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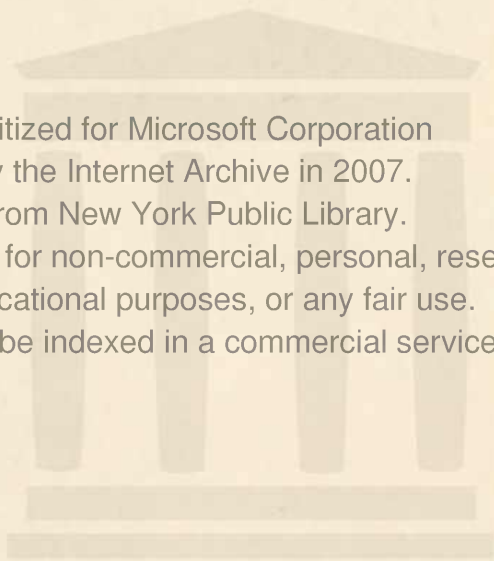
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Biographical Dictionary

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH

NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME II.



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J. BRADSHAW

ST ANDREWS

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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.

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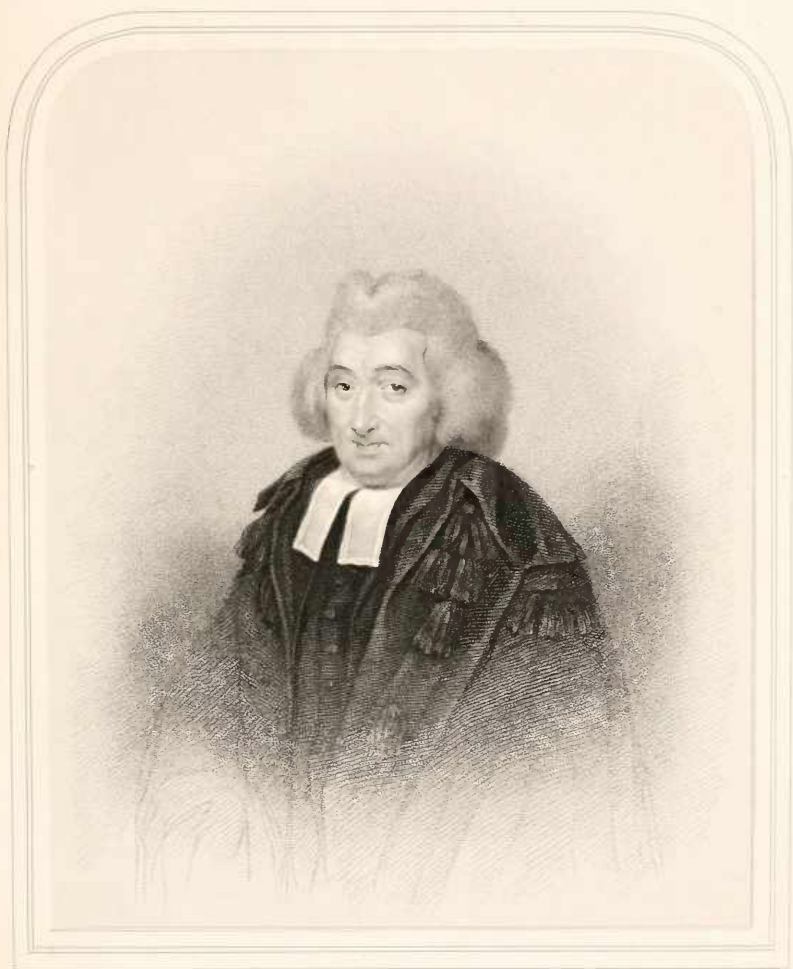


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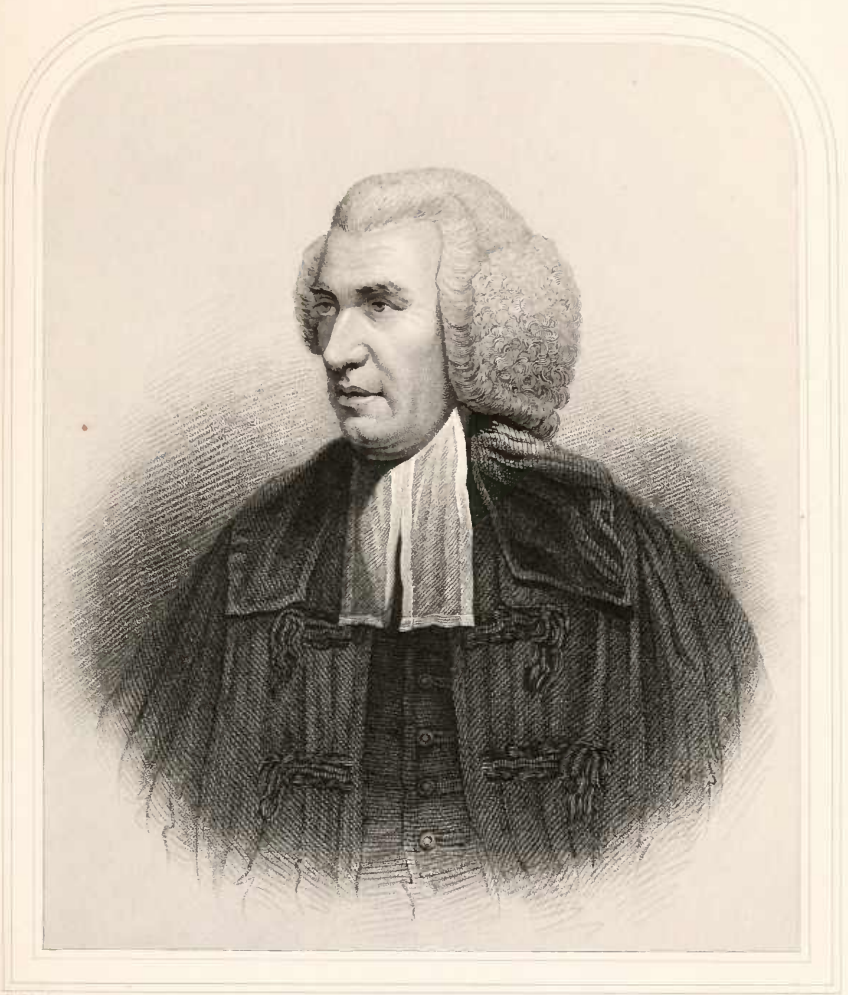


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LIEUTENANT GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K.B.

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so much distinction. But, on returning in 1701, from his continental travels, he accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Scottish regiment of foot guards. In the succeeding year, he served as aid-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough at the taking of Venlo and Liege, and the attack on Peer. In the course of 1706, he successively obtained the command of the Cameronian regiment and the Scots Greys. His father dying suddenly, January 8, 1707, he succeeded to the family titles, and was next month chosen one of the Scottish representative peers in the first British parliament. In the subsequent victories of Marlborough—Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Ramilies—the earl of Stair held high command, and gained great distinction. But the accession of the tory ministry, in 1711, while it stopped the glorious career of Marlborough, also put a check upon his services. He found it necessary to sell his command of the Scots Greys, and retire from the army.

As one who had thus suffered in the behalf of the protestant succession, the earl was entitled to some consideration, when that was secured by the accession of George I. He was, on that occasion, appointed to be a lord of the bed-chamber, and a privy councillor, and constituted commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, in the absence of the duke of Argyle. Next year he was sent as ambassador to France, with the difficult task of conciliating the government of the duke of Orleans to the new dynasty of Britain. It is allowed on all hands that his lordship conducted this business with unexampled address and dignity, his diplomatic skill being only equalled by the external splendours of his cortege. Unfortunately, his usefulness was destroyed in 1719, by the Mississippi enthusiasm. His lordship could not stoop to flatter his countryman, Mr Law, then comptroller-general of the French finances, but whom he probably recollected as a somewhat disreputable adventurer on the streets of Edinburgh. The British government, finding that the hostility of this powerful person injured their interests, found it necessary—if a mean action can ever be necessary—to recal the earl of Stair, notwithstanding their high sense of his meritorious services. He returned to his native country in 1720, and for the next twenty-two years lived in retirement, at his beautiful seat of Newliston, near Edinburgh, where he is said to have planted several groups of trees in a manner designed to represent the arrangement of the British troops at one of Marlborough's victories. He also turned his mind to agriculture, a science then just beginning to be a little understood in Scotland, and it is a well attested fact, that he was the first in this country to plant turnips and cabbages in the open fields. On the dissolution of the Walpole administration in 1742, his lordship was called by the king from his retirement, appointed field-marshal, and sent as ambassador and plenipotentiary to Holland. He was almost at the same time nominated to the government of Minorca. In the same year, he was sent to take the supreme command of the army in Flanders, which he held till the king himself arrived to put himself at the head of the troops. His lordship served under the king at the battle of Dettingen, June 16, 1743; but, to use the indignant language of lord Westmoreland, in alluding to the case in parliament, he was reduced to the condition of a statue with a truncheon in its hand, in consequence of the preference shown by his majesty for the Hanoverian officers. Finding himself at once in a highly responsible situation, and yet disabled to act as a free agent, he resigned his command. France, taking advantage of the distraction of the British councils respecting the partiality of his majesty for Hanoverian councils, next year threatened an invasion: and the earl of Stair came spontaneously forward, and, on mere grounds of patriotism, offered to serve in any station. He was now appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. In the succeeding year, his brother-in-law, Sir James Campbell, being killed at the battle of

Fontenoy, the earl was appointed his successor in the colonelcy of the Scots Greys, a command he had been deprived of thirty-one years before by queen Anne. His last appointment was to the command of the marine forces, in May 1746. His lordship died at Queensberry-house, Edinburgh, on the 9th of May, 1747, and was buried with public honours in the church at Kirkliston. It is matter of just surprise, that no monument has ever been erected to this most accomplished and patriotic nobleman—neither by the public, which was so much indebted to him, nor by his own family, which derives such lustre from his common name. His lordship left a widow without children; namely, lady Eleanor Campbell, grand-daughter of the lord chancellor Loudoun, and who had previously been married to the viscount Priurose.

DALYELL, THOMAS, an eminent cavalier officer, was the son of Thomas Dalzell, of Binns, in west Lothian, whom he succeeded in that property. The lairds of Binns are understood to have been descended from the family afterwards ennobled under the title of earl of Carnwath. The mother of the subject of this memoir, was the honourable Janet Bruce, daughter of the first lord Bruce of Kinloss, a distinguished minister of James VI., and who, with the earl of Marr, was chiefly instrumental in securing the succession of that monarch to the English crown. Thomas Dalzell, who is said to have been born about the year 1599, entered the service of Charles I., and had at one time the command of the town and garrison of Carrickfergus, where he was taken prisoner by the rebels. He was so much attached to his master, that, to testify his grief for his death, he never afterwards shaved his beard. In the army which Charles II. led from Scotland, in 1651, he had the rank of major-general, in which capacity he fought at the battle of Worcester. Being there taken prisoner, he was committed to the Tower, had his estates forfeited, and was himself exempted from the general act of indemnity. However, he made his escape, and seems to have gone abroad, whence he returned, and landed with some royalists in the north of Scotland, in March, 1654. Supported by a small party, he took possession of the castle of Skelko, and assisted in the exertions then made for the restoration of Charles, who soon afterwards transmitted the following testimony of his approbation:—

“ TOM DALYELL,

“ Though I need say nothing to you by this honest bearer, captain Mewes, who can well tell you all I would have said, yett I am willing to give it you under my own hand, that I am very much pleased to hear how constant you are in your affection to me, and in your endeavours to advance my service. We have all a harde work to do: yett I doubt not God will carry us through it: and you can never doubt [fear] that I will forgett the good part you have acted; which, trust me, shall be rewarded, whenever it shall be in the power of your affectionat frind,

“ Colen, 30th Dec. 1654.

CHARLES R.”

All hope of an immediate restoration being soon after abandoned, Dalzell obtained recommendations from his majesty for eminent courage and fidelity, and proceeded to Russia, then an almost barbarous country, where he offered his services to the reigning czar, Alexis Michaelowitch. He seems to have entered the Muscovite service as a lieutenant-general, but soon was elevated to the rank of general. In these high commands, he fought bravely against the Turks and Tartars. After active employment for several years, general Dalzell requested permission to return to Scotland, whereupon the czar ordered a strong testimony of his services to pass under the great seal of Russia. Part of this document was conceived in the following terms:

“ That he formerly came hither to serve our great czarjan majesty: whilst he



was with us, he stood against our enemies, and fought valiantly. The military men that were under his command he regulated and disciplined, and himself led them to battle; and he did and performed every thing faithfully, as a noble commander. And for his trusty services we were pleased to order the said lieutenant-general to be a general. And now having petitioned us to give him leave to return to his own country, we, the great sovereign and czarian majesty, were pleased to order, that the said noble general, who is worthy of all honour, Thomas, the son of Thomas Dalyell, should have leave to go into his own country. And by this patent of our czarian majesty, we do testify of him, that he is a man of virtue and honour, and of great experience in military affairs. And in case he should be willing again to serve our czarian majesty, he is to let us know of it beforehand, and he shall come into the dominions of our czarian majesty with our safe passports, &c. Given at our court, in the metropolitan city of Muscov, in the year from the creation of the world, 7173, January 6.'

On his return to Scotland, Charles II. manifested a better sense of his promises towards him than was customary with that monarch. "Tom Dalyell" was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and a privy councillor, in 1656; subsequently, he represented the county of Linlithgow in parliament, his estates being now restored. In the year just mentioned, general Dalyell suppressed the ill-starred insurrection of the covenanters. By a bold march across the Pentland hills, he came upon the insurgents by surprise, and, on the evening of the 28th of November, gained a complete victory over them. In this year, also, he raised a regiment of foot; but its place in the military lists is not now known. It is known, however, with historic certainty, that some years afterwards, he raised the distinguished horse regiment called the Scots Greys, which was at first composed exclusively of the sons of the cavalier gentry, and was intended to keep down the sturdy children of the covenant. The letters of service for raising the Greys are dated the 25th of November, 1651. The commission of general Dalyell was intermitted for a fortnight in June, 1679, when the duke of Monmouth was entrusted with his office, in order to put down the Bothwell Bridge insurrection. It was generally believed, that, if he had commanded at Bothwell instead of Monmouth, there would have been sharper execution upon the insurgents. Being offended at the promotion of Monmouth, the old man resigned all his employments, but was quickly restored to them, and an ample pension besides. Some years before this period, he had received a gift of the forfeited estate of Muir of Caldwell, who was concerned in the insurrection suppressed by him in 1666; but his family complain that they were deprived of this by the reversal of Muir's attainder after the Revolution, and that they never received any other compensation for an immense sum expended by their ancestor in the public service.

An individual who rode in Dalyell's army, has left the following graphic account of him:—

"He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jocky coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of king Charles the first. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle.<sup>1</sup> He usually went to London once or twice in a

<sup>1</sup> The comb with which he used to dress this ornament of his person is still preserved at Binns. It gives a vast idea of the extent of the beard, and of the majestic character of Dalyell in general—being no less than twelve inches broad, while the teeth are at least six inches deep.

year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go into the king; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalyell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, showing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalyell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time (as Dalyell used to express it) to shave and dress like other christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail upon him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress." *Memoirs of Captain Creighton, by Swift.*

On the accession of James VII, in 1685, Dalyell received a new and enlarged commission to be commander-in-chief; but the tendency of the court to popery offended his conscience so grievously, that it is not probable he could have long retained the situation. Death, however, stepped in, and "rescued him," to use Creighton's language, "from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and true zeal for his religion on the other." He died about Michaelmas, 1685. A contemporary historian informs us, that "after he had procured himself a lasting name in the wars, he fixed his old age at Binnis, his paternal inheritance, adorned by his excellence with avenues, large parks, and fine gardens, and pleased himself with the culture of curious flowers and plants." His estate was inherited by a son of the same name, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and was succeeded by a daughter Magdalene, who marrying James Menteith of Auldeathy, transmitted the property and title to her son, Sir James Menteith Dalyell, great-grandfather to the present representative. Through this alliance, the family now claims to represent the old line of the earls of Menteith.

General Dalyell, as might be expected, is represented by the presbyterian historians as "a man naturally rude and fierce, who had this heightened by his breeding and service in Muscovy, where he had seen little but the utmost tyranny and slavery." There are two ways, however, of contemplating the character of even so blood-stained a persecutor as Dalyell. He had, it must be remarked, served royalty upon principle in its worst days; had seen a monarch beheaded by a small party of his rebellious subjects, and a great part of the community, including himself, deprived of their property and obliged to fly for their lives to foreign lands; and all this was on account of one particular way of viewing politics and religion. When the usual authorities of the land regained their ascendancy, Dalyell must naturally have been disposed to justify and support very severe measures, in order to prevent the recurrence of such a period as the civil war and usurpation. Thus all his cruelties are resolved into an abstract principle, to the relief of his personal character, which otherwise, we do not doubt, might be very good. How often do we see, even in modern times, actions justified upon general views, which would be shuddered



as if they stood upon their naked merits, and were to be performed upon the sole responsibility of the individual!

DALZELL, ANDREW, A. M. and F. R. S., was born in the year 1750, at a farm house in the parish of Ratho near Edinburgh, the son of an industrious husbandman. He acquired the principles of his classical education at the parochial school of the parish; from thence he went to the university of Edinburgh. There by his assiduity and the gentleness and purity of his manners and conduct, he acquired the esteem of the professors, and, in consequence of their high recommendation, was appointed tutor to lord Maitland, now earl of Lauderdale. He attended lord Maitland to the university of Glasgow, where he assisted him in his studies, and with him heard the celebrated professor Millar deliver a course of his juridical lectures. Having accompanied his pupil to Paris, he was on his return home recommended, and through the interest of the Lauderdale family appointed, to succeed Mr Hunter as professor of Greek in the university of Edinburgh. Classical learning had fallen into great neglect in Edinburgh when Mr Dalzell assumed his chair, for while professor Moore, one of the most profound and accurate scholars of the age, was raising the celebrity of the Glasgow university, by his teaching of the Greek language, and while the Foulises were printing in their press at that city, their beautiful editions of the Greek classics, the literati of the Scottish capital were dedicating their whole attention to the cultivation of English and French literature. It became therefore the anxious desire of professor Dalzell to revive the taste for ancient learning. To promote this object he delivered a course of lectures on the language, history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, literature, antiquities, and fine arts of the Greeks. Possessed of a perfect knowledge of the subject, these lectures were admirable for their systematic arrangement and the elegance of the language in which they were clothed, and being delivered in a distinct tone, with much suavity of manner, they caused a general and enthusiastic study of the language. Indeed it became a sort of fashion of the students of the university to attend his lectures, and the celebrity he acquired had the effect of drawing many students to Edinburgh from England, and from distant parts of the kingdom. In order still farther to increase that enthusiastic love of Grecian literature which he wished to instil into the minds of his pupils, he published several volumes of collections of select passages from the Greek writers. These he accompanied with short Latin notes, which are remarkable for their perspicuity and judgment, and for the classical purity of their language. The unremitting care which he bestowed on the improvement of his students, was repaid by them with the most affectionate respect, nor did the interest he felt in them, terminate with the discharge of his academical duties, for he exerted himself to the utmost in promoting their future welfare, and to him, hundreds owed their establishment in life. But although he was thus eminently successful in reviving the love of ancient literature in Edinburgh, it was often a subject of deep regret to him, that his influence over the minds of his pupils was only transitory, and that when he happened to meet them in after life, he almost invariably found that they had neglected their classical studies. Such, it is much to be feared, must ever be the case, the prosecution of ancient learning being, generally speaking, incompatible with the struggle and bustle of the world. The only satisfaction which remains, is that the deficiency is daily becoming less important in the increasing beauty and copiousness of modern, more especially of English literature.

On the death of Dr James Robertson, professor of oriental languages, Mr Dalzell was appointed to succeed him as keeper of the library of the university. He was afterwards chosen to succeed the Rev. Dr John Drysdale, as principal

clerk to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, being the first layman who had ever held that honourable appointment. For some time before his death, the delicate state of his health prevented him from performing his public duties, when his place was ably supplied by Dr Thomas Macknight, one of the city clergymen of Edinburgh. He died on the 8th December, 1806, having for upwards of thirty years shed a lustre on the university by his many virtues, his high talents, and great classical attainments. Remarkable for many amiable qualities, and endowed with high talents, it may easily be supposed that his society was the delight of his friends; and as he had the good fortune to live during one of the brightest periods of Scottish literary history, when a galaxy of great men adorned the society of Edinburgh, he included in the circle of his acquaintance many of the greatest men this country ever produced. Of the number of his intimate friends were Dr Gilbert Stewart, Dr Rüssel the historian, Sir Robert Liston, Dr Robertson the historian, Lord Monboddo, Dugald Stewart, and professor Christison. Mr Dalzell, in his stature was about the middle height; his features were full but not heavy, with a fair complexion and a mild and serene expression of countenance. His address was pleasing and unpretending, and his conversation and manner singularly graceful. He was frequently to be met in his solitary walks in the king's park, which was one of his favourite lounges. He was married to the daughter of the well known Dr John Drysdale of the Tron church, and left several children.

