynted be the kirke, and this their license to the said Mr Robert to be no preparative to no uther minister to procure sic promotione, unless the kirke's advyse be had of before, and license obtained thereunto." The natural consequence of such an appointment seems to have taken place, and in the following year, he was charged with neglect of duty in non-residence, and not sufficiently visiting the churches in Moray, an accusation to which he very naturally pleaded want of leisure from the pressure of his new duties. In 1574, Mr Pont was appointed colleague to William Harlaw, minister of St Cuthbert's church, Edinburgh. He was now employed in all the more important business of the church: he was appointed, in 1574, to revise all books that were printed and published; about the same period he drew up the calendar, and rules for understanding it, for Arbuthnot and Bassandyne's edition of the Bible; and he was engaged in the preparation of the Second Book of Discipline. In 1582, he was invited to become minister of St Andrews, and seems to have accepted the appointment, but he was soon obliged to abandon it; for at the General Assembly, held in April, 1583, he declared that, "with losse of his heritage and warldlie commoditie, he had proponit to sit down in St Andrews, and had served at his awin charges ane haill gair,

¹ Mr Crichton (Life of Mr J. Blackader, p. 15, note) says, that his father, John du Pont, or da Ponte, was a noble Venetian; that he was banished his country for professing the reformed religion, and came over to Scotland in the train of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. This statement seems irreconcilable with his son having been born at Culross at the time above mentioned. (Buchanan de Illust. Scot. Scriptor. MS. Adv. Lib.) It must also be remarked, that the name was common in Scotland long before this time.

and could not haif any equal condition of living, na not the least provision." He accordingly returned to his charge at the West church. In 1584, when James struck a blow at the church, by rendering it criminal to decline the jurisdiction of the privy council, and to hold assemblies without the royal permission, Pont added his name to the list of the gallant defenders of the church, by solemnly protesting against the acts as they were published at the cross of Edinburgh, on the ground that they had been passed without the knowledge or consent of the church. Two days before, (23rd May, 1584,) he had been deprived of his seat in the College of Justice, by an act prohibiting ecclesiastics to hold civil appointments, and he now, with many of the clergy, who were alarmed at so bold an inroad, fled to England. He returned to Scotland with the earl of Angus and his party, a few months afterwards, and resumed his ministerial duties. In 1587, he was nominated to the bishopric of Caithness; but the assembly refused to ratify the appointment. In 1591, the assembly appointed him to write against sacrilege; his Three Sermons on that subject were approved of, and ordered to be printed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, November 12, 1594 (See Records), but from some unknown cause, were not published till 1599. In 1594, he published "A New Treatise on the right reckoning of Yeares and Ages of the World," for the purpose of showing that the year 1600 was not, as his countrymen supposed, the proper year of the jubilee. In 1601, he was appointed by the General Assembly to revise the Psalms. In 1596 and 1602, he was chosen commissioner of Orkney, and his name was first in the list of those who were intended for the qualified prelacies. In 1604, he published a tract on the union of the kingdoms, "*De Unione Britanniaë, seu de Regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ omniumque adjacentium insularum in unam Monarchiam consolidatione, deque multiplici ejus Unionis utilitate Dialogus.*" Mr Fraser Tytler, who appears to have perused it, says,² "This political treatise, which is written in Latin, in the form of a dialogue between three fictitious speakers, Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hospes, is chiefly valuable from its furnishing us with some curious pictures of the political state of the country, and the rude manners of the times. * * * The picture he presents of the intolerable tyranny of the nobles in their strong and remote fortresses, of the impotency of the arm of the law, and the personal terrors of the judges, who trembled before these petty princes, very completely proves that there was no poetical exaggeration in the verses of Sir Richard Maitland." Pont died on the 8th May, 1606, and was interred, it is said, in the church of St Cuthbert's, where a monument was erected to his memory, with an epitaph, partly in English, partly in very questionable Latin. He had prepared a more ample edition of his work on the Jubilee Year, which was published in quarto, in 1619.³ Besides these works Pont wrote *Chronologia de Sabbatis*, published at London in 1626. His *Aureum Seculum*, his Translation of Pindar's Olympic Odes, his Dissertation on the Greek Lyric Metres, his Lexicon of Three Languages, and Collection of Homilies, all of which David Buchanan says he saw in MS. are now nowhere to be found.