His works consist of the collections from Greek authors, which he published in several volumes, under the title of "Collectanea Minora," and "Collectanea Majora," a translation of Chevalier's Description of the Plain of Troy, and many valuable papers of biography, and on other subjects, which he contributed to the Edinburgh Royal Society's Transactions. He also edited Dr Drysdale's Sermons.

DAVID I., a celebrated Scottish monarch, was the youngest of the six sons of Malcolm III., who reigned between 1057, and 1093, and who must be familiar to every reader, as the overthrower of Macbeth, and also the first king of the Scots that was entitled to be considered as a civilized prince. The mother of king David was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, heir to the Saxon line of English princes, but displaced by William the Conqueror. The year of David's birth is not known; but it is conjectured to have been not long antecedent to the death of his father, as all his elder brothers were then under age. It is conjectured that he must have received the name of David, from having been born at a time when his mother had no hope of more children, in reference to the youngest son of Jesse. Owing to the usurpations of Donald Bane, and Duncan, he spent his early years at the English court, under the protection of Henry I., who had married his sister Matilda or Maud, the celebrated founder of London bridge. There, according to an English historian, "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." Here also he took to wife, Matilda, the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, and widow of Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton. After the Scottish throne had been occupied successively by his elder brothers, Edgar and Alexander, he acceded to it on the 27th of April, 1124, when he must have been in the very prime of life. Soon before this time, namely, in 1113, he had manifested that zeal for the church, which distinguished him throughout his reign, by bringing a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyron, in France, whom he settled at Selkirk. These he subsequently translated to Roxburgh, and finally, 1128, to Kelso. In the latter year, besides founding the magnificent monastery of Kelso, he erected that of Holyrood at Edinburgh, which he endowed in the most liberal manner.

During the reign of Henry I., David maintained a good understanding with

England, and seems to have spent a considerable part of his time in the court of his brother-in-law and sister. The following curious anecdote of one of his visits, is related in a volume entitled "Remaines concerning Britain," published in 1614. "Queen Maud was so devoutly religious, that she would go to church barefooted, and always exercised herself in works of charity, insomuch, that when king David her brother came out of Scotland to visit her, he found her in her privy chamber with a towell about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing poore people's feete; which he disliking, said, 'verily, if the king your husband knew this, you should never kisse his lippes!' She replied, 'that the feete of the king of heaven were to be preferred before the lippes of a king in earth!'" On the death of Henry, in 1135, his daughter Maud was displaced by the usurper Stephen, and, to enforce her right, David made a formidable incursion into England, taking possession of the country as far as Durham. Not being supported, however, by the barons, who had sworn to maintain his niece in her right, he was obliged, by the superior force of Stephen, to give up the country he had acquired, his son Henry, accepting at the same time, from the usurper, the honour of Huntingdon, with Doncaster, and the castle of Carlisle, for which he rendered homage. Next year, David made a new incursion, with better success. He is found in 1138 in full possession of the northern provinces, while Stephen was unable, from his engagements elsewhere, to present any force against him. The Scots ravaged the country with much cruelty, and particularly the domains of the church; nor was their pious monarch able to restrain them. The local clergy, under these circumstances, employed all their influence, temporal and spiritual, to collect an army, and they at length succeeded. On the 22nd of August, 1138, the two parties met on Cutton Moor, near Northallerton, and to increase the enthusiasm of the English, their clerical leaders had erected a standard upon a high carriage, mounted on wheels, exhibiting three consecrated banners, with a little casket at the top, containing a consecrated host. The ill-assorted army of the Scottish monarch gave way before the impetuosity of these men, who were literally defending their altars and heartis. This rencounter is known in history, as the battle of the Standard. Prince Henry escaped with great difficulty. Next year, David seems to have renounced all hopes of establishing his niece. He entered into a solemn treaty with Stephen, in virtue of which, the earldom of Northumberland was conceded to his son Henry. In 1140, when Stephen was overpowered by his subjects, and Maud experienced a temporary triumph, David repaired to London, to give her the benefit of his counsel. But a counter insurrection surprised Maud; and David had great difficulty in escaping along with his niece. He was only saved by the kindness of a young Scotsman, named Oliphant, who served as a soldier under Stephen, and to whom David had been godfather. This person concealed the monarch from a very strict search, and conveyed him in safety to Scotland. David was so much offended at the manner in which he had been treated by Maud, that he never again interfered with her affairs in England, for which he had already sacrificed so much. He was even struck with remorse, for having endeavoured, by the use of so barbarous a people as the Scots, to control the destinies of the civilized English, to whom, it would thus appear, he bore more affection than he did to his own native subjects. At one time, he intended to abdicate the crown, and go into perpetual exile in the holy land, in order to expiate this imaginary guilt; but he afterwards contented himself with attempting to introduce civilization into his country. For this purpose, he encouraged many English gentlemen and barons to settle in Scotland, by giving them grants of land. In like manner, he brought many different kinds of foreign monks into the country, settling them in the



various abbeys of Melrose, Newbottle, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, as well as the priory of Lesmahago, and the Cistercian convent of Berwick, all of which were founded and endowed by him. The effects which these comparatively enlightened bodies of men must have produced upon the country, ought to save David from all modern sneers as to his apparently extreme piety. Sanctimoniousness does not appear to have had any concern in the matter: he seems to have been governed alone by a desire of civilizing his kingdom, the rudeness of which must have been strikingly apparent to him, in consequence of his education and long residence in England. The progress made by the country, in the time of David, was accordingly very great. Public buildings were erected, towns established, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce promoted. Laws, moreover, appear to have been now promulgated for the first time. David was himself a truly just and benevolent man. He used to sit on certain days at the gate of his palace, to hear and decide the causes of the poor. When justice required a decision against the poor man, he took pains to explain the reason, so that he might not go away unsatisfied. Gardening was one of his amusements, and hunting his chief exercise; but, says a contemporary historian, I have seen him quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even the meanest of his subjects, required an audience. He commenced business at day break, and at sunset dismissed his attendants, and retired to meditate on his duty to God and the people. By his wife, Matilda, David had a son, Henry; who died before him, leaving Malcolm and William, who were successively kings of Scotland; David, earl of Huntingdon, from whom Bruce and Baliol are descended, and several daughters. David I. is said, by a monkish historian, to have had a son older than Henry, but who perished in childhood after a remarkable manner. A person in holy orders had murdered a priest at the altar, and was protected by ecclesiastical immunity from the punishment due to his offence. His eyes, however, were put out, and his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons or hooks to supply the use of hands. Thus maimed, destitute, and abhorred, he attracted the attention of David, then residing in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David's eldest child was then two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretence of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime, almost exceeding belief, he was torn to pieces by wild horses. On losing his son Henry in 1152, king David sent his son Malcolm on a solemn progress through the kingdom, in order that he might be acknowledged by the people as their future sovereign. He in like manner recommended his grandson William to the barons of Northumberland, as his successor in that part of his dominions. Having ultimately fixed his residence at Carlisle, the pious monarch breathed his last, May 24th, 1153; being found dead in a posture of devotion. David I., by the acknowledgment of Buchanan himself, was "a more perfect exemplar of a *good king* than is to be found in all the theories of the learned and ingenious."<sup>1</sup>

DAVIDSON, JOHN, an eminent divine, was born, we may suppose, some time about the year 1550, as he was enrolled a student of St Leonard's college in the university of St Andrews, in the year 1567; where he continued

<sup>1</sup> James I. is recorded by Mair to have pronounced this sentence over the grave of his illustrious ancestor—"Rest there, thou most pious monarch, but who didst no good to the commonwealth, nor to kings in general;" which Bellenden has rendered—"he was ane seir sauct for the crown." This only shows that the utility of monasteries was less in the time of James I. than in the days of David I., and that king James regarded nothing as useful but what was conducive to his grand object, the increase of the royal authority. The death of James I. is a sufficient answer to his apophthegm: he was assassinated in consequence of his attempts to render himself *useful to kings in general*—that is to say, his attempts to rise upon the ruins of the nobility.

until 1570. Being educated for the ministry, he early displayed much fervour in his piety, and a fearless boldness and constant zeal in the cause of the reformation in Scotland. When the regent Morton, in the year 1573, obtained an order in the privy council, authorizing the union of several parishes into one, Davidson, then a regent in St Leonard's college, expressed his opposition to, and displeasure at that crying abuse in the church, in a poem, which, although printed without his knowledge, brought him into great trouble. He was summoned to a justice-ayre held at Haddington, when sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him; he was, however, soon after liberated on bail, in the hope that the leniency thus shown would induce him to retract what he had written, or at least that his brethren might be prevailed upon to condemn the poem. But these expectations were disappointed, and Davidson, finding the intercession even of some of the principal gentry in the country unavailing, and that nothing but a recantation would save him from punishment, fled to the west of Scotland, and thence into England, where he remained until the degradation of the regent, when he returned home. He ultimately attended the earl, along with other clergymen, when his lordship was about to suffer on the scaffold, and on that occasion a reconciliation took place between them.

Davidson again involved himself in difficulties by the active part which he took against Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. Robert Montgomery, it appears, had made a Simoniacal purchase of the archbishopric of Glasgow from the earl of Lennox; after which, accompanied by a number of soldiers, Montgomery came to Glasgow, and proceeded to the church. He there found the incumbent in the pulpit, when going up to him he pulled him by the sleeve, and cried "Come down, sirrah." The minister replied, "He was placed there by the Kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without orders." Thereupon much confusion and bloodshed ensued. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery, and were supported in their authority by the General Assembly; but the earl of Lennox, not inclined to submit to this opposition, obtained a commission from the king, to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before this court could be held, however, the earl of Gowrie and other noblemen seized upon the young king, and carried him to the castle of Ruthven, and there constrained him to revoke the commission, and to banish the earl of Lennox from the kingdom. But the king having afterwards made his escape from his rebel nobles, banished all those who had been engaged in this treasonable enterprise. Montgomery, who in the meanwhile had made submission to the church, again revived his claim to the archbishopric of Glasgow, whereon Mr Davidson, then minister of Libberton, was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him; which duty he performed with great boldness. He was also appointed one of the commission sent to Stirling to remonstrate with the king on account of this measure in favour of Montgomery. In consequence, however, of the *faithfulness* with which he had admonished his majesty, Davidson found it expedient to make a hurried journey into England, where he remained for a considerable time.

Having returned to Scotland, Mr Davidson signalized himself in the year 1590, by his letter in answer to Dr Bancroft's attack on the church of Scotland. In 1596, while minister of Prestonpans, he took an active part in accomplishing the renewal of the national covenant. He was chosen to minister unto the assemblage of divines and elders which congregated for confession and prayer in the Little Church of Edinburgh, as a preparatory step to the introduction of the overture for that purpose into the general assembly;

and on this occasion "he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them, the whole assembly melted into tears before him." "Before they dismissed, they solemnly entered into a new League and Covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present." And "that afternoon, the (general) assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods." "There have been many days of humiliation for present judgments or imminent dangers; but the like for sin and defection was never seen since the Reformation."—*Calderwood's Church History.*

In the general assembly, held at Dundee in the year 1598, it was proposed that the clergy should vote in Parliament in the name of the church. Davidson, looking upon this measure as a mere device for the introduction of bishops, opposed it violently. "Busk, busk, busk him," he exclaimed, "as bonnily as you can, and fetch him in as fairly as you will, we see him weel enough—we can discern the horns of his mitre." He concluded by entreating the assembly not to be rash; for, "brethren," said he, "see you not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." He would have protested against the measure—which, notwithstanding the efforts to pack the assembly, was carried only by a majority of ten—but the king, who was present, interposed and said, "That shall not be granted: see, if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, Sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then tendered his protestation, which, after having been past from one to another, was at last laid down before the clerk; whereon the king took it up, and, having showed it to the moderator and others who were around him, he put it in his pocket. The consequences of this protest did not, however, end here; Davidson was charged to appear before the council, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of the infirm state of his health, the place of his confinement was changed to his own manse. Afterwards his liberty was extended to the bounds of his own parish, in which he was allowed to perform the duties of his charge: and there, after labouring in his vocation for some years, during which he suffered much from bad health, he died at Prestonpans in the year 1604.

He was a man of sincere piety, and of an ardent and bold disposition, which fitted him to take a leading part in the great movements of the period. Davidson is particularly deserving of notice on account of the exertions which he made for the religious and literary instruction of his parishioners in Prestonpans. At his own expense he built the church, the manse, and the school, and schoolmaster's house. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and he bequeathed all his heritable and movable property for its support. But by much the most extraordinary feature in his character was his reputation for prophecy. Calderwood tells, that Davidson "one day seeing Mr John Kerr, the minister of Prestonpans, going in a scarlet cloak like a courtier, told him to lay aside that abominable dress, as he (Davidson) was destined to succeed him in his ministry; which accordingly came to pass." On another occasion, when John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, and James Law, minister of Kirkliston, were called before the synod of Lothian, on the charge of playing at foot-ball on Sabbath, Davidson, who was acting as moderator, moved that the culprits should be deposed from their charges. The synod, however, awarded them a slighter punishment; and when they were ordered in to receive their sentence, Davidson called out to them, "Come in, you pretty foot-ball men, the synod ordains you only to be rebuked." Then, addressing the meeting in his usual earnest and prophetic manner, he said, "And now, brethren, let me



tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity ; these two men shall trample on your necks, and the necks of the whole ministry of Scotland." The one was afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, and the other of Glasgow.—We quote the following from Wodrow's MS. "Lives of Scottish Clergymen." When Davidson was about to rebuild the church of Prestonpans, "a place was found most convenient upon the lands of a small heritor of the parish, called James Pinkerton. Mr Davidson applied to him, and signified that such a place of his land, and five or six acres were judged most proper for building the church and churchyard dyke, and he behoved to sell them." The other said "he would never sell them, but he would freely gift those acres to so good a use ;" which he did. Mr Davidson said, "James, ye shall be no loser, and ye shall not want a James Pinkerton to succeed you for many generations :?" and hitherto, as I was informed some years ago, there has been still a James Pinkerton succeeding to that small heritage in that parish, descending from him ; and after several of them had been in imminent danger when childless.

DEMPSTER, THOMAS, a learned professor and miscellaneous writer, was born at Brechin, in the shire of Angus, sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Of his family or education nothing certain has been preserved, farther than that he studied at Cambridge. In France, whither he went at an early period of his life, and where probably he received the better part of his education, he represented himself as a man of family, and possessed of a good estate, which he had abandoned for his religion, the Roman catholic. He was promoted to a professor's chair at Paris, in the college of Beauvais. Bayle says, that though his business was only to teach a school, he was as ready to draw his sword as his pen, and as quarrelsome as if he had been a duellist by profession ; scarcely a day passed, he adds, in which he did not fight either with his sword or at fisty cuffs, so that he was the terror of all the school-masters. Though he was of this quarrelsome temper himself, it does not appear however that he gave any encouragement to it in others ; for one of his students having sent a challenge to another, he had him horsed on the back of a fellow-student, and whipped him upon the seat of honour most severely before a full class. To revenge this monstrous affront, the scholar brought three of the king's lifeguards-men, who were his relations, into the college. Dempster, however, was not to be thus tamed. He caused hamstringing the lifeguards men's horses before the college gate ; themselves he shut up close prisoners in the belfrey, whence they were not relieved for several days. Disappointed of their revenge in this way, the students had recourse to another. They lodged an information against his life and character, which not choosing to meet, Dempster fled into England. How long he remained, or in what manner he was employed there, we have not been informed ; but he married a woman of uncommon beauty, with whom he returned to Paris. Walking the streets of Paris with his wife, who, proud of her beauty, had bared a more than ordinary portion of her breast and shoulders, which were of extreme whiteness, they were surrounded by a mob of curious spectators, and narrowly escaped being trodden to death. Crossing the Alps, he obtained a professor's chair in the university of Pisa, with a handsome salary attached to it. Here his comfort, and perhaps his usefulness was again marred by the conduct of his beautiful wife, who at length eloped with one of his scholars. Previously to this, we suppose, for the time is by no means clearly stated, he had been professor in the university of Nîmes, which he obtained by an honourable competition in a public dispute upon a passage of Virgil. "This passage," he says himself, "was proposed to me as a difficulty not to be solved, when I obtained the professorship in the royal college of Nîmes, which was disputed for by a great number of candidates, and

which I at once very honourably carried from the other competitors ; though some busy people would have had it divided among several, the senate declaring in my favour, and not one among so many excellent men, and eminent in every part of learning dissenting, besides Barnier. The choice being also approved by the consuls, and the other citizens, excepting some few whom I could name if they deserved it ; but since they are unworthy so much honour, I shall let their envy and sly malice die with them, rather than contribute to their living by taking notice of them." At this period Dempster must have professed to be a Huguenot, the university of Nimes being destined solely for the professors of the reformed religion. Be this as it may, Dempster, driven from Pisa by the infidelity of his wife, proceeded to Bologna, where he obtained a professorship which he held till his death in the year 1625.

Dempster was the author of many books, and during his own life certainly enjoyed a most extensive reputation. His powers of memory were so great, that he himself was in the habit of saying, that he did not know what it was to forget. Nothing, it was said by some of his encomiasts, lay so hidden in the monuments of antiquity, but that he remembered it ; and they gave him on this account the appellation of a speaking library. He was also allowed to have been exceedingly laborious, reading generally fourteen hours every day. If he really devoted so large a portion of his time to reading, his knowledge of books, even though his memory had been but of ordinary capacity, must have been immense ; but he wanted judgment to turn his reading to any proper account. What was still worse, he was destitute of common honesty ; " and shamefully," says Bayle, " published I know not how many fables." In his catalogue of the writers of Scotland, it has been observed that he frequently inserted those of England, Wales, and Ireland, just as suited his fancy ; and to confirm his assertions, very often quoted books which were never written, and appealed to authors which never existed. " Thomas Dempster," says M. Baillet, " has given us an ecclesiastical history of Scotland in nineteen books, wherein he speaks much of the learned men of that country. But though he was an able man in other respects, his understanding was not the more sound, nor his judgment the more solid, nor his conscience the better for it. He would have wished that all learned men had been Scots. He forged titles of books which were never published, to raise the glory of his native country ; and has been guilty of several cheating tricks, by which he has lost his credit among men of learning.

The catalogue of Dempster's works is astonishingly ample, and they undoubtedly exhibit proofs of uncommon erudition. Of his numerous writings, however, his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, is the most remarkable, though, instead of being as its title would indicate, an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, it is merely a list of Scottish authors and Scottish saints. The work was composed in Italy, where, it is presumable, the works of Scottish authors were not easily accessible ; in consequence of which he could not be expected to proceed with any very great degree of accuracy ; but many of his errors, even candour must admit, are not the result of inadvertency, but of a studied intention to mislead. A more fabulous work never laid claim to the honours of history. Of the names which he so splendidly emblazons, a large proportion is wholly fictitious, and his anecdotes of writers who have actually existed, are entitled to any kind of commendation but that of credibility. In extenuation of this fabulous propensity, however, it ought to be observed, that he lived in an age when such fabrications were considered as meritorious rather than reprehensible. The rage for legends framed for promoting the practice of piety, as was foolishly imagined, gave a general obliquity to the minds of men, rendering them utterly insensible



to the sacred claims and the immutable character of truth. The most impudent lie, if it was supposed to favour the cause of religion, was dignified with the name of a *pious* fraud; and the most palpable falsehood, if it was designed to promote national glory, met, from the general impulse of national vanity, with the same indulgence. Hence that contemptible mass of falsehood and of fiction, which darkens and disfigures all, and has totally blotted out the early history of some nations. Dempster had certainly an irritable, and, in some degree, a ferocious disposition, but we do not see that he ought to be charged with moral turpitude beyond the average of the men of his own age and standing in society. Yet for the honour of his country, as he foolishly imagined, he has amassed an immense mass of incredible fictions, which he has gravely told; and seems to have hoped mankind in general would receive as well authenticated historical facts. Losing in the brilliancy of his imagination any little spark of integrity that illumined his understanding, when the reputation of his native country was concerned, he seems to have been incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. In this respect, however, he does not stand alone, the earlier historians of every country being in some degree chargeable with the same failing. Even in the most splendid works of the same kind, written at periods comparatively late, many passages might be pointed out, which there is no necessity for supposing their compilers seriously believed. With all his faults, the reputation of Dempster certainly extended itself to every country of Europe; and though his most elaborate works are digested with so little care or so little skill, that they can only be regarded as collections of ill assorted materials, exhibiting little merit beyond assiduity of transcription; yet it would perhaps be difficult to point out another Scottish writer who had the same intimate acquaintance with classical antiquity.

DEMPSTER, GEORGE, of Dunnichen, (an estate near Dundee, which his grandfather, a merchant in that town, had acquired in trade), was born about the year 1735. He was educated at the grammar school of Dundee, and the university of St Andrews; after which he repaired to Edinburgh, where in 1755 he became a member of the faculty of advocates. Possessed of an ample fortune, and being of a social disposition, Mr Dempster entered eagerly into all the gayeties of the metropolis; and at the same time he cultivated the friendship of a group of young men conspicuous for their talents, and some of whom afterwards attained to eminence. In the number were William Robertson and David Hume, the future historians. Mr Dempster became a member of the "*Poker Club*" instituted by the celebrated Dr Adam Ferguson, which met in a house near the Nether-bow, and had for its object harmless conviviality: but a society which included David Hume, William Robertson, John Home (the author of '*Douglas*?), Alexander Carlyle, and George Dempster, must necessarily have conduced to the intellectual improvement of its members. It was succeeded, in the year 1756, by the "*Select Society*," a much more extensive association, consisting of most of the men of talent, rank, and learning in Scotland. The object of this society was the advancement of literature and the promotion of the study and speaking of the English language in Scotland, and Dempster was one of the ordinary directors. A list of the members of this society will be found in the appendix to professor Dugald Stewart's life of Dr Robertson.

After travelling some time on the continent, Mr Dempster returned to Scotland, and practised for a short while at the bar. But, abandoning that profession early in life, he turned his attention to politics, and stood candidate for the Fife and Forfar district of burghs. His contest was a very arduous one, and cost him upwards of £10,000; but it was successful, for he was returned

member to the twelfth parliament of Great Britain, which met on the 25th November, 1762. He entered the house of commons as an independent member unshackled by party. In the year 1765, he obtained the patent office of secretary to the Scottish order of the Thistle, an office more honourable than lucrative; and it was the only reward which he either sought or procured for twenty-eight years of faithful service in parliament. Mr Dempster was decidedly opposed to the contest with the American colonies, which ended in their independence; and concurred with Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, in maintaining, that taxes could not be constitutionally imposed without representation. He did not, however, enter into any factious opposition to the ministry during the continuance of the first American war; but on its conclusion he was strenuous in his endeavours to obtain an immediate reduction of the military establishment, and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions. He joined Mr Pitt, when that great statesman came into power, and supported him in his financial plans, particularly in the establishment of the sinking fund. Mr Dempster had directed much of his attention to the improvement of our national commerce and manufactures, which he desired to see freed from all restraint. But the object to which at this time and for many years afterwards he seems to have directed his chief attention, was the encouragement of the Scottish fisheries. This had been a favourite project with the people of Scotland, ever since the time when the duke of York, afterwards James II. patronized and became a subscriber to a company formed expressly for the purpose. At length Mr Dempster succeeded in rousing the British parliament to a due appreciation of the national benefits to be derived from the encouragement of the fisheries on the northern shores, and was allowed to nominate the committee for reporting to the house the best means of carrying his plans into execution.

About this period, Mr Dempster was elected one of the East India Company's directors. It is believed that his election took place in opposition to the prevailing interest in the directory; and certainly his mistaken notions on the subject of oriental politics must have rendered him an inefficient member of that court. Misled by the commercial origin of the corporation, he would have had the company, after it had arrived at great political influence, and had acquired extensive territorial possessions in India, to resign its sovereign power and to confine itself to its mercantile speculations. The policy of relinquishing territorial dominion in India, has long been a cry got up for party purposes; but it seems very extraordinary that Dempster, controlled by no such influence, should have so violently opposed himself to the true interest of the country. The error into which he fell is now obvious; he wished to maintain an individual monopoly, when the great wealth of the country rendered it no longer necessary, while he proposed to destroy our sway over India, when it might be made the means of defending and extending our commerce. Finding himself unable to alter our Indian policy, he withdrew from the directory and became a violent parliamentary opponent of the company. He supported Mr Fox's India bill, a measure designed chiefly for the purpose of consolidating a whig administration; and on one occasion he declared, that "all chartered rights should be held inviolable,—those derived from one charter only excepted. That is the sole and single charter which ought in my mind to be destroyed, for the sake of the country, for the sake of India, and for the sake of humanity."—"I for my part lament, that the navigation to India had ever been discovered, and I now conjure ministers to abandon all ideas of sovereignty in that quarter of the world: for it would be wiser to make some one of the native princes king of the country, and leave India to itself."

In 1785, Mr Dempster gave his support to the *Grenville act*, by which

provision was made for the decision of contested elections by committees chosen by ballot. On the regency question of 1788-9, he was opposed to the ministry; declaring that an executive so constituted would "resemble nothing that ever was conceived before; an un-whig, un-tory, odd, awkward, anomalous monster."

In the year 1790, Mr Dempster retired from parliamentary duties. Whether this was owing to his own inclination, or forced upon him by the superior influence of the Athole family, a branch of which succeeded him in the representation of his district of burghs, seems doubtful. He now devoted his undivided attention to the advancement of the interests of his native country. It was chiefly through his means that an act of parliament had been obtained, affording protection and giving bounties to the fisheries in Scotland; and that a joint stock company had been formed for their prosecution. In the year 1788, he had been elected one of the directors of this association, and on that occasion he delivered a powerful speech to the members, in which he gave an historical account of the proceedings for extending the fisheries on the coasts of Great Britain. He then showed them that the encouragement of the fisheries was intimately connected with the improvement of the Highlands; and in this manner, by his zeal and activity in the cause, Mr Dempster succeeded in engaging the people of Scotland to the enthusiastic prosecution of this undertaking. The stock raised, or expected to be raised, by voluntary contribution, was estimated at £150,000. Even from India considerable aid was supplied by the Scotsmen resident in that country. The company purchased large tracts of land at Tobermory in Mull, on Loch-Broom in Ross-shire, and on Loch-Bay and Loch-Folliart in the isle of Sky; at all of these stations they built harbours or quays and erected storehouses. Every thing bore a promising aspect, when the war of 1793 with France broke out, and involved the project in ruin. The price of their stock fell rapidly, and many became severe sufferers by the depreciation. Still, however, although the undertaking proved disastrous to the shareholders, yet the country at large is deeply indebted to Mr Dempster for the great national benefit which has since accrued from the parliamentary encouragement given to our fisheries.

In farther prosecution of his patriotic designs, Mr Dempster attempted to establish a manufacturing village at Skibo, on the coast of Caithness; but the local disadvantages, in spite of the cheapness of labour and provisions, were insuperable obstacles to its prosperity; and the consequence was, that he not only involved himself, but his brother also, in heavy pecuniary loss, without conferring any lasting benefit on the district.

On the close of his parliamentary career, Mr Dempster had discontinued his practice of passing the winter in London, and spent his time partly at his seat at Dunnichen, and partly in St Andrews. In that ancient city he enjoyed the society of his old friend Dr Adam Ferguson, and of the learned professors of the university; and we have a pleasing picture of the happy serenity in which this excellent and truly patriotic statesman passed the evening of his life, in the fact that he was in use to send round a vehicle, which he facetiously denominated "*the route coach*," in order to convey some old ladies to his house, who, like himself, excelled in the game of whist, an amusement in which he took singular pleasure. His time while at Dunnichen was more usefully employed. When Mr Dempster first directed his attention to the improvement of his estate, the tenantry in the north of Scotland were still subject to many of the worst evils of the feudal system. "I found," he says (speaking of the condition of his own farmers), "my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the harony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of



out-field and in; bound to pay kain and to perform personal services; clothed in hodden, and lodged in hovels." The Highland proprietors, instead of attempting to improve the condition of their farmers and peasantry, were driving them into exile, converting the cultivated lands on their estates into pasturage, and supplying the place of their tenantry with black cattle. Mr Dempster, in order to find employment for the population thus cruelly driven from their native country, became more strenuous in his endeavours for the encouragement of our fisheries; while, in the course he pursued on his own estate, he held out a praise-worthy example to the neighbouring proprietors, of the mode which they ought to pursue in the improvement of their estates. He granted long leases to his tenants, and freed them from all personal services or unnecessary restrictions in the cultivation of their grounds; he inclosed and drained his lands; he built the neat village of Letham; he drained and improved the loch or moss of Dunnichen, and the peat bog of Restennet, by which he added greatly to the extent and value of his property, and rendered the air more salubrious. And having ascertained by experiments that his land abounded in marl, he immediately rendered the discovery available; in so much, it is estimated, that he acquired a quantity of that valuable manure of the value of £14,000. But nothing can prove more encouraging to the patriotic endeavours of proprietors for the promotion of agriculture and the improvement of their estates, than the following letter, addressed by Mr Dempster to the editor of the Farmer's Magazine—a work which had been dedicated to himself:

"Sir,—How much depends upon mankind thinking soundly and wisely on agricultural topics, which, in point of extent, surpass all others, and which may be said to embrace the whole surface of the globe we inhabit! I would still be more lavish in my commendation of your design, were it not that I should thereby indirectly make a panegyric on myself. For these last forty years of my life, I have acted in the management of my little rural concerns on the principles you so strenuously inculcate. I found my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of out-field and in: bound to pay kain, and to perform personal services; clothed in hodden, and lodged in hovels. You have enriched the magazine with the result of your farming excursions. Pray, direct one of them to the county I write from; peep in upon Dunnichen, and if you find one of the evils I have enumerated existing; if you can trace a question, at my instance, in a court of law, with any tenant as to how he labours his farm; or find one of them not secured by a lease of nineteen years at least, and his life,—the barony shall be yours. You will find me engaged in a controversy of the most amiable kind with Lord Carrington, defending the freedom of the English tenants from the foolish restrictions with which their industry is shackled; prohibitions to break up meadow land, to sow flax, to plant tobacco, &c., all imposed by foolish fears, or by ignorance; and confirmed by the selfish views of land stewards, who naturally wish the dependence of farmers on their will and pleasure. God knows, Scotland is physically barren enough, situated in a high latitude, composed of ridges of high mountains; yet, in my opinion, moral causes contribute still more to its sterility.

"I urge the zealous prosecution of your labours, as a general change of system and sentiment is only to be effected slowly; your maxims are destined, first, to revolt mankind, and, long after, to reform them. There never was a less successful apostle than I have been. In a mission of forty years, I cannot boast of one convert. I still find the tenants of my nearest neighbours and best friends, cutting down the laird's corn, while their own crops are imperiously calling for their sickles. I am much pleased with the rotations you suggest;

and as those topics are very favourite ones with me, they occupy no small portion of my leisure moments.

“The Highland Society’s being silent on the subject of the emigration of the Highlanders, who are gone, going, and preparing to go in whole clans, can only be accounted for by those who are more intimately acquainted with the state of the Highlands than I pretend to be. One would think the society were disciples of Pinkerton, who says, the best thing we could do, would be to get rid entirely of the Celtic tribe, and people their country with inhabitants from the low country. How little does he know the valour, the frugality, the industry of those inestimable people, or their attachment to their friends and country! I would not give a little Highland child for ten of the highest Highland mountains in all Lochaber. With proper encouragement to its present inhabitants, the next century might see the Highlands of Scotland cultivated to its summits, like Wales or Switzerland; its valleys teeming with soldiers for our army, its bays, lakes, and friths with seamen for our navy.

“At the height of four hundred feet above the level of the sea, and ten miles removed from it, I dare not venture on spring wheat, but I have had one advantage from my elevation; my autumn wheat has been covered with snow most of the winter, through which its green shoots peep very prettily. I have sometimes believed that this hardy grain is better calculated for our cold climate than is generally thought, if sown on well cleaned and dunged land, very early, perhaps by the end of September, so as to be in ear when we get our short scorch of heat from 15th July to 15th August, and to profit by it.

“I was pleased with your recommending married farm servants. I don’t value mine a rush till they marry the lass they like. On my farm of 120 acres, I can show such a crop of thriving human stock as delights me. From five to seven years of age, they gather my potatoes at 1d, 2d, and 3d per day, and the sight of such a joyous busy field of industrious happy creatures revives my old age. Our dairy fattens them like pigs; our cupboard is their apothecary’s shop; and the old casten clothes of the family, by the industry of their mothers, look like birthday suits on them. Some of them attend the groom to water his horses; some the carpenter’s shop, and all go to the parish school in the winter time, whenever they can crawl the length.”

There is something extremely delightful in the complacency with which the good old man thus views the improvements he had wrought on his estate, and the happiness he had diffused among those around him.

After having enjoyed much good health, and a cheerful old age, until his last illness, Mr Dempster died on the 13th of February, 1818, in the 84th year of his age. We cannot more appropriately finish our imperfect sketch of this good and able patriot, than by subjoining an extract from one of his letters to his friend Sir John Sinclair—“I was lately on my death-bed, and no retrospect afforded me more satisfaction than that of having made some scores—hundreds of poor Highlanders happy, and put them in the way of being rich themselves, and of enriching the future lairds of Skibo and Portrossie.—Dunnichen, 2nd Nov. 1807.”

DICK, SIR ALEXANDER, BART. of Prestonfield, near Edinburgh, was born on the 23d of October, 1703. He was the third son of Sir William Cunningham of Caprington, by dame Janet, daughter and heiress of Sir James Dick of Prestonfield. While his two elder brothers were to succeed to ample fortunes, one from the father, and the other from the mother, Alexander was left in a great measure dependent on his own exertions. He accordingly chose the profession of medicine; and after acquiring the preliminary branches of his profession in Edinburgh, proceeded to Leyden, where he pursued his medical studies under

the famous Dr Boerhaave. On the 31st of August, 1725, he obtained the degree of doctor of medicine from the university of Leyden; on which occasion he published his inaugural dissertation "De Epilepsia," which did him much credit. Soon after this, he returned home, when he received, from the university of St Andrews, a second diploma as doctor of medicine, bearing date the 23d of January, 1727. On the 7th November of the same year, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

Dr Cunningham, for he still bore the name of his father, soon after these distinctions had been conferred on him by his countrymen, undertook a tour through Europe.

His immediately elder brother, Sir William Dick, having died without issue, Dr Cunningham succeeded, in terms of the entail, to the estate and name of his mother, and the baronetcy of his brother, Sir William; whereupon he left Pembrokeshire and took up his residence at Prestonfield. Although he had now determined to discontinue the practice of his profession, still he took an active interest in promoting the study and knowledge of medicine in Scotland. In the year 1756, he was unanimously chosen president of the college of physicians of Edinburgh. As a testimony of the high sense which his professional brethren entertained of his services, a portrait of him was, by a unanimous vote, hung up in their hall.

Sir Alexander Dick did not confine his patriotic exertions to the advancement of his own profession, but took an active share in every undertaking which he conceived likely to prove beneficial to the city of Edinburgh or its neighbourhood. In particular, the citizens were much indebted to him for the improvements which he effected in the highways around the metropolis.

Sir Alexander was twice married—in April, 1736, to his cousin Janet, daughter of Alexander Dick, merchant in Edinburgh, by whom he had five children, but two daughters only survived him; and in March, 1762, he married Mary, daughter of David Butler of Pembrokeshire, by whom he had seven children. Three sons and three daughters of the latter marriage survived him. Having attained the 83d year of his age, with faculties unimpaired, he died on the 10th of November, 1785; and his death, notwithstanding the very advanced age he had reached, was generally lamented as a loss to society. He was of a kind and amiable character, and remarkable for the mildness and sweetness of his disposition, and for the unwearied zeal and activity with which he promoted the advancement of medical knowledge in Scotland, as well as the improvement and welfare of his native city.

DICK (the Reverend) JOHN, D.D., an eminent divine of the Scottish Secession church, was born at Aberdeen on the 10th October, 1764. His father, the reverend Alexander Dick, a native of Kinross, was minister of the Associate congregation of Seceders in that city.

Of the earlier years of Dr Dick little more is known than that he distinguished himself at the grammar-school. On entering the university, in October, 1777, when in his thirteenth year, he obtained a bursary in King's College, having been preferred to competitors of long standing.

Dr Dick entered on his university course in King's College, which he had been induced to prefer to Marischal's, on account of the advantages to be derived from the bursary which he had obtained. Here he studied humanity under professor Ogilvie, Greek under Leslie, and philosophy under professor Dunbar, and on 30th March, 1781, he took the degree of A.M.

On the arrival of the period when it became necessary for him to choose a profession, he determined on devoting himself to the ministry in connection with the Secession, but to this resolution many of his friends were opposed; some of whom pressed him to join the Scottish establishment, others the Epis-



copal, while his father expressed an aversion to his dedicating himself to the ministry at all, from a fear that he was not at heart sufficiently devoted to the sacred calling which he desired to assume. He, however, adhered to his original resolution, and proceeded to prepare himself accordingly.

In 1780, after undergoing the usual examination, he was admitted by the Associate presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, to attendance in the divinity hall, Aberdeen, then under the superintendence of the celebrated John Brown of Haddington, where he studied for five years, spending during this time the greater part of his vacations with a paternal uncle, who took great pains in improving the language of his young relative, and in assisting him to rid himself of the provincial peculiarities by which it was disfigured.

On entering the divinity hall, a very remarkable temporary change took place in Dr Dick's personal manners. From being extremely lively and gay in his deportment, he, all at once, became grave and thoughtful, and continued thus for two years, when he again resumed the original and natural characteristics he had thus so strangely and suddenly laid aside, and remained under their influence throughout the rest of his life, which was distinguished by a singular flow of animal spirits. The cause of this change of manner is said to have been certain deep religious impressions which had imprinted themselves on his mind, and had weighed on his spirits during the two years of his altered demeanour.

Dr Dick now devoted himself, in an especial manner, to classical literature, and pursued his studies in this department of learning with a zeal and assiduity which soon introduced him to an intimate and extensive acquaintance with the more celebrated writers of antiquity. He also laboured assiduously to acquire a mastery of the English language, to eradicate Scotticisms from his speech and writings, and to attain a pure and elegant style; a pursuit in which he was greatly aided by the celebrated Dr Beattie, who was then reckoned a master in the art of composition.

In 1785, Dr Dick, who had now attained the age of twenty-one, received his license as a preacher from the Associate presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, and soon afterwards began to attract notice by the elegance of his sermons, the gracefulness of his delivery, and the dignity and fervour of his manner in the pulpit. The consequence of this favourable impression was, that he received shortly after being licensed, simultaneous calls from three several congregations,—those of Scone, Musselburgh, and Slatford, near Edinburgh, to the last named of which he was appointed by the synod, and was ordained on the 26th October, 1786, at the age of twenty-two.

With this appointment Dr Dick was himself highly gratified. He liked the situation, and soon became warmly attached to his people, who, in their turn, formed the strongest attachment to him. During the first year of his ministry he lived with Dr Peddie of Edinburgh, there being no residence for him in the village. One, however, was built, and at the end of the period named, he removed to it, and added to his other pursuits the culture of a garden which had been assigned him, and in which he took great delight. A few years afterwards he married Miss Jane Coventry, second daughter of the reverend George Coventry of Stithell in Roxburghshire; a connexion which added greatly to his comfort and happiness.

Dr Dick's habits were at this time, as indeed they also were throughout the whole of his life, extremely regular and active. He rose every morning before six o'clock and began to study, allowing himself only from two to three hours' recreation in the middle of the day, when he visited his friends, or walked alone into the country. Nor was his labour light, for, although an

excellent extempore speaker, he always wrote the discourses he meant to deliver, in order to ensure that accuracy and elegance of language which, he rightly conceived, could not be commanded, or at least depended on in extemporaneous oratory. The consequence of this care and anxiety about his compositions was a singular clearness, conciseness, and simplicity of style in his sermons. Nor was he less happy in the matter than the manner of his discourses. The former was exceedingly varied and comprehensive; embracing nearly the whole range of theology.