PONT, TIMOTHY, the celebrated geographer who prepared the "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," in "*Bleau's Atlas*," was the eldest son of the preceding, apparently by his first wife, Catharine Masterton, daughter of Masterton of Grange.

² Life of Sir Thomas Craig, 213.

³ *Sibbaldi Bibliotheca Scotica* (MS. Adv. Lib.) 224, 225. In the second part of this work, there is put down to the name of Robertus Pontanus, "*Parvus Catechismus quo examinari possunt qui ad sacram cœnam admittuntur.*" Andream. 1573. For a more full account of Pont, see History of the Church and Parish of St Cuthberts, Edinburgh, 1829, pp. 20—41, and Wodrow's Biog. Coll. vol. i.

Scarcely anything of his personal history appears to be known. He seems to have become a minister of the Scottish church, and is mentioned in the Book of Assignations, 1601-8, as "minister of Dwnet."¹ Sir Robert Sibbald (*De Histor. Scot. MS. Ad. Lib. p. 2.*) mentions a pedestrian expedition undertaken by him, in 1608, to explore the more barbarous parts of the country. "He was," says bishop Nicholson, "by nature and education a complete mathematician, and the first projector of a Scotch Atlas. To that great purpose, he personally surveyed all the several counties and isles of the kingdom; took draughts of 'em upon the spot, and added such cursory observations on the monuments of antiquity, and other curiosities as were proper for the furnishing out of future descriptions. He was unhappily surpris'd by death, to the inestimable loss of his countrey, when he had well nigh finish'd his papers, most of which were fortunately retrieved by Sir John Scott, and disposed of in such a manner as has been already reported. There are some other remains of this learned and good man, on the 'History of Agricola's Vallum, or Graham's Dike,' as are well worth the preserving."² The originals of the maps so drawn up are preserved in good order in the Advocates' library. They are minutely and elegantly penned, and have the air of such laborious correctness, as the science of the period enabled the geographer to attain. Pont appears to have penetrated to those wild and remote portions of the island, the surfaces of which have scarcely yet been accurately delineated. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions (*De Histor. Scot. ut supra*), that after Pont's death, his maps were so carelessly kept by his heirs, that they were in great danger of destruction from moths and vermin. King James ordered that they should be purchased and given to the world; but amidst the cares of government they were again consigned for a season to oblivion. At length Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, to whose enlightened patronage we owe much of what is preserved of the literature of his times, prevailed with Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch to revise and correct them for the press. The task was continued by Sir Robert's son, Mr James Gordon, parson of Rothemay, and with his amendments they appeared in Blean's celebrated Atlas.

PRINGLE, (SIR) JOHN, a distinguished physician and cultivator of science, was born at Stichel house, in Roxburghshire, April 10, 1707. He was the youngest son of Sir John Pringle of Stichel, Bart., by Magdalen Elliot, sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs. His education was commenced at home under a private tutor, and advanced at the university of St Andrews, where he had the advantage of living with his relation, Mr Francis Pringle, professor of Greek. Having determined on physic as a profession, he spent the winter of 1727-8 at the medical classes in Edinburgh, and afterwards proceeded to Leyden, where, in 1730, he received his diploma, which was signed by the distinguished names of Boerhaave, Albinus, and Gravesande, under whom he had studied. He then settled as a physician in Edinburgh, and in a few years had so much distinguished himself as to be, in 1734, appointed assistant and successor to the professor of pneumatics and moral philosophy in the university. He continued in this situation till 1742, when, chiefly by the influence of Dr Stevenson, (an eminent whig physician, and the patron of Dr Blacklock,) he was appointed physician to the earl of Stair, then in command of the British army in Flanders. By the interest of this nobleman, he was, in the same year, constituted physician to the military hospital in Flanders. An extensive field of observation was thus opened to Dr Pringle; and that he cultivated it with advantage, is sufficiently shown by his "Treatise on the Diseases of the Army," subsequently published. At the battle of Dettingen, he was in a coach with the minister,

¹ M'Crie's Melville, 2nd edition, ii. 428.

² Scottish Historical Library, 24

lord Carteret, and, at one particular crisis of the action, was involved in considerable danger. On the resignation of the earl of Stair, he also proposed resigning, but was prevented by his lordship, whom he accompanied, however, forty miles on his way to England, as a mark of his respect. Having gained equal favour with the duke of Cumberland, Dr Pringle was, in March, 1745, appointed physician-general to the forces in the Low Countries, and physician to the royal hospitals in the same countries. He now resigned his Edinburgh professorship, the duties of which had been performed by deputy in his absence. In the latter part of the year 1745, he returned to Britain, in attendance upon the forces which were brought over to suppress the rebellion. In passing through London in October, he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society. Early in the ensuing year, he accompanied the duke of Cumberland to Scotland, and remained with the army, after the battle of Culloden, till its return to England, in the middle of August. In 1747 and 1748, he again attended the army abroad.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the latter year, he settled as a physician in London, under the patronage of the duke of Cumberland, who, in April, 1749, appointed him his physician in ordinary. In 1750, Dr Pringle published his first work, a pamphlet on the Jail and Hospital Fever, hastily prepared, to meet the exigency of the breaking out of that distemper in London. It was afterwards revised, and included in the work on the diseases of the army.

About this time, Dr Pringle commenced his scientific career, by reading a series of papers to the Royal Society, on septic and antiseptic substances, and their use in the theory of medicine; which procured for their author the honour of Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal, and not only gave him reputation as an experimental philosopher, but helped to stimulate the spirit of physical inquiry, then rising into force in Britain. A great variety of other papers by Dr Pringle are found in the Transactions of the Society, during the four ensuing years. In 1752, he married Charlotte, the second daughter of Dr Oliver, an eminent physician in Bath; who died a few years after, leaving him no children. In the same year, he published his great work on the diseases of the army, which instantly placed the author in the first rank of medical writers. In 1761, he was appointed physician to the household of the young queen Charlotte; an honour which was followed, in rapid succession, by the appointments of physician extraordinary, and physician in ordinary, to her majesty. He now became an intimate and confidential person in the family of the king, who, in 1766, raised him to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain. In 1768, he was appointed physician in ordinary to the king's mother, the princess of Wales, with a salary of one hundred pounds a-year.

After having for many years acted as a member of the council in the Royal Society, he was, in November, 1772, elected president of that distinguished body; by far the highest mark of honour he ever received. It has always, on the other hand, been acknowledged, that the zeal and assiduity displayed by Sir John in this situation, communicated an impulse to the exertions of the society, of which the most sensible proofs are to be found in its Transactions, published during the years of his presidency. The last medical honour conferred on Sir John Pringle was his appointment, in 1774, as physician extraordinary to the king.

It would be wearisome to repeat the list of honours showered upon him by foreign learned bodies; we shall only allude to his succeeding Linnæus, in 1778, as one of the eight foreign members of the French Academy.

Long ere this period, Sir John had acquired a considerable fortune by his

practice and from other sources, and lived in a style of dignified hospitality, suitable to his high character. He was in the habit of holding conversations on the Sunday evenings, which were attended by men of literature and science from all countries. After passing his seventieth year, feeling his health declining, he resigned the presidency of the Royal Society, in which he was succeeded (1778) by Mr (afterwards Sir) Joseph Banks, and formed the resolution of retiring to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. Having passed the summer of 1780 very pleasantly in Scotland, he purchased a house in Edinburgh, sold off that in which he had long resided in London, and in the spring of 1781 made a decided remove to the Scottish capital. It seems to have been the hope of the declining veteran, that he might more agreeably sink to rest amidst the friends and the scenes of his youth, than amongst strangers; and he also contemplated much pleasure in the regular evening conversations, for which he intended to throw open his house. It is painful to relate, that he was disappointed in his views. The friends of his youth had almost all passed away; the scenes were changed to such a degree, that they failed to suggest the associations he expected. The society of Edinburgh he found to be of too limited a nature, to keep up a system of weekly conversations with the necessary degree of novelty and spirit. He also suffered considerably from the keen winds, to which Edinburgh is so remarkably exposed. These evils were exaggerated by his increasing infirmities, and perhaps by that restlessness of mind, which, in the midst of bodily complaints, is still hoping to derive some benefit from a change of place. He determined, therefore, to return to London, where he arrived in the beginning of September.