In 1788, two years after his settlement at Slateford, Dr Dick made his first appearance as an author. In that year he published a sermon, entitled "The Conduct and Doom of False Teachers," a step suggested by the publication of "A Practical Essay on the Death of Christ, by Dr M'Gill of Ayr," in which Socinian opinions were openly maintained. The general aim of Dr Dick's discourse was to expose all corrupters of the truth, particularly those, who, like Dr M'Gill, disseminated errors, and yet continued to hold office in a church whose creed was orthodox. During all the debates in this case, which took place before the General Assembly, Dr Dick attended, and took a deep interest in all the proceedings connected with it which occurred in that court.

The subject of this memoir did not appear again as an author till 1796, when he published another sermon, entitled "Confessions of Faith shown to be necessary, and the Duty of Churches with respect to them Explained." This sermon, which was esteemed a singularly able production, had its origin in a controversy then agitated on the subject of the Westminster Confession of Faith in relation to seceders who were involved in an inconsistency by retaining the former entire, while, contrary to its spirit, they threw off spiritual allegiance to magisterial authority. In this discourse Dr Dick recommends that confessions of faith should be often revised, and endeavours to do away the prejudice which prevents that being done.

From this period till 1800, the doctor's literary productions consisted wholly of occasional contributions to the Christian Magazine, a monthly publication conducted by various ministers belonging to the two largest branches of the Secession. The contributions alluded to, were distinguished by the signature Chorepiscopus. But in the year above named the able work appeared on which Dr Dick's reputation as a writer and theologian now chiefly rests. This was "An Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures;" a production which was received with great applause, and which made the author's name widely known throughout the religious world. The popularity of this work was so great that it went through three editions during Dr Dick's lifetime, and a fourth, on which he meditated certain alterations, which, however, he did not live to accomplish, was called for before his death.

Dr Dick had now been fifteen years resident at Slateford, and in this time had been twice called to occupy the place of his father, who had died in the interval; but the synod, in harmony with his own wishes, declined both of these invitations, and continued him at Slateford. The time, however, had now arrived when a change of residence was to take place. In 1801, he was called by the congregation of Greyfriars, Glasgow, to be colleague to the reverend Alexander Pirie, and with this call the synod complied, Dr Dick himself expressing no opinion on the subject, but leaving it wholly to the former to decide on the propriety and expediency of his removal. The parting of the doctor with his congregation on this occasion was exceedingly affecting. Their attachment to each other was singularly strong, and their separation proportionally painful.

Having repaired to Glasgow, Dr Dick was inducted, as colleague and



successor, into his new charge, one of the oldest and wealthiest in the Secession church, on the 21st May, 1801. Previously to the doctor's induction, a large portion of the members of the congregation had withdrawn to a party who termed themselves the Old Light; but the diligence, zeal, and talents of its ministers speedily restored the church to its original prosperity.

From this period nothing more remarkable occurred in Dr Dick's life than what is comprised in the following brief summary of events. In 1810, he succeeded, by the death of Dr Pirie, to the sole charge of the Greyfriars. In 1815, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the college of Princetown, New Jersey, and in the following year he published a volume of sermons. In 1820, he was chosen to the chair of theological professor to the Associate Syned in room of Dr Lawson of Selkirk, who died in 1819; an appointment which involved a flattering testimony to his merits, being the most honourable place in the gift of his communion. Yet his modesty would have declined it, had not his friends insisted on his accepting it. For six years subsequent to his taking the theological chair, Dr Dick continued sole professor, but at the end of that period, viz., in 1825, a new professorship, intended to embrace biblical literature, was established, and the Rev. Dr John Mitchell was appointed to the situation. From this period Dr Dick's labours were united with those of the learned gentleman just named.

On the retirement of the earl of Glasgow from the presidentship of the Auxiliary Bible Society of Glasgow, in consequence of the controversy raised regarding the circulation of the Apocrypha, Dr Dick was chosen to that office, and in March, 1832, he was elected president also of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association, to the furtherance of whose objects he lent all his influence and talents. But his active and valuable life was now drawing to a close, and its last public act was at hand. This was his attending a meeting on the 23rd January, 1833, in which the lord provost of the city presided, for the purpose of petitioning the legislature regarding the sanctification of the sabbath. On this occasion Dr Dick was intrusted with one of the resolutions, and delivered a very animated address to the large and respectable assemblage which the object alluded to had brought together; thus showing that, consistently with the opinions he maintained as to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, he could join in an application to Parliament for the protection of the sacred day against the encroachments of worldly and ungodly men.

On the same evening Dr Dick attended a meeting of the session of Greyfriars, to make arrangements for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but on going home he was attacked with the complaint, a disease in the interior of the ear, which brought on his death, after an illness of only two days' duration. This excellent man died on the 25th January, 1833, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the forty-seventh of his ministry, and the thirteenth of his professorship. His remains were interred in the High churchyard of Glasgow on the 1st of February following, amidst expressions of regret which unequivocally indicated the high estimation in which he was held. About a year after his death, his theological lectures were published in four volumes, 8vo, with a memoir prefixed.

It only remains to be added, that Dr Dick, during the period of his ministry in Glasgow, attracted much notice by the delivery of a series of monthly Sabbath evening lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, which were afterwards published at intervals in two volumes; and, on a second edition being called for, were collected in one volume. These lectures, which were followed up by a series of discourses on the divine attributes, are reckoned models for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures.

DICKSON, DAVID, an eminent Presbyterian divine of the seventeenth century, of whom Wodrow remarks, that, "if ever a Scots Biography and the lives of our eminent ministers and Christians be published, he will shine there as a star of the first magnitude." Remarkable not merely for the part he took in public affairs—his preaching produced the most astonishing effects in the early part of the century in which he lived. Fleming, in his work on the "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," says of Dickson's pulpit ministrations, "that for a considerable time few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proof of the power of God accompanying his Word. And truly (he adds) this great spring-tide, as I may call it, of the gospel, was not of a short time, but of some years' continuance; yea, thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on those parts of the country, the savour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth." We may be permitted to devote a few pages to the history of a man thus recommended by his great public usefulness, his talents, and virtues.

The subject of our narrative was a native of Glasgow, in which city his father, John Dick, or Dickson, was a merchant. The latter was possessed of considerable wealth, and the proprietor of the lands of the Kirk of the Muir, in the parish of St Ninians, and barony of Fintry. He and his wife, both persons of eminent piety, had been several years married without children, when they entered into a solemn vow, that, if the Lord would give them a son, they would devote him to the service of his church. A day was appointed, and their christian townsmen were requested to join with them in fasting and prayer. Without further detail of this story, we shall merely say, that Mr David Dickson, their son, was born in the Tron street (or Trongate) of Glasgow, in 1583; but the vow was so far forgot, that he was educated for mercantile pursuits, in which he was eminently unsuccessful, and the cause of much pecuniary loss to his parents. This circumstance, added to a severe illness of their son, led his parents to remember their vow; Mr Dickson was then "put to his studies, and what eminent service he did in his generation is known."<sup>1</sup>

Soon after taking the degree of master of arts, Mr Dickson was appointed one of the regents or professors of philosophy in the university of Glasgow; a situation held at that period in all the Scottish colleges by young men, who had just finished their academical career, and were destined for the church. "The course of study which it was their duty to conduct, was calculated to form habits of severe application in early life, and to give them great facility both in writing and in speaking. The universities had the advantage of their services during the vigour of life; when they were unencumbered by domestic cares, and when they felt how much their reputation and interest depended on the exertions which they made. After serving a few years, (seldom more than eight, or less than four,) they generally obtained appointments in the church, and thus transferred to another field the intellectual industry and aptitude for communicating knowledge by which they had distinguished themselves in the university. It may well be conceived, that by stimulating and exemplifying diligence, their influence on their brethren in the ministry was not less considerable than on the parishioners, who more directly enjoyed the benefit of attainments and experience, more mature than can be expected from such as have never had access to similar means of improvement."<sup>2</sup> But we must return

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. Advocates' Library, I. 128. Wodrow's *Life of Dickson*, prefixed to *Truth's victory over Error*, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the royal commission for visiting the Scottish universities, 1831, p. 221. Another practice at this period was, that the regents, when they took the oath of office,

from a digression, which seemed necessary in order to explain a system which is no longer pursued.

Mr Dickson remained several years at Glasgow, and was eminently useful in teaching the different branches of literature and science, and in directing the minds of his students to the end to which all such attainments should lead them—the cultivation of true piety. But in accordance with the custom already noticed, he was now removed to a more honourable, though certainly more hazardous calling. In the year 1618, he was ordained minister of Irvine. At this period, it would appear he had paid but little attention to the subject of church government; a circumstance, the more remarkable, when we consider the keen discussions between the presbyterians and episcopalians on such questions. But the year in which he had entered on his ministry, was too eventful to be overlooked. The general assembly had agreed to the five ceremonies now known as the Perth articles, and a close examination convinced Mr Dickson that they were unscriptural. Soon afterwards, when a severe illness brought him near death, he openly declared against them; and, no sooner had Law, the archbishop of Glasgow, heard of it, than he was summoned before the court of high commission. He accordingly appeared, but declined the jurisdiction of the court, on account of which, sentence of deprivation and confinement to Turriſſ was passed upon him. His friends prevailed upon the archbishop to restore him, on condition that he would withdraw his declination; a condition with which he would not comply. Soon after, Law yielded so far as to allow him to return to his parish, if he would come to his castle, and withdraw the paper from the hall-table without seeing him; terms which Mr Dickson spurned, as being “but juggling in such a weighty matter.” At length, he was permitted in July, 1623, to return unconditionally.<sup>3</sup>

After noticing the deep impression Mr Dickson made upon the minds of his hearers, Mr Wodrow gives us the following account of his ministerial labours at Irvine:—“Mr Dickson had his week-day sermon upon the Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress, used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down: in all which he had an extraordinary talent, indeed, he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old christians, several scores of serious christians waiting for him when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came in to the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays, as on the Lord’s day, by these week-day sermons. The famous Stewarton Sickness was begun about the year 1630; and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs on both sides of it. Satan endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon, and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan’s design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, even under the hardships of prelacy.”

About the year 1630, some of the Scottish clergymen settled among their

should engage to vacate their charge in the event of marrying. Mr James Dalrymple (afterwards the viscount of Stair) having married while a regent at Glasgow in 1643, demitted, but was reappointed.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow’s memoir of Dickson, p. 12, 13. Livingston’s Characteristics, edit. 1773, p. 81.



countrymen, who had emigrated to the north of Ireland. While they were permitted to preach, they had been highly useful; but the Irish prelates did not long allow them to remain unmolested: they felt the progress of their opinions, and with a zeal, which, in attempting to promote, often defeats its own cause, determined to silence, or oblige the presbyterians to conform. In 1637, Robert Blair and John Livingston, against whom warrants had been issued, after secreting themselves near the coast, came over to Scotland. They were received by Mr Dickson at Irvine, and were employed occasionally in preaching for him. He had been warned that this would be seized upon by the bishops as a pretext for deposing him, but he would not deviate from what he considered his duty. He was, therefore, again called before the high commission court; but we are only told, that "he soon got rid of this trouble, the bishops' power being now on the decline."

In the summer of the same year, several ministers were charged to buy and receive the Service Book; a measure which produced the most important consequences. Mr John Livingston, in his autobiography, has truly said that the subsequent changes in the church took their rise from two petitions presented upon this occasion. Many others followed, and their prayer being refused, increased the number and demands of the petitioners; they required the abolition of the high commission, and exemption from the Perth articles. These were still refused, and their number was now so great as to form a large majority of the ministers and people. The presbytery of Irvine joined in the petition, at the instigation of Mr Dickson, and throughout the whole of the proceedings which followed upon it, we shall find him taking an active, but moderate part.

When the general assembly of 1638 was convoked, David Dickson, Robert Baillie, and William Russell, minister at Kilburnie, were appointed to represent the presbytery at Irvine, and "to propone, reason, vote, and conclude according to the word of God, and confession approved by sundry general assemblies." Mr Dickson and a few others were objected to by the king's party, as being under the censure of the high commission, but they proved the injustice of the proceedings against them, and were therefore admitted members. He seems to have borne a zealous and useful part in this great ecclesiastical council: his speech, when the commissioner threatened to leave them, is mentioned by Wodrow with much approbation; but the historian has not inserted it in his memoir, as it was too long, and yet too important and nervous to be abridged. A discourse upon Arminianism, delivered at their eleventh session, is also noticed, of which, principal Baillie says, that he "refuted all those errors in a new way of his own, as some years ago he had conceived it in a number of Sermons on the new Covenant. Mr David's discourse was much as all his things, extempore; so he could give no double of it, and his labour went away with his speech."<sup>4</sup> An effort was made at this period by John Bell, one of the ministers of Glasgow, to obtain Mr Dickson for an assistant, but the opposition of lord Eglinton and that of Mr Baillie in behalf of the presbytery of Irvine, were sufficient to delay, though not to prevent, the appointment.

In the short campaign of 1639, a regiment of 1200 men, of which the earl of Loudon was appointed coroner (or colonel), and Mr Dickson, chaplain, was raised in Ayrshire. The unsatisfactory pacification at Berwick, however, required that the Scots should disband their army, and leave the adjustment of civil and ecclesiastical differences to a parliament and assembly. Of the latter court, Mr Dickson was, by a large majority, chosen moderator; a situation which he filled with great judgment and moderation. In the tenth session, a call was presented to him from the town of Glasgow, but the vigorous inter-

<sup>4</sup> Baillie's printed Letters and Journals, i. 125.

ference of lord Eglinton, and of his own parishioners, contributed still to delay his removal. His speech at the conclusion of the assembly, as given by Stevenson, displays much mildness, and forms a striking contrast to the deep laid plans formed by the king's party, to deceive and ensnare the Scottish clergy.

Soon afterwards (1640), Mr Dickson received an appointment of a much more public and important nature than any he had yet held. A commission for visiting the university of Glasgow had been appointed by the assembly of 1638, to the members of which, the principal had made himself obnoxious, by a strong leaning towards episcopacy. It was renewed in subsequent years, and introduced several important changes. Among these was the institution of a separate professorship of divinity, to which, a competent lodging and a salary of £500 Scots was attached. This situation had been long destined for Mr Dickson, and when he entered upon the duties of it, he did not disappoint the expectations of the nation. Not only did he interpret the scriptures, teach casuistical divinity, and hear the discourses of his students, but Wodrow informs us, that he preached every Sunday forenoon in the high church.

We find Mr Dickson taking an active part in the assembly of 1643. Some complaints had been made of the continuance of episcopal ceremonies, such as, repeating the doxology, and kneeling, and Alexander Henderson the moderator, David Calderwood, and Mr Dickson, were appointed to prepare the draught of a directory for public worship. It had, we are informed, the effect of quieting the spirits of the discontented. This is the only public transaction in which we find him employed while he remained at Glasgow.

The remaining events in Mr Dickson's life may be soon enumerated. In 1650, he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, where he dictated in Latin to his students, what has since been published in English, under the title of "Truth's victory over Error." Mr Wodrow mentions, that the greater part of the ministers in the west, south, and east of Scotland, had been educated under him, either at Glasgow or Edinburgh. There Mr Dickson continued till the Restoration, when he was ejected for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The great change which took place so rapidly in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country, preyed upon him, and undermined his constitution.

His last illness is thus noticed by Wodrow. "In December, 1662, he felt extremely weak. Mr John Livingston, now suffering for the same cause with him, and under a sentence of banishment for refusing the foresaid oath, came to visit Mr Dickson on his death-bed. They had been intimate friends near fifty years, and now rejoiced together, as fellow confessors. When Mr Livingston asked the professor how he found himself, his answer was, 'I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace.' Mr Dickson's youngest son gave my informer, a worthy minister yet alive, this account of his father's death. Having been very weak and low for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke in particular to each of them, and when he had gone through them all, he pronounced the words of apostolical blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand, and closed his own eyes, and without any struggle or apparent pain immediately expired in the arms of his son, my brother's informer,<sup>6</sup> in the year 1663." This period has been noticed by some of our historians as particularly calamitous. In the course of a few years, when the church most required their support, the deaths of Dickson, Durham, Baillic, Ramsay, Rutherford, and many others are recorded.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Wodrow's Memoir of Dickson, p. xiii.

<sup>7</sup> Law's Memorials, p. 13.

Of Mr Dickson's works the indefatigable Wodrow has given a minute account. By these he is best known, and it is perhaps the best eulogium that could be pronounced upon them, that they have stood the test of nearly two hundred years, and are still highly valued.

His Commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospel of St Matthew, on the Epistles, and on that to the Hebrews, which was printed separately, were the results of a plan formed among some of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church for publishing "short, plain, and practical expositions of the whole Bible." To the same source we are indebted for some of the works of Durham, Ferguson, Hutchison, &c., but the plan was never fully carried into effect, and several of the expositions in Wodrow's time still remained in manuscript. Mr Dickson's *Treatise on the Promises*, published at Dublin in 1630, 12mo, is the only other work printed during his life, with the exception of some ephemeral productions, arising out of the controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen, and the disputes between the resolutioners and protesters. A few poems on religious subjects are mentioned by Wodrow, but they are long since quite forgotten.

Mr Dickson's "*Therapeutica Sacra, or cases of conscience resolved,*" has been printed both in Latin and English. On the 25th of July, 1661, he applied to the privy council for liberty to publish the English version, and Fairfoul, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, was appointed to examine and report upon it. "Now, indeed," says Wodrow, sarcastically, "the world was changed in Scotland, when Mr Fairfoul is pitched upon to revise Mr David Dickson, professor of divinity, his books." What was the result of this application is not known; it is only certain that no farther progress was made in the attainment of this object till 1663, after the author's death. On the 23d of March that year, his son, Mr Alexander Dickson, professor of Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh, again applied to the lords of the council, who in October granted license to print it without restriction.<sup>8</sup> It was accordingly published in 1664.

The last work which we have to notice is "*Truth's victory over Error,*" which was translated by the eccentric George Sinclair, and published as his own in 1684. What his object in doing so was, Wodrow does not determine, but only remarks that *if* (and we think there is no doubt in the matter) it was "with the poor view of a little glory to himself, it happened to him as it generally does to self-seeking and private spirited persons even in this present state." In accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, many of Mr Dickson's students had copied his Dictates, and Sinclair's trick was soon and easily detected. One of them inserted in the running title the lines,

"No errors in this book I see,  
But G.S. where D.D. should be."

The first edition, with the author's name, was printed at Glasgow, in 1725, and has prefixed to it a memoir of the author, by Wodrow, to which we have already alluded, and to which we are indebted for many of the facts mentioned in this article.<sup>9</sup>

DOIG, DR DAVID, the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus, was born in the year 1719. His father dying while he was still an infant, he was in-

<sup>8</sup> History of the suff. of the church of Scotland, *ed.* 1828.

<sup>9</sup> Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, MS. Advocates' Library, sets down the following characteristic anecdote of Mr Dickson: "I heard that when Mr David Dickson came in to see the lady Eglintoune, who at the time had with her the lady Wigton, Culross, &c., and they all cared him very much, he said, 'Ladies, if all this kindness be to me as Mr David Dickson, I can [render] you noe thanks, but if it be to me as a servant of my master, and for his sake, I take it all weel.'"



debted for subsistence to a stepfather, who, although in very moderate circumstances, and burdened with a young family, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eyesight, he was twelve years of age before he had learned to read; he was enabled, however, by the quickness of his intellect, and the constancy of his application, amply to redeem his lost time: his progress was so rapid, that after three years' attendance at the parochial school, he was the successful candidate for a bursary in the university of St Andrews. Having finished the usual elementary course of classical and philosophical education, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and commenced the study of divinity, but was prevented from completing his studies by some conscientious scruples regarding certain of the articles in the presbyterian confession of faith. Thus diverted from his original intention of entering the church, he taught for several years, the parochial schools of Monifeith in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fifeshire. His great reputation as a teacher then obtained for him, from the magistrates of Stirling, the appointment of rector of the grammar school of that town; which situation he continued to fill with the greatest ability for upwards of forty years. It is a curious coincidence, that on one and the same day, he received from the university of St Andrews a diploma as master of arts, and from the university of Glasgow, the honorary degree of doctor of laws.—Dr Doig died March 16th, 1800, at the age of eighty-one.