Sir John Pringle did not long survive this change of residence. On the evening of the 14th of January, 1782, while attending a stated meeting of scientific friends in the house of a Mr Watson, a grocer in the Strand, he was seized with a fit, from which he never recovered. He expired on the 18th, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and was interred in St James's church. Sir John left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew, Sir James Pringle of Stitchel, who also inherited from him the British baronetcy, in addition to that of Nova Scotia, which the family had previously possessed. As a physician and a philosophical inquirer, his character was of the first order; nor were his private virtues less eminent. He never grudged his professional assistance to those who could not afford to remunerate him; and he was a sincere, though liberal and rational, professor of the truths of religion. His conduct, in every relation of life, was upright and honourable. He informed Mr Boswell—and few gentlemen of that period could make such a boast—that he had never in his life been intoxicated with liquor. There is a monument to Sir John, by Nollekins, in Westminster Abbey.

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RAEBURN, (SIR) HENRY, a celebrated portrait-painter, was the younger son of Mr William Raeburn, a respectable manufacturer at Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, where he was born, 4th March, 1756. While very young he had the misfortune to lose both his parents; but this want was supplied to him, as much as it could be by his elder brother William, who succeeded to the business, and acted always to him the part of a father. It has been represented by some of Sir Henry's biographers (perhaps with a view of making the after

acquirements of the subject of the biography more remarkable), that he received his education at Heriot's Hospital, a well known and benevolent institution in Edinburgh; but this is not the fact, his brother William having with heartfelt satisfaction given him the scanty, but usual education of that period. In the usual routine of education he was not remarked to display any superiority to his class fellows, but when they were drawing figures on their slates or copy books, those of Raeburn surpassed all the rest; but this did not lead any further. In other respects he was distinguished by the affection of his companions, and formed at that early period intimacies with some of those distinguished friends whose regard accompanied him through life. The circumstances of young Raeburn rendering it necessary that he should, as early as possible, be enabled to provide for his own support, he was at the age of fifteen apprenticed to a goldsmith, who kept his shop in a dark alley, leading between the Parliament Square and the front of the Old Tolbooth. Here, without receiving any lessons, he began to amuse himself by sketching figures, and ultimately by painting miniatures.¹ His master, at first incensed by his apparent inattention to business, was afterwards astonished by the merit of his performances, and, with a liberality hardly to have been expected, conducted him to a place where he might gather the means of improvement in his self-assumed art, namely, the studio of Mr David Martin, the principal portrait-painter in Edinburgh. He was delighted with the works there presented to his eye; and Martin, on the other hand, spoke encouragingly to the young artist. His miniatures soon became so famous, that commissions came rapidly in, and he generally painted two in the week. As this employment, of course, withdrew his time almost entirely from trade, he made an arrangement with his master, by which the latter was compensated for the loss he incurred on that account. While still an apprentice, he began to paint in oil, and on a large scale. To aid him in this task, he obtained from Martin the loan of several pictures to copy; but that painter did not contribute advice or assistance in any other shape; and having once unjustly accused the young student of selling one of the copies, Raeburn indignantly refused any farther accommodation of this nature. Having begun, however, to paint large oil pictures, he soon adopted them in preference to miniatures, a style which he gradually gave up; nor did his manner in later life retain any trace of that mode of painting: all was broad, massy, and vigorous.

He had thus become a painter almost by intuition; for there is no ascertaining that he ever received any direct instructions in the mysteries, or even in the manual operations, of his art. It was in his twenty-second year, and when

¹ "It was in this situation," says the late Dr A. Duncan, senior, "that my first acquaintance with him commenced, and that, too, on a melancholy occasion. Mr Charles Darwin, son of the justly celebrated Dr Erasmus Darwin, author of that much esteemed poem, 'The Botanic Garden,' and of other works demonstrating great genius, died during the course of his medical studies at Edinburgh. At that time I had the honour, though a very young medical lecturer, of ranking Darwin among the number of my pupils. And I need hardly add, that he was a favourite pupil: for, during his studies, he exhibited such uncommon proofs of genius and industry, as could not fail to gain the esteem and affection of every discerning teacher.