In addition to a profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, both of which he wrote with classical purity, Dr Doig had made himself master of the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, and was deeply versed in the history and literature of the East. Of his proficiency in the more abstruse learning, he has afforded abundant proof in his dissertations on *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were written at the request of his intimate friend, and the companion of his social hours, the Rev. Dr George Gleig, and published in the Encyclopædia Britannica; of which work, that able and ingenious clergyman edited the last volumes, and was himself the author of many of the most valuable articles which the book contains. That part of the Encyclopædia containing the article *Philology*, written by Dr Doig, having been published in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek verb*, by Dr Vincent, afterwards Dean of Westminster, that author was so much struck with the coincidence, in many points, with his own opinions, that he commenced an epistolary correspondence with Dr Doig: and these two eminent philologists, by frequent communication, assisted and encouraged each other in their researches on these subjects. The same liberal interchange of sentiment characterized Dr Doig's correspondence with Mr Bryant, in their mutual inquiries on the subject of ancient mythology. Amongst other proofs which Dr Doig gave of his profound learning, was a *Dissertation on the Ancient Hellenes*, published in the Transactions of the royal society of Edinburgh.

The most remarkable event of Dr Doig's literary life, however, was his controversy with lord Kames. That eminent philosopher, in his *Essay on Man*, had maintained, as the foundation of his system, that man was originally in an entirely savage state, and that by gradual improvement, he rose to his present condition of diversified civilization. These opinions were combated by Dr Doig, who endeavoured to prove, that they were neither supported by sound reason, nor by historical fact; while they were at the same time irreconcilable with the Mosaic account of the creation. In the bible, the historical details of the earliest period present man in a comparatively advanced state of civilization; and if we resort to profane history, we find that the earliest historical records are confirmatory of the sacred books, and represent civilization as flow-

ing from those portions of the globe—from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile—which the biblical history describes as the seat of the earliest civilization. Modern history is equally favourable to Dr Doig's system. In Eastern Asia, we find nations remaining for thousands of years in identically the same state of improvement, or if they have moved at all, it has been a retrograde movement. In Africa also, we perceive man in precisely the same condition in which the Greek and Roman writers represent him to have been two thousand years ago. Europe alone affords an example of progress in civilization, and that progress may be easily traced to intercourse with the eastern nations. Man seems to possess no power to advance unassisted, beyond the first stage of barbarism. According to Dr Robertson, "in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and the desires of men, are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves; they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and wherever the objects of enjoyment to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable." The impediments which prejudice and national vanity thus oppose to improvement were mainly broken down in Europe by the crusades and their consequences, whereby the civilization of the East was diffused through the several nations in Europe. America presents the only instance of a people having advanced considerably in civilization unassisted, apparently, by external intercourse. The Mexicans and Peruvians, when first discovered, were greatly more civilized than the surrounding tribes: but although this be admitted, yet, as it still remains a debateable question whence the people of America derived their origin, and as the most plausible theory represents them as having migrated from the nations of eastern Asia, it may, after all, be contended, that the Mexicans and Peruvians had rather retrograded than advanced, and that, in truth, they only retained a portion of the civilization which they originally derived from the same common source.

Dr Doig's controversy with lord Kames was maintained in two letters addressed to his lordship, but which were not published until 1793, several years after the death of lord Kames; they led, however, to an immediate intimacy between the controvertists, of the commencement of which we have an interesting anecdote.—The first of these letters "dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, was transmitted to lord Kames, who was then passing the christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond; his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr Graham Moir of Leekie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in the country, his lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, 'In the name of wonder,' said he, 'Doctor, what prodigy of learning have you got in the town of Stirling, who is capable of writing this letter, which I received a few days ago?' The doctor, after glancing over a few pages, answered, 'I think I know him,—there is but one man who is able to write this letter, and a most extraordinary man he is;—David Doig, the master of our grammar school.'—'What!' said lord Kames, 'a genius of this kind, within a few miles of my house, and I never to have heard of him! And a fine fellow, too: he tells his mind roundly and plainly; I love him for that:—he does not spare me: I respect him the more:—you must make us acquainted, my good doctor: I will write him a card; and to morrow, if you please, you shall bring him to dine with me.' The interview took place accordingly; and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed; and



though neither of them could boast of making a convert of his antagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives."

We have various testimonies of the high respect in which Dr Doig was held by all who were acquainted with him, and the sincere regard felt for him by his friends. Mr Tytler, in his life of lord Kames, embraces the opportunity while treating of the controversy between him and lord Kames, to give a short outline of his life, as a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction. John Ramsay of Ochertyre raised a mural tablet to his memory, on which he placed the following inscription:

## DAVID DOIG !

Dium tempus erit, vale !  
 Quo desiderio nunc recordor  
 Colloquia, cœnas, itinera,  
 Quæ tecum olim habui,  
 Prope Taichii marginem,  
 Ubi læti sæpe una erravimus !  
 Sit mihi pro solatio merita tua contemplare.  
 Tibi puero orbo,  
 Ingenni igniculos dedit Pater cœlestis.  
 Tibi etiam grandævo,  
 Labor ipse erat in deliciis.  
 Te vix alius doctrinæ ditior,  
 Nemo edoctus modestior.  
 Tuo in sermone miti lucebant  
 Candor, charitas, jucunda virtus,  
 Ingenii lumine sane gratiora.  
 Defunctum te dolebant octogenarium  
 Cives, discipuli, sodales.  
 Venerande Senex ! non omnis extinctus es !  
 Anima tua, sperare lubet, paradisum incolit.  
 Ibi angelorum ore locutura,  
 Ibi per sempiternas sæculorum ætates,  
 Scientiæ sitim in terris insatiabilem  
 Ad libitum expletura.

J. R.

## DAVID DOIG !

Farewell through time !  
 With what regret do I now remember,  
 The conversation, the meals, the journeys,<sup>1</sup>  
 Which I have had with thee,  
 On the banks of the Teith,  
 Where, well pleased we often strayed together.  
 Be it my consolation  
 To muse upon thy good qualities.  
 On thee, an orphan, thy heavenly Father  
 Bestowed the seeds of Genius :  
 To thee, even when well stricken in years,  
 Labour itself was delight.  
 Than thee, few more rich in literature,  
 None of the learned more unassuming.  
 In thy converse mildly shone  
 Candour, kindness, amiable virtue,  
 More engaging than the glare of genius.  
 When thou died'st, aged fourscore,  
 Townsmen, scholars, and companions,  
 Dropt a tender tear.  
 Venerable old man,  
 Thou hast not utterly perished !  
 Thy soul, we trust, now dwells in heaven :  
 There to speak the language of angels ;  
 There, throughout the endless ages of eternity,  
 To gratify to its wish that thirst for knowledge  
 Which could not be satiated on earth.

A favourite amusement of Dr Doig was the composition of small poetical pieces, both in Latin and English, of which those of an epigrammatic turn were peculiarly excellent. From among those fugitive pieces, the magistrates of Stirling selected the following elegiac stanzas, which he had composed on the subject of his own life and studies, and engraved them upon a marble monument, erected to his memory, at the expense of the community of Stirling.

Edidici quædam, perlegi plura, notavi  
 Paucula, cum domino mox peritura suo,  
 Lubrica Pieriæ tentarem præmia palmæ,  
 Credulus, ingenio heu nimis alta meo.  
 Extincto famam ruituro crescere saxo  
 Posse putem, vivo quæ mihi nulla fuit !

<sup>1</sup> Dr Doig, in company with Mr Ramsay, visited Oxford and Cambridge, in 1791, and some years after, they spent a few weeks together at Peterhead.

DONALDSON, JOHN, an eminent painter, was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1737. His father was a poor but worthy glover in that city, remarkable for the peculiar cast of his mind, which led him to discuss metaphysics as he cut out gloves on his board. The son inherited the same peculiarity, but to an excess which proved injurious to him. His father very prudently did not allow his metaphysics to interfere with his trade; but young Donaldson, disregarding all the ordinary means of forwarding his own particular interests, devoted himself with disinterested philanthropy to the promotion of various fanciful projects for ameliorating the condition of his fellow creatures. The result was precisely what might have been anticipated; for although Donaldson had endowments sufficient to raise him to distinction and opulence, his talents were in effect thrown away, and he died in indigence. While yet a child, he was constantly occupied in drawing with chalk, on his father's cutting-board, those objects around him which attracted his attention. This natural propensity was encouraged by his father, and such was his success, that the boy had hardly completed his twelfth year, when he was enabled to contribute to his own support by drawing miniatures in India-ink. At that time, too, his imitations with the pen, of the works by Albert Durer, Aldegrave, and other ancient engravers, were so exquisite as to excite the astonishment and admiration of men of the most accomplished taste, and to deceive the eye of the most experienced connoisseurs. After prosecuting his profession for several years in Edinburgh, he removed to London, and for some time painted likenesses in miniature, with great success. But at length, the mistaken notions of philanthropy just alluded to, gained such an ascendancy over his mind, as entirely to ruin his prospects. He conceived, that in morals, religion, policy, and taste, mankind were radically wrong; and, neglecting his profession, he employed himself in devising schemes for remedying this universal error. These schemes were the constant subject of his conversation; and, latterly, this infirmity gained so much upon him, that he reckoned the time bestowed on his professional avocations as lost to the world. He now held his former pursuits in utter contempt; and maintained that Sir Joshua Reynolds must be a very dull fellow, to devote his life to the study of lines and tints. He completely neglected his business, and has been known to deny himself to lord North, because he was not in the humour to paint. There was another unhappy peculiarity in his character, which contributed in no inconsiderable degree to mar his success. He was remarkable (until overwhelmed by adversity) for a sarcastic and epigrammatic turn; the indiscreet indulgence in which, lost him many friends. Even while persons of consideration were sitting to him, he would get up and leave them, that he might finish an epigram, or jot down a happy thought. It may well be supposed that, with every allowance for the whims and eccentricities of men of genius, absurdities such as these were not to be tolerated. Nor is it at all wonderful, that as an artist, he retrograded; and ultimately, from want of practice, lost much of that facility of execution, which had gained him celebrity in his early years. To such a man the experience of the world teaches no lesson. He saw with chagrin, the rise of greatly inferior artists; but failed to make that reformation in himself, which would have enabled him to surpass most of his contemporaries. At the same time, he was far from being idle, as the mass of manuscript scraps which he left behind him, abundantly testify. These manuscripts, however, were found in a state too unfinished and confused, to admit of their coming before the public. His only acknowledged publications were "*An Essay on the Elements of Beauty*," and a volume of poems; and Mr Edwards, in his supplement to Walpole's anecdotes of painters, attributes to Donaldson, a pamphlet published anonymously, entitled "*Critical Observations and Re-*

marks upon the Public Buildings of London." Before he became disgusted with his profession, he had painted his well known historical picture of *The Tent of Darius*; which gained him the prize from the society of arts, and was justly admired for its great beauty. About the same time he executed two paintings in enamel, "*The Death of Dido*," and "*The Story of Hero and Leander*," both of which obtained prizes from the same society. These two paintings were so much admired, that he was urged by his friends to do others in the same style; but no persuasion could induce him to make the attempt. At that time many persons of rank and title honoured him with their patronage. The earl of Buchan, in particular, was very much his friend, and purchased the Tent of Darius, and several other of his paintings, together with one or both of the enamels. Donaldson's likenesses, both in black-lead and in colours, were striking; of which the head of Hume the historian, prefixed to Strachan and Cadell's edition of the History of England, was accounted a very favourable specimen.

Among the various pursuits of this eccentric individual, chemistry was one; in the prosecution of which, he discovered a method of preserving meat and vegetables uncorrupted, during the longest voyages. For this discovery he obtained a patent; but his poverty and indolence, and his ignorance of the world, prevented his turning it to any account. The last twenty years of his life were spent in great misery. His eye-sight had failed; but even before that misfortune, his business had left him; and he was frequently destitute of the ordinary necessaries of life. His last illness was occasioned by his having slept in a newly painted room, which brought on a total debility. His friends then removed him to lodgings near Islington, where he received every attention which his case required, until his death, which took place on the 11th of October, 1801. He was buried in Islington church-yard. Donaldson was a man of very rare endowments, and of great talents; addicted to no vice; and remarkable for the most abstemious moderation. The great and single error of his life, was his total neglect of his profession, at a time when his talents and opportunities held out the certainty of his attaining the very highest rank as an artist.

DONALDSON, WALTER, was born in Aberdeen, and attained to some consideration among the learned men of the seventeenth century. He was in the retinue of bishop Cunningham of Aberdeen, and Peter Junius, grand-almoner of Scotland, when they were sent on an embassy from king James VI. to the court of Denmark and to the princes of Germany. After his return from this expedition he again went abroad, and delivered a course of lectures on moral philosophy at Heidelberg. One of his pupils having taken notes of these lectures, published them; an encroachment on his rights with which Donaldson seems not to have been much displeased, for he informs us, with apparent complacency, that several editions of the work were published both in Germany and in Great Britain, under the title of *Synopsis Moralis Philosophiæ*. He was afterwards appointed professor of the Greek language and principal of the university of Sedan, which situation he retained for sixteen years; he was then invited to open a college at Charenton, but the proposed establishment was objected to as illegal, and appears to have gone no farther. While this matter was pending in the courts of law, Donaldson employed himself in preparing his *Synopsis Economica*, which he published in Paris in 8vo, in 1620, and dedicated to the prince of Wales. This work was republished at Rostock in 1624, in 8vo.

DOUGALL, JOHN, was born in Kirkcaldy in Fifeshire, where his father was the master of the grammar school. After receiving the primary branches of education at home, he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, where he



studied for some time, with the intention of entering the church of Scotland; but afterwards changing his design, he devoted himself principally to classical learning, for which his mind was unusually gifted. He also directed his attention to the study of mathematics, of ancient and modern geography, and of the modern languages, including most of those of northern Europe. He made the tour of the continent several times in the capacity of tutor and travelling companion. Afterwards he was private secretary to the learned general Melville; and ultimately he established himself in London, where he dedicated his life to literary pursuits. He was the author of *Military Adventures*, 8vo, *The Modern Preceptor*, 2 vols. 8vo, *The Cabinet of Arts, including Arithmetic, Geometry, and Chemistry*, 2 vols. 8vo.; and contributed besides to many scientific and literary works; particularly to the periodical publications of the day. He also engaged in the translation of works from the French and Italian languages. For many years he employed himself, under the patronage of the late duke of York, in preparing a new translation of Caesar's Commentaries, with copious notes and illustrations. This work, however, he did not live to complete, which is much to be regretted, as from his classical knowledge he must have rendered it highly valuable. He had likewise intended to prepare an English translation of Strabo, as well as to clear up many doubtful passages in Polybius, for which he was eminently qualified; but the want of encouragement and the narrowness of his circumstances frustrated his wishes. Reduced, in the evening of his life, to all the miseries of indigence and neglect, he sunk, after a long and severe illness, into the grave, in the year 1822, leaving his aged widow utterly destitute and unprovided for; and affording in himself an instructive but painful example of the hardships to which, unless under very favourable circumstances, men even of extraordinary attainments, are apt to be reduced, when, forsaking the ordinary paths of professional industry, they yield to the captivations of literature.

DOUGLAS, (SIR) CHARLES, a distinguished naval officer, was a native of Scotland; but we have not learned where he was born, nor to what family he belonged. His education must have been very good, as he could speak no fewer than six different European languages with perfect correctness. He was originally in the Dutch service, and it is said that he did not obtain rank in the British navy without great difficulty. In the seven years' war, which commenced in 1756, he was promoted through the various ranks of the service till he became post-captain. At the conclusion of the war in 1763, he went to St Petersburg, his majesty having previously conferred upon him the rank of baronet. On the war breaking out with America in 1775, Sir Charles had a broad pendant given him, and commanded the squadron employed in the Gulf of St Lawrence. His services on this station were, after his return to England, rewarded with very flattering honours, and he soon after obtained command of the *Duke*, 98 guns. Sir Charles was remarkable not only as a linguist, but also for his genius in mechanics. He suggested the substitution of locks for matches in naval gunnery; an improvement immediately adopted, and which proved of vast service to the British navy. On the 24th of November, 1781, he was appointed first captain to Sir George Rodney, then about to sail on his second expedition to the West Indies. Sir George, having hoisted his flag in the *Formidable*, Douglas assumed the command of that vessel, and they sailed on the 15th of January, 1782, from Torbay. On the 12th of April, took place the celebrated engagement with the French fleet, in which the British gained a most splendid victory, chiefly, it is supposed, in consequence of the *Formidable* having been directed across the enemy's line. In our memoir of Mr Clerk of Eldin, we have recorded part of the controversy which has been

carried on respecting the originator of this idea. It was there shown, that Sir Charles Douglas utterly denied the claims of Mr Clerk: we must now show what claims have been put forward for himself. Douglas, it must be remarked, was an officer of too high principle to make any claims himself. He thought it a kind of insubordination for any one to claim more honour than what was allowed to him by his superiors in the despatches or in the gazette. Hence, whenever any one hinted at the concern which he was generally supposed to have had in suggesting the measure, he always turned the conversation, remarking in general terms, "We had a great deal to do, Sir, and I believe you will allow we did a great deal." The claim has been put forward by his son, major-general Sir Howard Douglas, who, at the same time, speaks in the following terms of his father's delicacy upon the subject: "He never, I repeat, asserted, or would accept, when complimented upon it, greater share in the honour of the day, than what had been publicly and officially given him, and I am sure his spirit would not approve of my reclaiming any laurels of that achievement from the tomb of his chief." The principal proof brought forward by Sir Howard consists of the following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Dashwood, a surviving actor in the engagement of the 12th of April, though then only thirteen years of age. "Being one of the aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on that memorable day, it was my duty to attend both on him and the captain of the fleet, as occasion might require. It so happened, that some time after the battle had commenced, and whilst we were severely engaged, I was standing near Sir Charles Douglas, who was leaning on the hammocks (which in those days were stowed across the fore part of the quarter-deck), his head leaning on his one hand, and his eye occasionally glancing on the enemy's line, and apparently in deep meditation, as if some great event were crossing his mind: suddenly raising his head, and turning quickly round, he said, 'Dash, where's Sir George?' 'In the after-cabin, Sir,' I replied. He immediately went aft: I followed; and on meeting Sir George coming from the cabin, close to the wheel, he took off his cocked hat with his right hand, holding his long spy-glass in his left, and, making a low and profound bow, said, 'Sir George, I give you joy of the victory!'—'Poh!' said the chief, as if half angry, 'the day is not half won yet.'—'Break the line, Sir George!' said Douglas, 'the day is your own, and I will ensure you the victory.'—'No,' said the admiral, 'I will not break my line.' After another request and another refusal, Sir Charles desired the helm to be put a-port; Sir George ordered it to starboard. On Sir Charles again ordering it to port, the admiral sternly said, 'Remember, Sir Charles, that I am commander-in-chief,—starboard, Sir,' addressing the master, who during this controversy had placed the helm amidships. The admiral and captain then separated; the former going aft, and the latter going forward. In the course of a couple of minutes or so, each turned and again met nearly on the same spot, when Sir Charles quietly and coolly again addressed the chief—'Only break the line, Sir George, and the day is your own.' The admiral then said in a quick and hurried way, 'Well, well, do as you like,' and immediately turned round, and walked into the after-cabin. The words 'Port the helm,' were scarcely uttered, when Sir Charles ordered me down with directions to commence firing on the starboard side. On my return to the quarter-deck, I found the Formidable passing between two French ships, each nearly touching us. We were followed by the Namur, and the rest of the ships astern, and from that moment the victory was decided in our favour."

Referring the reader for a further discussion of this controversy to the 83d number of the Quarterly Review, we may mention that lord Rodney never failed to confess that the advantages of the day were greatly improved by Sir

Charles Douglas. After the conclusion of the war, the gallant officer was intrusted with the command of the Nova Scotia station, which, however, he resigned in consequence of some proceedings of the Navy Board with which he was displeased. During the preparations for war in 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and next year he was re-appointed to the Nova Scotia station. He expired, however, January 1789, in the act of entering a public meeting at Edinburgh, a stroke of apoplexy having cut him off in a single moment. Over and above all his claims to the honours of the 12th of April, he left the character of a brave and honest officer. His mechanical inventions have been followed up by his son, Sir Howard, whose work on naval gunnery is a book of standard excellence.