"On the death of young Darwin, I was anxious to retain some slight token in remembrance of my highly esteemed young friend; and, for that purpose, I obtained a small portion of his hair. I applied to Mr Gilliland, at that time an eminent jeweller in Edinburgh, to have it preserved in a mourning ring. He told me, that one of his present apprentices was a young man of great genius, and could prepare for me in hair, a memorial that would demonstrate both taste and art. Young Raeburn was immediately called, and proposed to execute, on a small trinket, which might be hung at a watch, a muse weeping over an urn, marked with the initials of Charles Darwin. This trinket was finished by Raeburn in a manner which, to me, afforded manifest proof of very superior genius, and I still preserve it, as a memorial of the singular and early merit, both of Darwin and of Raeburn."

practising regularly as a rival of his old friend Martin, that he became acquainted, under extraordinary circumstances, with the lady who became his wife. "One day," says his most animated biographer,² "a young lady presented herself at his studio, and desired to sit for her portrait. He instantly remembered having seen her in some of his excursions, when, with his sketch-book in his hand, he was noting down some fine snatches of scenery; and, as the appearance of any thing living and lovely gives an additional charm to a landscape, the painter, like Gainsborough, in similar circumstances, had readily admitted her into his drawing. This circumstance, he said, had had its influence. On further acquaintance, he found that, besides personal charms, she had sensibility and wit. His respect for her did not affect his skill of hand, but rather inspired it, and he succeeded in making a fine portrait. The lady, Ann Edgar, the daughter of Peter Edgar, esquire, of Bridgelands, was much pleased with the skill, and likewise with the manners of the artist; and about a month or so after the adventure of the studio, she gave him her hand in marriage; bestowing at once an affectionate wife, and a handsome fortune."

Having now the means of improving in his art, he set out for London, and was introduced to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who treated him with distinguished liberality and kindness, even to the extent of offering him money to prosecute his studies in Rome, which he was not aware that Raeburn did not need. Furnished with introductions by this eminent person, he set out for the capital of the arts, accompanied by his wife. At Rome, he was considerably indebted for advice to Mr Gavin Hamilton, and likewise to Mr Byers, who gave him the excellent counsel never to copy any object from memory, but, from the principal figure to the minutest accessory, to have it placed before him. To the observance of this rule, Raeburn imputed in a great measure, the improvement which was observed in his subsequent pictures.

His powers now fully matured, he returned in 1787 to his native city, and set up his easel in a fashionable house in George Street. The works of Martin—though certainly better than the biographers of Raeburn delight to represent them—were so much eclipsed by the junior artist, that the whole tide of employment left the one painter for the other. In vain did the veteran profess that this fever of approbation could not last, and that "*the lad in George Street*" painted better before he went to Rome. The nation persisted in being of another opinion, and Martin was at last obliged to retire from the field in despair. Raeburn at once assumed that pre-eminent rank in his profession, which, notwithstanding the multitude of rivals who afterwards rose around him, he bore to the day of his death.

The subsequent history of this artist, is chiefly that of his pictures. For thirty-six years he was constantly employed in his professional duties, and painted the most of the eminent persons who lived in Scotland during that time. Unfortunately no record has been preserved of his various works; but they are to be found in almost every distinguished mansion in the country.³

² Mr Allan Cunningham, in his *Lives of British Painters*.

³ The following pictures by Sir Henry Raeburn, besides others, have been engraved:—*[Full length.]* First viscount Melville, in peer's robes. General Sir David Baird, with horse. Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Macdonnell of Glengarry. Lord chief commissioner Adam. Henry Mackenzie. General the earl of Hopetoun, with horse.—*[Three quarters length.]* Captain G. Duff, of the Mars, who fell at Trafalgar. Neil Gow, with his fiddle. Dr Alexander Adam. James Pillans, professor of humanity, Edinburgh. John Clerk, of Eldin. Charles Hope, president of the court of session. Robert Macqueen of Braxfield, in judiciary robes. Hon. Henry Erskine. Dugald Stewart, professor of moral philosophy. James Gregory, M. D. Robert Blair, president of the court of session. George the Fourth. Robert Dundas, president of the court of session. John Elder, provost of Edinburgh, in his robes. William Creech, bookseller. Professor Thomas Hope. Dr Hugh Blair. James

Having stored his mind with ideas drawn from the purest school of modern art, he was indebted for his subsequent improvement solely to his own reflections, and the study of nature. He was never in the habit of repairing to London; and, indeed, he did not visit that metropolis above three times, nor did he reside in it altogether more than four months. He was thus neither in the habit of seeing the works of his contemporaries, nor the English collections of old pictures. Whatever disadvantage might attend this, it never stopped the career of his improvement. Probably, indeed, it had the effect of preserving that originality which formed always the decided character of his productions, and kept him free from being trammelled by the style of any class of artists. Perhaps, also, the elevation and dignity of style which he always maintained might be greatly owing to his exclusive acquaintance with the works of the Italian masters. In English collections, the Dutch specimens are necessarily so prominent, both as to number and choice, that a familiar acquaintance with them must be apt to beget a taste for that homely truth, and minute finishing, in which their merit consists.

The first excellence of a portrait, and for the absence of which nothing can atone, must evidently be its resemblance. In this respect, Sir Henry's eminence was universally acknowledged. In the hands of the best artists, there must, in this part of their task, be something precarious; but, in a vast majority of instances, his resemblances were most striking. They were also happily distinguished, by being always the most favourable that could be taken of the individual, and were usually expressive, as well of the character as of the features. This desirable object was effected, not by the introduction of any ideal touches, or any departure from the strictest truth, but by selecting and drawing out those aspects under which the features appeared most dignified and pleasing. He made it his peculiar study to bring out the mind of his subjects. His penetration quickly empowered him to discover their favourite pursuits and topics of conversation. Sir Henry's varied knowledge and agreeable manners then easily enabled him, in the course of the sitting, to lead them into an animated discussion on those ascertained subjects. As they spoke, he caught their features, enlivened by the strongest expression of which they were susceptible. While he thus made the portrait much more correct and animated, his sitters had a much more agreeable task than those who were pinned up for hours in a constrained and inanimate posture, and in a state of mental vacuity. So agreeable, indeed, did many of the most distinguished and intelligent among them find his society, that they courted it ever after, and studiously converted the artist into a friend and acquaintance.

Besides his excellence in this essential quality of portrait, Sir Henry possessed also, in an eminent degree, those secondary merits, which are requisite to constitute a fine painting. His drawing was correct, his colouring rich and deep, and his lights well disposed. There was something bold, free, and open

Balfour Esq., golfer.—[*Half length.*] Rev. Dr Andrew Hunter, professor of divinity. George Jardine, professor of logic, Glasgow. Justice clerk Macqueen. Lord chief baron Dundas. Hay, lord Newton. Rev. Dr David Johnston, minister of North Leith. Rev. Dr John Erskine. Dr James Hamilton. John Gray, Esq., golfer. Professor Playfair. Sir Walter Scott, when young; Ditto, when older. Sir John Sinclair of Ullster, Bart. Tytler of Woodhouselee. Harry David Inglis advocate. Sir Henry Raeburn. Dr George Hill, principal of St Andrews. Rev. Archibald Alison. Mr Francis Jeffrey. Henry Cockburn. Lord Meadowbank.—The following are portraits which, with many others, have not been engraved: Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton. Mr Benjamin Bell, surgeon. Mr Leonard Horner. Mr Henry Raeburn, the painter's son. The duke of Hamilton. Lord Frederick Campbell. The laird of Maenab, in highland costume. Earl of Breadalbane. Sir John Douglas. Marquis of Huntly. Sir John Hay. Archibald Constable. Rev. F. Thomson. Sir John and Lady Clerk. Mr Rennie, engineer. Dr Lindsay, Pinkieburn. Dr Alexander Duncan.

in the whole style of his execution. The accessories, whether of drapery, furniture, or landscapes, were treated with elegance and spirit; yet without that elaborate and brilliant finishing, which makes them become principals. These parts were always kept in due subordination to the human figure; while of it, the head came always out as the prominent part. Animals, particularly that noble species the horse, were introduced with peculiar felicity; and Sir Henry's equestrian portraits are perhaps his very best performances. The able manner in which the animal itself was drawn, and in which it was combined with the human figure, were equally conspicuous.