DOUGLAS, GAVIN, one of the most eminent of our early poets, was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth earl of Angus, by Elizabeth Boyd, only daughter of Robert, lord Boyd, high chamberlain of Scotland. The earls of Angus were a younger branch of the family of Douglas, and helped, in the reign of James II., to depress the enormous power of the main stock; whence it was said, with a reference to the complexions of the two different races, that the *red Douglas had put down the black*. Archibald, the fifth earl, father to the poet, is noted in our history for his bold conduct respecting the favourites of James III., at Lauder, which gained him the nickname of *Bell-the-cat*. His general force of character amidst the mighty transactions in which he was engaged, caused him to be likewise designated "the great earl." According to the family historian, he was every way accomplished, both in body and mind; of stature tall, and strong made; his countenance full of majesty, and such as bred reverence in the beholders; wise, and eloquent of speech; upright and regular in his actions; sober, and moderate in his desires; valiant and courageous; a man of action and undertaking; liberal also; loving and kind to his friends; which made him to be beloved, revered, and respected by all men.

Gavin Douglas, the son of such a father, was born about the year 1474, and was brought up for the church. Where his education was commenced, is unknown; but, according to Mr Warton, there is certain evidence that it was finished in the university of Paris. He is supposed, in youth, to have travelled for some time over the continent, in order to make himself acquainted with the manners of other countries. In 1496, when only twenty-two years of age, he was appointed rector of Hawick, a benefice probably in the gift of his family, which has long held large property and high influence in that part of the country. We are informed by the family historian, that in youth he felt the pangs of love, but was soon freed from the tyranny of that unreasonable passion. Probably his better principles proved sufficient to keep in check what his natural feelings, aided by the poetical temperament, would have dictated. However, he appears to have signalized his triumph, by writing a translation of Ovid's "Remedy of Love." He alludes in a strange manner to this work, in his translation of Virgil; giving the following free reading of the well known passage in the *Æneid*, where his author speaks of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, as having been his former compositions:

So thus followand the floure of poetry,  
The battellis and the man translate have I,  
Quhilk yore ago in myne undauntit youth  
Unfructuous idelnes fleand, as I couth,  
Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,  
And syne of lie Honour the Pallice wrate.

In those days, it does not seem to have been considered the duty of a translator to put himself exactly into the place of the author; he was permitted to substitute



modern allusions for the original, and, as this specimen testifies, to alter any personality respecting the author, so as to apply to himself. The translation of the "Remedy of Love," which must have been written before the year 1501, has not been preserved. In the year just mentioned, he wrote his "Palace of Honour," an apologue for the conduct of a king, and which he therefore addressed, very appropriately, to his young sovereign, king James IV. The poet, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees troops of persons travelling towards the palace of honour. He joins himself to the train of the muses, and in their company proceeds to the happy place. At this point of the allegory, his description of one of their resting places is exceedingly beautiful :

Our horses pasturit on ane pleasand plane,  
Law at the foot of ane fair grene montane,  
Amid ane meid, shaddowit with cedar trees,  
Safe fra all heit, thair might we weil remain.  
All kind of herbis, flouris, fruit, and grain,  
With every growand tree thair men might cheis,  
The beryal streams rinnand ower sternerie greis,  
Made sober noise; the shair dimit again,  
For birdis sang, and sounding of the beis.

In his last adventure, he seems to allude to the law of celibacy, under which, as a priest, he necessarily lay. The habitation of the honourable ladies (which he describes in gorgeous terms) is surrounded by a deep ditch, over which is a narrow bridge, formed of a single tree; and this is supposed to represent the ceremony of marriage. Upon his attempting to pass over the bridge, he falls into the water, and awakes from his dream. Of this poem, the earliest known edition is one printed at London, in 1553, in quarto. Another appeared at Edinburgh, in 1579, being printed "by Johne Roes, for Henry Charteris;" both are very rare. In the preface, however, to the Edinburgh edition, the printer mentions, that "besides the coppie printed at London, there were copyis of this wark set furth of auld amang ourselvis." These are totally lost to bibliographical research. There is some probability, however, that some of them appeared before 1543, as a work by Florence Wilson, entitled "De Tranquillitate Animi," and printed in that year, is said to be an imitation of the Palace of Honour. Sage, in his life of Douglas, prefixed to the edition of the Æneid, thus speaks of the poem under our notice: "The author's excellent design is, under the similitude of a vision, to represent the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to show, that a constant and inflexible course of virtue and goodness, is the only way to true honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes, as a magnificent palace, situated on the top of a very high mountain, of a most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with a variety of examples, not only of those noble and heroic souls, whose eminent virtues procured them admission into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures, whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding of all their worldly state and grandeur." This critic is of opinion that the poet took his plan from the palace of happiness described in the "Tablet" of Cebes. There is, however, a probability of a still more interesting nature, with which we are impressed. This is, that Bunyan must have adopted his idea of the Pilgrim's Progress from the "Palace of Honour." In the whole structure of these two works, there is a marked resemblance. Both are dreams, representing a journey towards a place superior to the nature of this world. In the one, the pilgrim of honour, in the other, the pilgrim of christianity, are the heroes; and both are conducted by supernatural beings, on a march represented as somewhat trying to human strength. It is curious, also

that while the journey ends, in both cases, at a place full of celestial glories, there is, in both cases, a limbo, or hell, by the way side, a little before the ultimate object is reached.

In all probability, these poems were written at his residence in the town of Hawick, where he was surrounded with scenery in the highest degree calculated to nurse a poetical fancy. In 1509, he was nominated to be provost of the collegiate church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, and it is likely that he then changed his residence to the capital. Some years before, he had contemplated a translation of the *Æneid* into Scottish verse, as appears from his *Palace of Honour*, where Venus presents him with a copy of that poem, in the original, and, in virtue of her relation to the hero, requests the poet to give a version of it in his vernacular tongue. In his preface to the work, he thus explains the real earthly reason of his engaging in such a labour :

And that ye knaw at quhais instance I tuke  
 For to translate this maist excellent buke,  
 I mene Virgillis volum, maist excellent,  
 Set this my werk full febill be of rent,  
 At the request of ane lorde of renouwe,  
 Of aneestry maist nobill, and illustir baroun,  
 Fadir of bukis, protector to science and lair,  
 My special gude lord Henry lord Sinclair.  
 Quhilk with great instance, diverse tymes, sere  
 Prayit me translate Virgil or Homere,  
 Quhais plesure soithlie, as I undirstude,  
 As near conjonit to his lordship in blude;<sup>4</sup>  
 So that methocht his request ane command,  
 Half desparit this werk I tuke on hand,  
 Not fully grantand, nor anys sayand ye,  
 Bot only to assay how it might be.  
 Quhay nicht gainsay a lorde sa gentil and kind,  
 That ever had ony courtesy in thair mynd?  
 Quhilk beside his innative policy,  
 Humanite, courage, freedom, and chevelry,  
 Bukis to recollect, to reid, and see,  
 Hes great delyte as ever had Ptolomé.

At the urgent request of this literary nobleman, which seems to have been necessary to get over the diffidence of the poet himself, Douglas commenced his labours in January, 1511-12, and although he prefaced each book with an original poem, and included the poem written by Maphens Vigius<sup>2</sup> as a thirteenth book, the whole was completed in eighteen months, two of which, he tells us, were spent exclusively in other business. The work was completed on the 22nd of July, 1513. The "*Æneid*" of Gavin Douglas is a work creditable in the highest degree to Scottish literature, not only from the specific merit of the translation, but because it was the first translation of a Roman classic executed in the English language.<sup>3</sup> To adopt the criticism of Dr Irving—"Without pronouncing it the best version of this poem that ever was, or ever will be executed, we may at least venture to affirm, that it is the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original,

<sup>1</sup> Henry, first lord Sinclair, was grandson to lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas. He fell at Flodden.

<sup>2</sup> A learned Italian of the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The near affinity of the languages of England and Scotland at this time, renders any circumlocutory mode of expressing this idea unnecessary.



and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. And whether we consider the state of British literature at that era, or the rapidity with which he completed the work, he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration. In either of the sister languages, few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted; and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. It has been remarked, that even in English, no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boethius, who scarcely merits that appellation. On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French: and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a version of the *Æneid*. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton, for his presumptuous deviation from the classical story, and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like St Austin. He has, however, fallen into one error, which he exposes in his predecessor; proper names are often so transfigured in his translation, that they are not, without much difficulty, recognised. In many instances, he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of his original. The sybil, for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes *Æneas*, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads. This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a classical standard, has been adopted by much later writers: many preposterous instances occur in the learned Dr Blackwell's memoirs of the court of Augustus.

"Of the general principles of translation, however, Douglas appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. For the most part, his version is neither rashly licentious, nor tamely literal. \* \* \* Though the merit of such a performance cannot be ascertained by the inspection of a few detached passages, it may be proper to exhibit a brief specimen:

Facilis descensus Averni,  
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;  
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,  
Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci quos æquus amavit  
Jupiter, aut ardens exivit ad æthera virtus,  
Dis geniti, potuere. Tenent media omnia silvæ,  
Coeytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.

VIRGIL.

It is richt faeill and eith gate, I thé tell,  
For to descend and pass on down to hell:  
The black yettis of Pluto and that dirk way  
Standis evir open and patent nycht and day:  
Bot therefra to return agane on hicht,  
And here aboue recour this airis licht,  
That is difficill werk, there labouré lyis.  
Full few there bene quhom heich aboue the skyis  
Thare ardent vertew has rasit and upheit,  
Or yet quhame equale Jupiter deifyit,  
Thay quhilkis bene gendrit of goddis, may thidder attane.  
All the midway is wildernes vnplane,  
Or wilsum forrest; and the laithly flude  
Coeytus with his dresy bosum vnrude  
Flowis enuiron round about that place.

DOUGLAS."

Mr Warton pronounces for judgment upon Douglas' *Æneid*, that it "is executed with equal spirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scotch and

English languages were then nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially, in the glaring affectation of Anglicising Latin words."<sup>1</sup>

It is not, however, in the translation that the chief merit lies. The poet has gained much greater praise for the original poetry scattered through the book. To an ordinary reader, the plan of the work may be best described by a reference to the structure of "Marmion," which is decidedly an imitation of it. To every book is prefixed what Douglas calls a prologue, containing some descriptions or observations of his own, and some of which afford delightful glimpses of his personal character and habits. Those most admired are the prologue to the seventh book, containing a description of winter, that to the twelfth book, containing a description of a summer morning, and that to the thirteenth (supplementary) book, which describes an evening in June. It would appear that the author, in these and other cases, sought to relax himself from the progressive labour of mere translation, by employing his own poetical powers, on what he saw at the time around him. Mr Warton speaks of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* as among the earliest descriptive poems produced in England. Whether he be correct or not, we may at least affirm, that Douglas, in his prologues to the books of Virgil, has given Scotland the credit of producing poems of that kind, more than a century earlier.

These compositions being of such importance in Scottish literature, it seems proper in this place to present a specimen sufficient to enable the reader to judge of their value. It is difficult, however, to pitch upon a passage where the merit of the poetry may be obvious enough to induce the reader to take a little trouble in comprehending the language.<sup>2</sup> We have with some hesitation pitched upon the following passage from the prologue to the seventh book, which, as descriptive of nature in a certain aspect, in this country, is certainly very faithful and even picturesque:

\* \* \* \* \*

The firmament owrecastr with cludis black:  
 The ground fadit, and faugh<sup>3</sup> wox all the fieldis  
 Mountane toppis slekit with snaw owre heildis:  
 On raggit rockis of hard harsh quhyn stane,  
 With frostyn frontis cald clynty clewis schane:  
 Bewty was lost, and barrand shew the landis  
 With frostis hore, overfret the fieldis standis.  
 Thick drumly skuggis<sup>4</sup> dirkinit so the hevin,  
 Dim skyis oft furth warpit fearful levin,<sup>5</sup>  
 Flaggis<sup>6</sup> of fyre, and mony felloun flaw,  
 Sharp soppis of sleit and of the swyppand snaw:  
 The dolly dichis war al douk and wate,  
 The low vales flodderit all with spate,  
 The plane stretis and every hie way  
 Full of fluschis, dubbis, myre, and clay.

\* \* \* \* \*

Owr craggis and the frontis of rockys sere,  
 Hang gret yse schokkilis, lang as ony spere:  
 The grund stude barrane, widderit, dosk, and gray  
 Herbis, flowris, and gersis wallowit away:

<sup>1</sup> History of English Poetry, ii. 281, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Well do I recollect, in early days, borrowing old Gavin's translation from a circulating library, in order to steal a sly march upon my class-fellows in version-making. What was my disappointment on finding that the copy was a great deal more unintelligible than the original, and that, in reality, he of St Giles stood more in need of a translator than he of Mantua!

<sup>3</sup> Fallow.

<sup>4</sup> Shadows.

<sup>5</sup> Lightning.

<sup>6</sup> Flakes.

Woddis, forrestis, with naket bewis blout,  
 Stude stripit of their wede in every bout •  
 So bustouslie Boreas his bugill blew,  
 The dere full dorne full in the dailis drew :

\* \* \* \* \*  
 The watter lynnys routes, and every lynd  
 Qulistlit and brayit of the southend wynd:  
 Pure lauboraris and byssy husbandmen,  
 Went weet and wery draigit in the fen ; :  
 The silly sheep and thare little hird-gromes  
 Lurkis under lye of bankis, woddis, and bromes ;  
 And utheris dautit greter bestial  
 Within thare stabill sesit in thare stall.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 The caller air, penetrative and pure,  
 Dasing the blude in every creature,  
 Made seik warm stovis and bene fyris hote,  
 In doubill garment clad, and welcote,  
 With mychty drink, and metis comfortive,  
 Aganis the stern winter for to strive.  
 Repattirit<sup>7</sup> wele, and by the chymnay bekit,  
 At evin betym doun in the bed they strekit,  
 Warpit my hede, kest on claithis thrynefald,  
 For to expell the perillous persand cald :  
 I crossit me, syne bownit for to sleep :

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Approaeking near the breking of the day,  
 Within my bed I walkynint quhare I lay  
 So fast deelynes Cynthia the mone,  
 And kayis keklys on the rufe abone,

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Fast by my chalmer, on hie wisnet treis,  
 The sary gled quhissilis with mony ane pew,  
 Quharby the day was dawing wiel I knew ;  
 Bade bete the fyre and the candill alicht,  
 Syne blessit me, and in my wedis dycht ;  
 Ane schot-windo<sup>8</sup> unshet, ane litel on char,  
 Persavyt the morning blae, wan, and har,  
 Wyth cloudy gum and rak owirquhelmyt the air ;

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ———Blaiknyt schew the brayis,  
 With hirstis harsk of waggand wyndil straysis,  
 The dew-droppis congelit on stibbil and vynd,  
 And sharp hailstansy mortfundyit of kynd,  
 Stoppand on the thack, and on the causay by:  
 The schote I closit, and drew inward in hy ;  
 Cheverand of cald, the sessoun was sa snell,  
 Schafe with hait flambis to steme the freezing fell.  
 And as I bounit me to the fire me by,  
 Baith up and downe the house I did espy ;  
 And seeand Virgil on ane letteron<sup>9</sup> stand,  
 To wryte anone I eynt my pen in hand,

<sup>7</sup> Well solaced with victuals. <sup>8</sup> A kind of sliding panel in the fronts of old wooden houses.

<sup>9</sup> Desk.

And as I culd, with ane fald diligence  
 This nint buke followand of profound science,  
 Thus has begun in the chill wynter cald,  
 Quhen frostis dois owir flete baith firth and fald.

Lest the reader should find that he loses the force of this description through the obscurity of the language, it appears proper that he should have another specimen in a different form. We shall therefore lay before him part of a prose paraphrase executed by Mr Warton, which conveys the same ideas as the original, though in a less pleasing form. The experiment of this version, according to Mr Warton, must serve to show the native excellence of these compositions. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry, appearing like Ulysses, still a king and a conqueror, although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.—We quote from the description of May, in the twelfth prologue :

“—— The crystal gates of heaven were thrown open to illuminate the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks, mingled with gold and azure. The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as a berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere: the flames burst from their nostrils: while shortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phœbus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace, with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable. The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure. The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene<sup>10</sup> The silver-scaled fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinnabar, and chisel tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of the rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun's brilliant horses, the bladed soil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed to be painted; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed their own shape on the plains. The globe, fearless of the northern blasts, spread her broad bosom. The corn crops, and the new-sprung barley, reclothed the earth with a gladsome garment. The variegated vesture of the valley covered the cloven furrow, and the barley lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was besprinkled with rivulets; and the fresh moisture of the dewy night restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. Rank ivy leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding clusters of the tender vines hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlocking, expanded themselves into the foliage of nature's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various

<sup>10</sup> The original is here so much more beautiful, that we must be pardoned an extract:

The auriate phanis of his throne soverane,  
 With glittering glaive owirsprede the octiane  
 The large studis lemand all of licht  
 But with ane blink of his supernale sicht;  
 For to behald it was ane gloire to se  
 The stabiliti wyndys, and the calmyt se,  
 The soft sessoun, the firmament serene,  
 The loune illuminate air, and firth amene, &c.



colours on the bending stalks.<sup>11</sup> Some red, &c. Others watchet like the blue and wavy sea; speckled with red and white; or bright as gold, the daisy unbraided her little coronet, the grapes stood embattled with banewort. The seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds putting forth, offered their red vernal lips to be kissed; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lillies with white curling tops, showed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, scion, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey. The swans clamoured amidst the rustling weeds, and searched all the lakes and grey rivers where to build their nests. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges, or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nooks, or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her sly net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen the valley, or within the pale-enclosed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through the briars after the roes, and in the pastures and leas, the lambs, full tight and trig, went bleating to their dams. Meantime dame nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall, the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckoo cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees."

The original poet concludes with the following fine apostrophe :

Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,  
 Welcum fosterare of tender herbis grene,  
 Welcum quickener of flurest flouris schene,  
 Welcum support of every rute and vane,  
 Welcum comfort of all kind frute and grane,  
 Welcum the birdis beild upon the brier,  
 Welcum maister and ruler of the year,  
 Welcum weilfare of husbands at the plewis,  
 Welcum repairer of woddis, treis, and bewis  
 Welcum depainter of the blomyt medis,  
 Welcum the lyf of every thing that spedis,  
 Welcum storare of all kind bestial,  
 Welcum be thy bricht beams gladand all!

As a still further expedient for making modern readers acquainted with the beauties of this ancient poet and honour of our country, we have ventured upon the somewhat hazardous experiment of a versified translation; taking for this purpose the description of a June evening, from the prologue to the thirteenth book, and entering before hand the following protest, furnished to our hands by the poet himself :

—————" I set my besy pane,  
 As that I couth, to mak it brade and plane,  
 Kepand no Sudroun, bot our awin language,  
 And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page:<sup>12</sup>  
 Na yit so clene all Sudroun I refuse,  
 Bot some worde I pronounce as nycheboure dois;

<sup>11</sup> The loukit buttoun on the *gemyt treis*  
 Owerspredand levis of naturis tapestryis,  
 Soft gresy verdure eftir balmy schouris,  
 On curland stalks *smiland to thair flouris.*

<sup>12</sup> Boy. x



Like as in Latino bene Grewe termos sum,<sup>13</sup>  
 So me behuffit quhilom or be dum.  
 From bastard Latine, French, or Inglis ois,  
 Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane uther chois ;  
 Not that our tongue is in the selvin scant,  
 Bot that I the fouth of language want."

This being prefaced, here follows the modern Anglo-Scottish version :

During the jolly joyous month of June,  
 When gaue was near the day, and supper dune,  
 I walkit furth to taste the evening air,  
 Among the fields that were replenish'd fair,  
 With herbage, corn, and cattle, and fruit trees,  
 Plenty of store ; while birds and busy bees,  
 O'er emerald meadows flew baith east and west,  
 Their labour done, to take their evening rest.  
 As up and down I cast my wandering eye,  
 All burning red straight grew the western sky  
 The sun descending on the waters grey,  
 Deep under earth withdrew his beams away.  
 The evening star, with lustre near as bright,  
 Springs up, the gay fore-rider of the night.  
 Amid the haughs and every pleasant vale,  
 The recent dew begins on herbs to skail,  
 To quench the burning where the sun had shone,  
 Which to the world beneath had lately gone.  
 On every pile and pickle of the crops,  
 This moisture hang, like burning beryl drops,  
 And on the halesome herbs, and eke the weeds  
 Like chrystal gems, or little silver beads.  
 The light began to fail, the mists to rise,  
 And here and there grim shades o'erspread the skies ;  
 The bald and leathern bat commeneed her flight,  
 The lark descended from her airy height,  
 Singing her plaintive song, after her wyse,  
 To take her rest, at matin hour to rise.  
 Mists sweep the hill before the lazy wind,  
 And night unfolds her cloak with sable lined,  
 Swaddling the beauty of the fruitful ground,  
 With cloth of shade, obscurity profound ;  
 All creatures, wheresoe'er they liked the best,  
 Then went to take their pleasant nightly rest.  
 The fowls that lately flew throughout the air,  
 The drowsy cattle in their sheltered lair,  
 After the heat and labour of the day,  
 Unstirring and unstirred in slumber lay.  
 Each thing that roves the meadow or the wood,  
 Each thing that flies through air, or dives in flood,  
 Each thing that nestles in the bosky bank,  
 Or loves to rustle through the marshes dank.  
 The little midges,<sup>14</sup> and the happy flees,<sup>15</sup>  
 Laborious emmets, and the busy bees,  
 All beasts, or wild or tame, or great or small,  
 God's peace and blessing rests serene o'er all.