In private life, Raeburn was remarkable for his courteous and amiable manners, and his great domestic worth. While his painting-rooms were in George Street, and latterly in York Place, he resided in a sequestered villa called St Bernard's, near the village where he drew his first breath, then distant from, but now engrossed in, the extending city,—where he amused his leisure hours by the society of his children and grand-children, the cultivation of his garden, and the study of ship-building, and some other mechanical pursuits, for which he had a liking. The hours between nine and four he almost invariably spent in his studio. He latterly found another kind of employment for his leisure, in planning out the environs of his little villa, which consisted of about ten acres, in lots for building, and in designing the architectural elevations of a little group of streets with which the ground was to be occupied. It may readily be supposed that in this task he manifested a superiority of taste, corresponding in some measure with his supremacy in another branch of art. The suburb which has arisen upon his property, and which was only commenced in his own lifetime, is accordingly conspicuous for the elegance displayed both in its general arrangement and in its details; and has become a favourite residence with such individuals as do not find it necessary for professional reasons to live nearer the centre of the city.

In 1814, Raeburn was made an associate of the Royal Academy, and in the subsequent year he became an Academician. He afterwards obtained, from foreign countries, many honours of the same kind. In 1822, when George IV. visited Scotland, the long-established fame of Raeburn, together with his fortune and gentlemanly manners, pointed him out as an individual in whom the king might signify his respect for Scottish art, and he was accordingly knighted at Hopetoun House, on the last day of his majesty's residence in the country. Some weeks afterwards, his brethren in art, now increased to a large and respectable body, gave him a dinner, as a token of their admiration of his talents and character. In his speech on this occasion, he said modestly that he was glad of their approbation, and had tried to merit it; for he had never indulged in a mean or selfish spirit towards any brother artists, nor had at any time withheld the praise which was due to them, when their works happened to be mentioned.

Sir Henry received afterwards the appointment of portrait-painter to his majesty for Scotland; a nomination, however, which was not announced to him till the very day when he was seized with his last illness. The king, when conferring the dignity of knighthood, had expressed a wish to have a portrait of himself painted by this great artist; but Sir Henry's numerous engagements prevented him from visiting the metropolis for that purpose. It reflects great honour on the subject of this memoir, that he never gave way to those secure and indolent habits, which advanced age and established reputation are so apt to engender. He continued, with all the enthusiasm of a student, to seek and to attain farther improvement. The pictures of his two or three last years are unquestionably the best that he ever painted. But perhaps the most interesting

part of his recent works consists in a series of half-length portraits of eminent Scotsmen, which, during this period, he executed for his private gratification.

This amiable and excellent man was suddenly affected with a general decay and debility, not accompanied by any visible complaint. This state of illness, after continuing for about a week to baffle all the efforts of medical skill, terminated fatally on the 8th July, 1823, when he had reached the age of 67.

Few men were better calculated to command respect in society, than Sir Henry Raeburn. His varied knowledge, his gentlemanly and agreeable manners, an extensive command of anecdote, always well told and happily introduced, the general correctness and propriety of his whole deportment, made him be highly valued by many of the most distinguished individuals in Edinburgh, both as a companion and as a friend. His conversation might be said in some degree to resemble his style of painting,—there was the same ease and simplicity, the same total absence of affectation of every kind, and the same manly turn of sense and genius. But we are not aware, that the humorous gaiety and sense of the ludicrous, which often enlivened his conversation, ever guided his pencil.

Sir Henry Raeburn, like Raphael, Michael Angelo, and some other masters of the art, possessed the advantages of a tall and commanding person, and a noble and expressive countenance. He excelled in archery, golf, and other Scottish exercises; and it may be added, that, while engaged in painting, his step and attitudes were at once stately and graceful.

By his lady, who survived him ten years, Sir Henry had two sons; Peter, a youth of great promise, who died at nineteen; and Henry, who, with his wife and family, lived under the same roof with his father during the whole of their joint lives, and was his most familiar friend and companion. To the children of this gentleman, the illustrious painter left the bulk of his fortune, chiefly consisting of houses and ground-rents in the suburb of St Bernard's.