<sup>13</sup> As in Latin there are some Greek terms. <sup>14</sup> Gnats—*evening ephemera*. <sup>15</sup> Flies.

It remains to be mentioned that the translation of Virgil, being written at a time when printing hardly existed in Scotland, continued in manuscript till long after the death of bishop Douglas, and was first published at London in 1553, at the same time with the 'Pallice of Honour.' The work bore the following title: "The xiii. bukes of Eneados of the famos poet Virgill. Translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottish meter, by the reverend father in God, Mayster Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkel, and unkil to the erle of Angus. Euery buke hauing hys particular prologue." A second edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1710, by the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, with a life by bishop Sage. Even this later impression is now rarely met with.

The earl of Angus was at this time possessed of great influence at court, in virtue of which he filled the office of chief magistrate of the city. Less than two months after Gavin Douglas had finished his translation, the noble provost and all his retainers, accompanied king James on the fatal expedition which terminated in the battle of Flodden. Here the poet's two elder brothers, the Master of Angus and Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie, fell, with two hundred gentlemen of their name. The earl himself had previously withdrawn from the expedition, on account of an unkind expression used by his imprudent sovereign. He died, however, within a twelvemonth thereafter, of grief, leaving his titles and immense territorial influence to the heir of his eldest deceased son, and who was consequently nephew to the Provost of St Giles. It is curious to find that, on the 30th of September, only three weeks after his country had experienced one of the greatest disasters recorded in her history, and by which himself had lost two brothers and many other friends, the poet was admitted a burges of Edinburgh. This fact was discovered by Sibbald in the council register, with the phrase added, "*pro commune bono villæ, gratis.*" But perhaps there is some mistake as to the date, the register of that period not being original, but apparently a somewhat confused transcript.

The consequences of this fatal battle seemed at first to open up a path of high political influence to Gavin Douglas. His nephew, being as yet very young, fell in some measure under his tutelage, as the nearest surviving relation. The queen, who had been appointed regent for her infant son James V., in less than a year from her husband's death, was pleased to marry the young earl of Angus, who accordingly seemed likely to become the actual governor of the kingdom. The step, however, was unpopular, and at a convention of the nobles it was resolved, rather than obey so young a member of their own body, to call in the duke of Albany, cousin to the late king. This personage did not realize the expectations which had been formed respecting him; and thus it happened, that for some years the chief power alternated between him and Angus. Sometimes the latter individual enjoyed an influence deputed to him in the queen's name by the duke, who occasionally found it necessary to retire to France. At other times, both the queen and her husband were obliged to take refuge in England, where, on one of these occasions, was born their only child, Margaret Douglas, destined in future years to be the mother of lord Darnley, the husband of queen Mary.

The fortunes and domestic happiness of our poet appear to have been deeply affected by those of his nephew. Soon after the battle of Flodden, the queen conferred upon him the abbacy of Aberbrothock, vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, the late king's natural son. In a letter addressed by her grace to Pope Leo the tenth, she extols Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, and earnestly requests that he may be confirmed in the possession of this abbacy, till his singular merits should be rewarded with some more ample endowment. Soon after she conferred on him the archbishopric of St Andrews,

which, if confirmed, would have placed him at the head of the Scottish church. But the queen and her husband were not powerful or popular enough, to secure him in this splendid situation. He was first intruded on by one John Hepburn, who had been appointed by the chapter, and then both he and Hepburn were displaced by the pope, in favour of Forman, the bishop of Moray, a busy and ambitious churchman, who had been legate *a latere* to pope Julius II. Douglas was at the same time deprived of the abbacy of Aberbrothock. It appears that, although these disputes were carried on by strength of arms on all sides, the poet himself was always averse from hostile measures, and would rather have abandoned his own interest than bring reproach upon his profession. The queen, having hitherto failed to be of any service to him, nominated him, in 1515, to be bishop of Dunkeld, and on this occasion, to make quite sure, confirmation of the gift was, by the influence of her brother Henry the eighth, procured from the pope. In these days, however, a right which would suffice one day might not answer the next; and so it proved with Gavin Douglas. The duke of Albany, who arrived in May, 1515, though he had protected the right of archbishop Forman on the strength of a papal bull, not only found it convenient to dispute that title in the case of Douglas, but actually imprisoned the poet for a year, as a punishment for having committed an act so detrimental to the honour of the Scottish church. In the meantime, one Andrew Stewart, brother to the earl of Athole, and a partizan of Albany, got himself chosen bishop by the chapter, and was determined to hold out the cathedral against all whatsoever. Gavin Douglas, when released, was actually obliged to lay a formal siege to his bishopric before he could obtain possession. Having gone to Dunkeld, and published his bull in the usual form at the altar, he found it necessary to hold the ensuing entertainment in the dean's house, on account of his palace being garrisoned by the servants of Andrew Stewart. The steeple of the cathedral was also occupied as a fortress by these men, who pretended to be in arms in the name of the governor. Next day, in attempting to go to church, he was hindered by the steeple garrison, who fired briskly at his party: he had therefore to perform service in the dean's house. To increase his difficulties, Stewart had arrived in person, and put himself at the head of the garrison. His friends, however, soon collected a force in the neighbouring country, with which they forced Stewart to submit. The governor was afterwards prevailed upon to sanction the right of Gavin Douglas, who gratified Stewart by two of the best benefices in the diocese.

In 1517, when Albany went to France in order to renew the ancient league between Scotland and that country, he took Douglas and Panter as his secretaries, his object being in the former case to have a hostage for the good behaviour of the earl of Angus during his absence.<sup>16</sup> However, when the negotiation was finished, the bishop of Dunkeld is said to have been sent to Scotland with the news. He certainly returned long before the governor himself. After a short stay at Edinburgh, he repaired to his diocese, where he employed himself for some time in the diligent discharge of his duties. He was a warm promoter of public undertakings, and, in particular, finished a stone bridge over the Tay, (opposite to his own palace,) which had been begun by his predecessor. He spent so much money in this manner, and in charity, that he became somewhat embarrassed with debt. During the absence of the duke of Albany, his nephew Angus maintained a constant struggle with the rival family of Hamilton, then bearing the title of earl of Arran, which formed a great part of the governor's strength in Scotland. In April, 1520, both parties met in Edinburgh,

<sup>16</sup> This is alleged by Dr Henry.—*History of Great Britain.*

determined to try which was most powerful. The bishop of Dunkeld, seeing that bloodshed was threatened, used his influence with archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who was a partisan of Arrau; when that prelate, striking his hand on his breast, asseverated, on his conscience, that he knew nothing of the hostile intentions of his friends. He had in reality assumed armour under his gown, in order to take a personal concern in the fray, and his hand caused the breast-plate to make a rattling noise. "Methinks," said Douglas, with admirable sarcasm, "your conscience clatters;" a phrase that might be interpreted either into an allusion to the noise itself, or to what it betrayed of the archbishop's intentions. Douglas retired to his own chamber to pray, and in the meantime his nephew met and overthrew the forces of the earl of Arran. The bishop afterwards saved Beaton from being slain by the victors, who seized him at the altar of the Blackfriars' church. Gavin Douglas probably entertained a feeling of gratitude to this dignitary, notwithstanding all his duplicity; for Beaton had ordained him at Glasgow, and borne all the expenses of the ceremony out of his own revenues.

The earl of Angus was now re-established in power, but it was only for a short time. Albany returned next year, and called him and all his retainers to an account for their management of affairs. The earl, with his nephew and others, was obliged to retire to England. The bishop of Dunkeld experienced the most courteous attention at the court of Henry VIII., who, with all his faults, was certainly a patron of literature. We are informed by Holingshed that Douglas received a pension from the English monarch. In London, he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, a learned Italian, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. It is supposed that the bishop assisted him with a little memoir on the origin of the Scottish nation. Here, however, our poet was suddenly cut off by the plague, in 1521, or 1522, and was buried in the Savoy church, where he had an epitaph, inscribed on the adjacent tomb of bishop Halsay. It is painful to think, that in consequence of the intestine divisions of his country, this illustrious and most virtuous person died a denounced traitor in a foreign land.

The only other poem of any extent by Gavin Douglas, is one entitled "King Hart," which was probably written in the latter part of his life, and contains, what Dr Irving styles, "a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life." It was first printed in Pinkerton's collection of "Ancient Scottish Poems," 1786.

DOUGLAS, SIR JAMES, one of the most remarkable men of the heroic age to which he belonged, and the founder of the great fame and grandeur of one or the most illustrious houses in Scotland, was the eldest son of William Douglas, a baron, or magnate of Scotland, who died in England about the year 1302.

The ancestry of this family have been but imperfectly and obscurely traced by most genealogists; but it now seems to be established beyond doubt, that the original founder came into this country from Flanders, about the year 1147; and, in reward of certain services, not explained, which he performed to the abbot of Kelso, received from that prelate a grant of lands on the water of Douglas, in Lanarkshire. In this assignation, a record of which is yet extant, he is styled Theobaldus Flammaticus, or Theobald the Fleming. William, the son and heir of Theobald, assumed the surname of Douglas, from his estate. Archibald de Douglas, his eldest son, succeeded in the family estate on Douglas water. Bricius, a younger son of William, became bishop of Moray, in 1203; and his four brothers, Alexander, Henry, Hugh, and Freskin, settled in Moray under his patronage, and from these, the Douglasses in Moray claim their descent. Archibald died between the years 1238 and 1240, leaving behind him



two sons. William, the elder, inherited the estate of his father; Andrew, the younger, became the ancestor of the Douglasses of Dalkeith, afterwards created earls of Morton. William acquired additional lands to the family inheritance; and, by this means, becoming a tenant in chief of the crown, was considered as ranking among the barons, or, as they were then called, magnates of Scotland. He died about the year 1276, leaving two sons, Hugh and William. Hugh fought at the battle of the Largs, in 1263, and died about 1288, without issue. William, his only brother, and father to Sir James, the subject of the present article, succeeded to the family honours, which he did not long enjoy: for, having espoused the popular side in the factions which soon after divided the kingdom, he was, upon the successful usurpation of Edward I., deprived of his estates, and died a prisoner in England, about the year 1302. Of this ancestor, the first whose history can be of any interest to the general reader, we have made mention in the life of Wallace, and, therefore, have no occasion to recur to him in this place.

The young Douglas had not attained to manhood, when the captivity of his father left him unprotected and destitute; and in this condition, either prompted by his own inclination, or influenced by the suggestions of friends anxious for his safety, he retired into France, and lived in Paris for three years. In this capital, remarkable, even in that age, for the gayety and show of its inhabitants, the young Scotsman for a time forgot his misfortunes, and gave way with youthful ardour to the current follies by which he was surrounded. The intelligence of his father's death, however, was sufficient to break him off entirely from the loose courses upon which he was entering, and incite him to a mode of life more honourable, and more befitting the noble feelings by which, throughout life, he was so strongly actuated. Having returned without delay into Scotland, he seems first to have presented himself to Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, and was fortunate enough to be received with great kindness by that good prelate, who promoted him to the honourable post of page in his household. Barbour, the poet, dwells fondly upon this period in the life of Douglas, whom he describes as cheerful, courteous, dutiful, and of a generous disposition, insomuch, that he was esteemed and beloved by all; yet was he not so fair, adds the same discreet writer, that we should much admire his beauty. He was of a somewhat grey or swarthy complexion, and had black hair, circumstances from which, especially among the English, he came to be known by the name of the Black Douglas. His bones were large, but well set; his shoulders broad, and his whole person to be remarked as rather spare or lean, though muscular. He was mild and pleasant in company, or among his friends, and lisped somewhat in his speech, a circumstance which is said not at all to have misbecome him, besides that it brought him nearer to the beau ideal of Hector, as Barbour fails not to remark, in a not inappropriate comparison which he attempts making of the two characters.

Douglas was living in this manner, when Edward, having for the last time, overrun Scotland, called together an assembly of the barons at Stirling. The bishop of St Andrews attended the summons of the English king on this occasion; and taking along with him the young squire whom he had so generously protected, resolved, if possible, to interest the monarch in his fortunes. Taking hold of a suitable opportunity, the prelate presented Douglas to the king, as a youth who claimed to be admitted to his service, and at the same time, made earnest entreaty that his majesty would look favourably upon him, and restore him to the inheritance, which, from no fault of his, he had lost. "What lands does he claim?" inquired Edward. The good bishop had purposely kept the answer to this question to the end, well knowing the hasty and



vindictive temper of the English king, and the particular dislike which he bore to the memory of the former Douglas; but he soon saw that the haughty conqueror was neither to be prepossessed nor conciliated. Edward no sooner understood the birth of the suitor, than, turning angrily to the bishop, he reproached him, in harsh terms, for his presumption. "The father," said he, "was always my enemy; and I have already bestowed his lands upon more loyal followers than his sons can ever prove." The unfavourable issue of this suit must have left a deep and resentful impression on the mind of the young Douglas; and it was not long before an occasion offered whereby he might fully discover the incurable inveteracy of his hostility to the English king.

While he yet resided at the bishop's palace, intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce, spread over the kingdom. Lamberton, who, it is well known, secretly favoured the insurrection, not only made no difficulty of allowing the young Douglas to join the party, but even assisted him with money to facilitate his purpose. The bishop, it is also said, directed him to seize upon his own horse for his use, as if by violence, from the groom; and, accordingly, that servant in an unwitting attention to his duty, having been knocked down, Douglas, unattended, rode off to join the standard of his future king and master. He fell in with the party of Bruce at a place called Errickstane, on their progress from Lochmaben towards Glasgow; where, making himself known to Robert, he made offer to him of his services; hoping that under the auspices of his rightful sovereign, he might recover possession of his own inheritance. Bruce, well pleased with the spirit and bearing of his new adherent, and, besides, interested in his welfare, as the son of the gallant Sir William Douglas, received him with much favour, giving him, at the same time, a command in his small army. This was the commencement of the friendship between Bruce and Douglas, than which, none more sincere and perfect ever existed between sovereign and subject.

It would, of course, be here unnecessary to follow Sir James Douglas, as we shall afterwards name him, through the same tract described in the life of his heroic master; as in that, all which it imports the reader to know has been already detailed with sufficient minuteness. Of the battle of Methven, therefore, in which the young knight first signalized his valour; that of Dalry, in which Robert was defeated by the lord of Lorn, and Sir James wounded; the retreat into Raehin; the descent upon Arran, and afterwards on the coast of Carrick; in all of which enterprises, the zeal, courage, and usefulness of Douglas were manifested, we shall in this place take no other notice, than by referring to the life which we have mentioned. Leaving these more general and important movements, we shall follow the course of our narrative in others more exclusively referable to the life and fortunes of Douglas.

While Robert the Bruce was engaged in rousing the men of Carrick to take up arms in his cause, Douglas was permitted to repair to his patrimonial domains in Douglasdale, for the purpose of drawing over the ancient and attached vassals of his family to the same interest, and, in the first place, of avenging, should an occasion offer, some of the particular wrongs himself and family had sustained from the English. Disguised, therefore, and accompanied by only two yeomen, Sir James, towards the close of an evening in the month of March, 1307, reached the alienated inheritance of his house, then owned by the lord Clifford, who had posted within the castle of Douglas a strong garrison of English soldiers. Having revealed himself to one Thomas Dickson, formerly his father's vassal, and a person possessed of some wealth, and considerable influence among the tenantry, Sir James, and his two followers were joyfully welcomed, and carefully concealed within his house. By the diligence and sagacity

of this faithful dependent, Douglas was soon made acquainted with the numbers of those, in the neighbourhood, who would be willing to join him in his enterprise, and the more important of these being brought secretly, and by one or two at a time, before him, he received their pledges of fidelity and solemn engagements to assist him to the utmost of their power towards the recovery of his inheritance. Having, in this manner, secured the assistance of a small, but resolute band, Sir James determined to put in execution a project which he had planned for the surprisal of the castle. The garrison, entirely ignorant and unsuspecting of the machinations of their enemies, and otherwise far from vigilant, offered many opportunities which might be taken advantage of to their destruction. The day of Palm Sunday, however, was fixed upon by Douglas, as being then near at hand, and as furnishing, besides, a plausible pretext for the gathering together of his adherents. The garrison, it was expected, would on that festival, attend divine service in the neighbouring church of St Bride. The followers of Douglas having arms concealed upon their persons, were, some of them, to enter the building along with the soldiers, while the others remained without to prevent their escape. Douglas, himself, disguised in an old tattered mantle, having a flail in his hand, was to give the signal of onset, by shouting the war cry of his family. When the concerted day arrived, the whole garrison, consisting of thirty men, went in solemn procession to attend the service of the church, leaving only the porter and the cook within the castle. The eager followers of the knight did not wait for the signal of attack; for, no sooner had the unfortunate Englishmen entered the chapel, than, one or two raising the cry of "*a Douglas, a Douglas,*" which was instantly echoed and returned from all quarters, they fell with the utmost fury upon the entrapped garrison. These defended themselves bravely, till two thirds of their number lay either dead or mortally wounded. Being refused quarter, those who yet continued to fight were speedily overpowered and made prisoners, so that none escaped. Meanwhile, five or six men were detached to secure possession of the castle gate, which they easily effected: and being soon after followed by Douglas and his partisans, the victors had now only to deliberate as to the use to which their conquest should be applied. Considering the great power and numbers of the English in that district, and the impossibility of retaining the castle should it be besieged; besides, that the acquisition could then prove of no service to the general cause, it was determined, that that which could be of little or no service to themselves, should be rendered equally useless and unprofitable to the enemy. This measure, so defensible in itself, and politic, was stained by an act of singular and atrocious barbarity; which, however consistent with the rude and revengeful spirit of the age in which it was enacted, remains the sole stigma which even his worst enemies could ever affix to the memory of Sir James Douglas. Having plundered and stripped the castle of every article of value which could be conveniently carried off and secured; the great mass of the provisions, with which it then happened to be amply provided, were heaped together within an apartment of the building. Over this pile were stored the puncheons of wine, ale, and other liquors which the cellar afforded; and lastly the prisoners who had been taken in the church, having been despatched, their dead bodies were thrown over all; thus, in a spirit of savage jocularity, converting the whole into a loathsome mass of provision, then, and long after, popularly described by the name of the *Douglas' Larder*. These savage preparations gone through, the castle was set on fire, and burned to the ground.

No sooner was Clifford advertised of the miserable fate which had befallen his garrison, than, collecting a sufficient force, he repaired to Douglas in per-

son; and having caused the castle to be re-edified more strongly than it had been formerly, he left a new garrison in it under the command of one Thirlwall, and returned himself into England. Douglas, while these operations proceeded, having dispersed his followers, bestowing in secure places, where they might be properly attended to, such among them as had been wounded, himself lurked in the neighbourhood, intending, on the first safe opportunity, to rejoin the king's standard, in company with his trusty adherents. Other considerations, however, seem to have arisen, and to have had their share in influencing his conduct in this particular; for the lord Clifford had no sooner departed, than he resolved, a second time, to attempt the surprisal of his castle, under its new governor. The garrison, having a fresh remembrance of the fatal disaster which had befallen their predecessors, were not to be taken at the same advantage; and some expedient had therefore to be adopted which might abate the extreme caution and vigilance, which they observed, and on which their safety depended. This Douglas effected, by directing some of his men, at different times, to drive off portions of the cattle belonging to the castle, but who, as soon as the garrison issued out to the rescue, were instructed to leave their booty and betake themselves to flight. The governor and his men having been sufficiently irritated by the attempts of these pretended plunderers, who thus kept them continually and vexatiously on the alert, Sir James, aware of their disposition, resolved, without further delay, upon the execution of his project. Having formed an ambush of his followers at a place called Sandilands, at no great distance from the castle, he, at an early hour in the morning, detached a few of his men, who very daringly drove off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the walls, towards the place where the ambuscaders lay concealed. Thirlwall was no sooner apprized of the fact, than, indignant at the boldness of the affront put upon him, which yet he considered to be of the same character with those formerly practised, hastily ordered a large portion of the garrison to arm themselves and follow after the spoilers, himself accompanying them with so great precipitation, that he did not take time even to put on his helmet. The pursuers, no ways suspecting the snare laid for them, followed, in great haste and disorder, after the supposed robbers, but had scarcely passed the place of the ambush, than Douglas and his followers starting suddenly from their covert, the party at once found themselves circumvented and their retreat cut off. In their confusion and surprise, they were but ill prepared for the fierce assault which was instantly made upon them. The greater part fled precipitantly, and a few succeeded in regaining their strong-hold; but Thirlwall and many of his bravest soldiers were slain. The fugitives were pursued with great slaughter to the very gates of the castle; but, though few in numbers, having secured the entrance, and manned the walls, Sir James found it would be impossible to gain possession of the place at this time. Collecting together, therefore, all those willing to join the royal cause, he forthwith repaired to the army of Bruce, then encamped at Cunnock, in Ayrshire. The skill and boldness which Douglas displayed in these two exploits, and the success which attended them, added to the reputation for military enterprise and bravery, which he had previously acquired, seem to have infected the English with an almost superstitious dread of his power and resources; so that, if we may believe the writers of that age, few could be found adventurous enough to undertake the keeping of "the perilous castle of Douglas," for by that name it now came to be popularly distinguished.