RAMSAY, ALLAN, the celebrated poet, was born at the village of Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, October 15, 1686. His parentage was highly respectable, and his ancestry even dignified. His father, Robert Ramsay, was manager of the lead mines in Crawfordmuir, belonging to the earl of Hopetoun; and his mother, Alice Bower, was the daughter of a gentleman who had been brought from Derbyshire, to introduce and oversee some improvements in the management of the mines. His grandfather, Robert Ramsay, writer or notary in Edinburgh, was the son of captain John Ramsay, a son of Ramsay of Cockpen, whose family was a branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie, afterwards ennobled.¹ A grandmother of the poet, moreover, was Janet Douglas, daughter of Douglas of Muthil. Though thus well descended, he was reared in the midst of poverty. He had the misfortune to lose his father while he was yet an infant; and his mother seems almost immediately to have married a Mr Crichton, a small landholder in the neighbourhood. Whether this last circumstance was an additional misfortune, as has been generally assumed by his biographers, we think may reasonably be questioned. It is not at all probable that his father, dying at the age of twenty-five, could have much property; and the use and wont of even a small landholder's house, is not likely to have been beneath that of a poor widow's. His mother had a number of children to Mr Crichton; but the subject of this memoir seems to have been cared for in the same way as those were, and to have enjoyed all the advantages appropriate to the same station

¹ The laird of Cockpen here mentioned, is usually represented as a brother of Ramsay of Dalhousie; but the branch seems to have left the main stock at a much earlier period than that would imply. The first Ramsay of Cockpen was a son of Sir Alexander Ramsay, who was knighted at the coronation of James I., in 1424.

in life. He had the benefit of the parish school till he was in his fifteenth year; an extent of education not yet common in Scotland, except when attendance on the university is included. Of the progress he had made in his studies, we have unfortunately no particular account; it certainly made him acquainted with Horace, as is abundantly evident in his poems.

In the year 1700, Ramsay lost his mother; and in the following year his step-father carried him into Edinburgh, and apprenticed him to a perwig-maker, which appears to have been at that time a flourishing profession. Ramsay himself, it is said, wished to have been a painter; and his step-father has been reflected on as acting with niggardly sharp-sightedness, in refusing to comply with his wishes. There is not, however, in the numerous writings of Ramsay, one single hint that any violence was, on this occasion, done to his feelings; and we think the reflection might well have been spared. Those who have borne the burden of rearing a family upon limited means, know the impossibility of indulging either their own wishes, or those of their children in this respect, being often obliged to rest satisfied, not with what they would have wished, but with what they have been able to attain. There can be no doubt that Allan Ramsay served out his apprenticeship honourably, and afterwards for a number of years practised his trade as a master successfully; circumstances that, in our opinion, justify the discretion and good sense of his step-father, more powerfully than any reasoning could do. It is to be regretted that of this period of his life, no accounts have been handed down to us; and the more so, that we have no doubt they would show his general good sense, and the steady character of his genius, more powerfully than even the latter and more flourishing periods of his history. Unlike the greater number of men of poetical talent, Ramsay had the most perfect command over himself; and the blind gropings of the cyclops of ambition within, led him to no premature attempts to attain distinction. Though he must have entertained day-dreams of immortality, he enjoyed them with moderation; and, without indulging either despondency or dejection, he waited with patience for their realization. Prosecuting his business with diligence, he possessed independence; and, while, in the company of respectable fellow citizens, he indulged and improved his social qualities, he, by taking to wife an excellent woman, Christian Ross, the daughter of a writer in Edinburgh, laid the foundation of a lifetime of domestic felicity.

It was in the year 1712, and in the twenty-sixth year of his age, that he entered into the state of matrimony; and the earliest of his productions that can now be traced, is an epistle to the most happy members of the Easy Club, dated the same year. This club originated, as he himself, who was one of its members, informs us, "in the antipathy we all seemed to have at the ill humour and contradiction which arise from trifles, especially those that constitute Whig and Tory, *without having the grand reason for it.*" This club was in fact formed of Jacobites, and the restoration of the Pretender was the "grand reason" here alluded to. In the club every member assumed a fictitious name, generally that of some celebrated writer. Ramsay, probably from the *Tatler*, which must have been a book much to his taste, pitched upon that of Isaac Bickerstaff, but afterwards exchanged it for that of Gawin Douglas. In the presence of this club, Ramsay was in the habit of reading his first productions, which, it would appear, were published by or under the patronage of the fraternity, probably in notices of its sittings, which would tend to give it celebrity and add to its influence. The elegy on Maggy Johnston seems to have been one of the earliest of his productions, and is highly characteristic of his genius. An Elegy on the death of Dr Pitcairne in 1715, was likewise read before, and published by, the club; but being at once political and personal, it

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