When king Robert, shortly after his victory over the English at Loudonhill, marched his forces into the north of Scotland, Sir James Douglas remained behind, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obe-



dience. His first adventure, however, was the taking, a second time, his own castle of Douglas, then commanded by Sir John de Wilton, an English knight, who held this charge, as his two predecessors had done, under the lord Clifford. Sir James, taking along with him a body of armed men, gained the neighbourhood undiscovered, where himself and the greater number immediately planted themselves in ambuscade, as near as possible to the gate of the castle. Fourteen of his best men he directed to disguise themselves as peasants wearing smock-frocks, under which their arms might be conveniently concealed, and having sacks filled with grass laid across their horses, who, in this guise, were to pass within view of the castle, as if they had been countrymen carrying corn for sale to Lanark fair. The stratagem had the desired effect; for the garrison being then scarce of provisions, had no mind to let pass so favourable an opportunity, as it appeared to them, of supplying themselves; wherefore, the greater part, with the governor, who was a man of a bold and reckless disposition, at their head, issued out in great haste to overtake and plunder the supposed peasants. These, finding themselves pursued, hurried onward with what speed they could muster, till, ascertaining that the unwary Englishmen had passed the ambush, they suddenly threw down their sacks, stripped off the frocks which concealed their armour, mounted their horses, and raising a loud shout, seemed determined in turn to become the assailants. Douglas and his concealed followers, no sooner heard the shout of their companions, which was the concerted signal of onset, than, starting into view in the rear of the English party, these found themselves at once, unexpectedly and furiously attacked from two opposite quarters. In this desperate encounter, their retreat to the castle being effectually cut off, Wilton and his whole party are reported to have been slain. When this successful exploit was ended, Sir James found means to gain possession of the castle, probably by the promise of a safe conduct to those by whom it was still maintained; as he allowed the constable and remaining garrison to depart unmolested into England, furnishing them, at the same time, with money to defray the charges of their journey. Barbour relates, that upon the person of the slain knight there was found a letter from his mistress, informing him, that he might well consider himself worthy of her love, should he bravely defend for a year the adventurous castle of Douglas. Sir James razed the fortress of his ancestors to the ground, that it might, on no future occasion, afford protection to the enemies of his country, and the usurpers of his own patrimony.

Leaving the scene where he had thus, for the third time, in so remarkable a manner triumphed over his adversaries, Douglas proceeded to the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, both of which he in a short time reduced to the king's authority. While employed upon this service, he chanced one day, towards night-fall, to come in sight of a solitary house on the water of Line, which he had no sooner perceived, than he directed his course towards it, with the intention of there resting himself and his followers till morning. Approaching the place with some caution, Douglas could distinguish from the voices which he heard within, that it was pre-occupied; and from the oaths which mingled in the conversation, he had no doubt as to the character of the guests which it contained, military men being then, almost exclusively, addicted to the use of such terms in their speech.<sup>1</sup> Having beset the house with his followers, and forced

<sup>1</sup> We have the authority of Barbour for the above curious fact. His words are these:

“And as he come with his mengye [forces]  
 Ner hand the hous, sa lrynyt he,  
 And hard aue say tharin, ‘*the dewill!*’  
 And he that he persawit [perceived] weil  
 That thai war strang men, that thar,  
 That nycht tharin herberyit war.”

*Barbour's Eruce*, b. ix. l. 684.

an entrance, the conjecture of the knight proved well founded; for, after a brief but sharp contest with the inmates, he was fortunate enough to secure the persons of Alexander Stuart, Lord Bonkle, and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew; who were, at that time, not only attached to the English interest, but engaged in raising forces to check the progress of Douglas in the south of Scotland. The important consequences of this action, by which Robert gained as wise and faithful a counsellor as he ever possessed, and Douglas a rival, though a generous one even in his own field of glory, deserves that it should be particularly noticed in this place. Immediately upon this adventure, Douglas, carrying along with him his two prisoners, rejoined the king's forces in the north; where, under his gallant sovereign, he assisted in the victory gained over the lord of Lorn, by which the Highlands were at length constrained to a submission to the royal authority.

Without following the current of those events, in which Douglas either participated, or bore a principal part, but which have more properly fallen to be described in another place, we come to the relation of one more exclusively belonging to the narration of this life. The castle of Roxburgh, a fortress of great importance on the borders of Scotland, had long been in the hands of the English king, by whom it was strongly garrisoned, and committed to the charge of Gillemin de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy. Douglas, and his followers, to the number of about sixty men, then lurked in the adjoining forest of Jedburgh, where they did not remain long inactive, before the enterprising genius of their leader had suggested a plan for the surprisal of the fortress. A person of the name of Simon of Leadhouse was employed to construct rope-ladders for scaling the walls, and the night of Shrove-Tuesday, then near at hand, was fixed upon as the most proper for putting the project in execution; "for then," says Fordun, "all the men, from dread of the Lent season, which was to begin next day, indulged in wine and licentiousness." When the appointed night arrived, Douglas and his brave followers approached the castle, wearing black frocks or shirts, over their armour, that, in the darkness, they might be the more effectually concealed from the observation of the sentinels. On getting near to the castle walls, they crept softly onwards on their hands and knees; and, indeed, soon became aware of the necessity they were under of observing every precaution; for a sentinel on the walls having observed, notwithstanding the darkness, their indistinct crawling forms, which he took to be those of cattle, remarked to his companion, that farmer such a one (naming a husbandman who lived in the neighbourhood) surely made good cheer that night, seeing that he took so little care of his cattle. "He may make merry to-night, comrade," the other replied, "but, if the Black Douglas come at them, he will fare the worse another time;" and, so conversing, these two passed to another part of the wall. Sir James and his men had approached so close to the castle, as distinctly to overhear this discourse, and also to mark with certainty the departure of the men who uttered it. The wall was no sooner free of their presence, than Simon of the Leadhouse, fixing one of the ladders to its summit, was the first to mount. This bold adventure was perceived by one of the garrison so soon as he reached the top of the wall; but, giving the startled soldier no time to raise an alarm, Simon sprang suddenly upon him, and despatched him with his dagger. Before the others could come to his support, Simon had to sustain the attack of another antagonist, whom, also, he laid dead at his feet; and Sir James and his men, in a very brief space, having surmounted the wall, the loud shout of "*a Douglas! a Douglas!*" and the rush of the enemy into the hall, where the garrison yet maintained the revels of the evening, gave the first intimation to governor and men that the fortress had been assaulted and taken.



Unarmed, bewildered, and most of them intoxicated, the soldiery were unable to make any effectual resistance; and in this defenceless and hopeless state, many of them in the fury of the onset were slaughtered. The governor and a few others escaped into the keep or great tower, which they defended till the following day; but having sustained a severe arrow wound in the face, Gillemin de Fiennes thought proper to surrender, on condition that he and his remaining followers should be allowed safely to depart into England. These terms having been accorded, and faithfully fulfilled, Fiennes died shortly afterwards of the wound which he had received. This event, which fell out in the month of March, 1313, added not a little to the terror with which the Douglas name was regarded in the north of England; while in an equal degree, it infused spirit and confidence into the hearts of their enemies. Barbour attributes the successful capture of Edinburgh castle by Randolph, an exploit of greater peril, and on that account only, of superior gallantry to the preceding, to the noble emulation with which the one general regarded the deeds of the other.

The next occasion, wherein Douglas signalized himself by his conduct and bravery, was on the field of Bannockburn: in which memorable battle, he had the signal honour of commanding the centre division of the Scottish van. When the fortune of that great day was decided, by the disastrous and complete overthrow of the English army, Sir James, at the head of sixty horsemen, pursued closely on the track of the flying monarch, for upwards of forty miles from the field, and only desisted from the chase from the inability of his horses to proceed further. In the same year, king Robert, desirous of taking advantage of the wide spread dismay into which the English nation had been thrown, despatched his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, by the eastern marches, into England, where they ravaged and assessed at will the whole northern counties of that kingdom.

When Bruce passed over with an army into Ireland, in the month of May, 1316, in order to the reinforcement of his brother Edward's arms in that country, he committed to Sir James Douglas, the charge of the middle borders, during his absence. The earl of Arundel appears, at the same time, to have commanded on the eastern and middle marches of England, lying opposite to the district under the charge of Douglas. The earl, encouraged by the absence of the Scots king, and still more, by information which led him to believe that Sir James Douglas was then unprepared and off his guard, resolved, by an unexpected and vigorous attack, to take this wily and desperate enemy at an advantage. For this purpose, he collected together, with secrecy and despatch, an army of no less than ten thousand men. Douglas, who had just then seen completed the erection of his castle or manor house of Lintalee, near Jedburgh, in which he proposed giving a great feast to his military followers and vassals, was not, indeed, prepared to encounter a force of this magnitude; but, from the intelligence of spies whom he maintained in the enemy's camp, he was not altogether to be taken by surprise. Aware of the route by which the English army would advance, he collected, in all haste, a considerable body of archers, and about fifty men at arms, and with these took post in an extensive thicket of Jedburgh forest. The passage or opening through the wood at this place—wide and convenient at the southern extremity, by which the English were to enter, narrowed as it approached the ambush, till in breadth it did not exceed a quoit's pitch, or about twenty yards. Placing the archers in a hollow piece of ground, on one side of the pass, Douglas effectually secured them from the attack of the enemies' cavalry, by an entrenchment of felled trees, and by knitting together the branches of the young birch trees with which the thicket abounded. He himself took post with his small body of men-at-arms, on the

other side of the pass, and there patiently awaited the approach of the English. These preparations for their reception having been made with great secrecy and order, the army of Arundel had no suspicion of the snare laid for them; and, having entered the narrow part of the defile, seem even to have neglected the ordinary rules for preserving the proper array of their ranks, these becoming gradually compressed and confused as the body advanced. In this manner, unable to form, and, from the pressure in their rear, equally incapacitated to retreat, the van of the army offered an unremitting and fatal mark to the concealed archers; who, opening upon them with a volley of arrows, in front and flank, first made them aware of the danger of their position, and rendered irremediable the confusion already observable in their ranks. Douglas, at the same moment, bursting from his ambush, and raising the terrible war cry of his name, furiously assailed the surprised and disordered English, a great many of whom, from the impracticability of their situation, and the impossibility of escape, were slain. Sir James himself encountered, in this warm onset, a brave foreign knight, named Thomas de Richemont, whom he slew by a thrust with his dagger; taking from him, by way of trophy, a furred cap which it was his custom to wear over his helmet. The English having at length made good their retreat into the open country, encamped in safety for the night; Douglas, well knowing the danger he would incur, in following up, with so small a number of men, the advantage which art and stratagem had so decidedly gained for him.

Had this been otherwise, he had service of a still more immediate nature yet to perform. Having intelligence that a body of about three hundred men, under the command of a person named Ellies, had, by a different route, penetrated to Lintalee, Sir James hastened thither with all possible expedition. This party, finding the house deserted and unguarded, had taken possession of it, as also of the provisions and liquors with which it had been amply provided; nothing doubting of the complete victory which Arundel would achieve over Sir James Douglas and his few followers. In this state of security, having neglected to set watches to apprise them of dangers, they were unexpectedly assailed by their dreaded and now fully excited enemy, and mercilessly put to the sword, with the exception of a very few who escaped. The fugitives having gained the camp of Arundel, that commander was no less surprised and dismayed by this new disaster, than he had been by that which shortly before befell his own men; so that, finding himself unequal to the task of dealing with a foe so active and vigilant, he prudently retreated back into his own country, and disbanded his forces.

Among the other encounters recorded as having taken place on the borders at this time, we must not omit one, in which the characteristic and unaided valour of the good Sir James unquestionably gained for him the victory. Sir Edmund de Cailand, a knight of Gascony, whom king Edward had appointed governor of Berwick, desirous of signalizing himself in the service of that monarch, had collected a considerable force with which he ranged and plundered nearly the whole district of Teviot. As he was returning to Berwick, loaded with spoil, the Douglas, who had intimation of his movements, determined to intercept his march, and, if possible, recover the booty. For this purpose, he hastily collected together a small body of troops; but, on approaching the party of Cailand, he found them so much superior to his own, in every respect, that he hesitated whether or not he should prosecute the enterprise. The Gascon knight, confident in his own superiority, instantly prepared for battle; and a severe conflict ensued, in which it seemed very doubtful whether the Scots should be able to withstand the numbers and bravery of their assailants. Douglas, fearful of the issue of the contest, pressed forward with incredible energy.

and, encountering Sir Edmund de Cailand, slew him with his own hand. The English party, discouraged by the loss of their leader, and no longer able to withstand the increased impetuosity with which this gallant deed of Sir James had inspired his men, soon fell into confusion, and were put to flight with considerable slaughter. The booty, which, previously to the engagement, had been sent on towards Berwick, was wholly recovered by the Scots.

Following upon this success, and, in some measure connected with it, an event occurred, singularly illustrative of the chivalric spirit of that age. Sir Ralph Neville, an English knight who then resided at Berwick, feeling, it may be supposed, his nation dishonoured, by the praises which the fugitives in the late defeat bestowed upon the great prowess of Douglas, boastingly declared, that he would himself encounter that Scottish knight, whenever his banner should be displayed in the neighbourhood of Berwick. When this challenge reached the ears of Douglas, he determined that the self-constituted rival who uttered it, should not want for the opportunity which he courted. Advancing into the plain around Berwick, Sir James there displayed his banner, as a counter challenge to the knight, calling upon him, at the same time, by herald, to make good his bravado. The farther to incite and irritate the English, he detached a party of his men, who set fire to some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville, at the head of a much more numerous force than that of the Scots, at length issued forth to attack his enemy. The combat was well contested on both sides, till Douglas, encountering Neville hand to hand, soon proved to that brave but over-hardy knight, that he had provoked his fate, for he soon fell under the experienced and strong arm of his antagonist. This event decided the fortune of the field. The English were completely routed, and several persons of distinction made prisoners in the pursuit. Taking advantage of the consternation caused by this victory, Sir James plundered and desolated with fire all the country on the north side of the river Tweed, which still adhered to the English interest; and returning in triumph to the forest of Jedburgh, divided among his followers the rich booty which he had acquired, reserving no part of it, as was his generous custom, to his own use.

In the year 1322, the Scots, commanded by Douglas, invaded the counties of Northumberland and Durham; but no record now remains of the circumstances attending this invasion. In the same year, as much by the terror of his name, as by any stratagem, he saved the abbey of Melrose from the threatened attack of a greatly superior force of the English, who had advanced against it for the purposes of plunder. But the service by which, in that last and most disastrous campaign of Edward II. against the Scots, Sir James most distinguished himself, was, in the attempt which he made, assisted by Randolph, to force a passage to the English camp, at Biland, in Yorkshire. In this desperate enterprise, the military genius of Bruce came opportunely to his aid, and he proved successful. Douglas, by this action, may be said to have given a final blow to the nearly exhausted energies of the weak and misguided government of Edward; and to have thus assisted in rendering his deposition, which soon after followed, a matter of indifference, if not of satisfaction to his subjects.

The same active hostility which had on so many occasions, during the life of our great warrior, proved detrimental or ruinous to the two first Edwards, was yet to be exercised with undiminished efficacy upon the third monarch of that name, the next of the race of English usurpers over Scotland. The treaty of truce which the disquiets and necessities of his own kingdom had extorted from Edward II. after his defeat at Biland, having been broken through, as it would seem, not without the secret connivance or approbation of the Scottish king; Edward III., afterwards so famous in English history, but then a minor, collected



together an immense force, intending not only to revenge the infraction, but, by some decisive blow, recover the honour which his father's arms had lost in the revolted kingdom. The inexperience of the young monarch, however, ill seconded as that was by the councils of the faction which then governed England, could prove no match, when opposed to the designs of a king so politic as Robert, and the enterprise and consummate talent of such generals as Randolph and Douglas.

The preparations of England, though conducted on a great and even extravagant scale of expense, failed in the despatch essentially necessary on the present occasion; allowing the Scottish army, which consisted of twenty thousand light-armed cavalry, nearly a whole month, to plunder and devastate at will, the northern districts of the kingdom, before any adequate force could be brought upon the field to oppose their progress. Robert, during his long wars with England, had admirably improved upon the severe experience which his first unfortunate campaigns had taught him; and, so well had the system which he adopted, been inured into the very natures of his captains and soldiers, by long habit and continued success, that he could not be more ready to plan and dictate schemes of defence or aggression, than his subjects were alert and zealous to put them in execution. He was, besides, fortunate above measure, in the choice of his generals; and particularly of those two, Randolph, earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, to whose joint command, the army on the present occasion was committed. Moray, though equally brave and courageous with his compeer, was naturally guided and restrained by wise and prudential suggestions; while Douglas, almost entirely under the sway of a sanguine and chivalrous spirit, often, by his very daring and temerity, proved successful, where the other must inevitably have failed. One circumstance, deserving of particular commendation, must not be omitted, that while in rank and reputation, and in the present instance, command, these two great men stood, in regard to each other, in a position singularly open to sentiments of envious rivalry, the whole course of their lives and actions give ample ground for believing that feelings of such a nature were utterly alien to the characters of both.

Of the ravages which the Scottish army committed in the north of England, during the space above mentioned, we have no particulars recorded, but that they plundered all the villages and open towns in their route seems certain; prudently avoiding to dissipate their time and strength by assailing more difficult places. To atone somewhat for this deficiency in his narrative, Froissart, who on this period of Scottish history was unquestionably directed by authentic information, has left a curious sketch of the constitution and economy of the Scottish army of that day. "The people of that nation," says this author, "are brave and hardy, insomuch, that when they invade England, they will often march their troops a distance of thirty-six miles in a day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are a-foot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers, or war-horses; but the commons and country people have only small hackneys or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army; and such is their abstinence and sobriety in war, that they content themselves for a long time with half cooked flesh without bread, and with water unmixed with wine. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, which they always find in plenty, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hair side outmost, and in these they boil part of the flesh in water; roasting the remainder by means of wooden spits disposed around the same fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes or brogues of the same raw hides with the hair still on them. Each person carries attached to his saddle, a

large flat plate of iron, and has a bag of meal fixed on horseback, behind him. When, by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt, they find their stomachs weakened and uneasy, they mix up some of the meal with water into a paste; and having heated the flat iron plate on the fire, they knead out the paste into thin cakes, which they bake or fire on these heated plates. These cakes they eat to strengthen their stomachs." Such an army would undoubtedly possess all the requisites adapted for desultory and predatory warfare; while, like the modern guerillas, the secrecy and celerity of their movements would enable them with ease and certainty to elude any formidable encounters to which they might be exposed from troops otherwise constituted than themselves.

The English army, upon which so much preparation had been expended, was at length, accompanied by the king in person, enabled to take the field. It consisted, according to Froissart, of eight thousand knights and squires, armed in steel, and excellently mounted; fifteen thousand men at arms, also mounted, but upon horses of an inferior description; the same number of infantry, or, as that author has termed them, sergeants on foot; and a body of archers twenty-four thousand strong. This great force on its progress northward, soon became aware of the vicinity of their destructive enemy by the sight of the smoking villages and towns which marked their course in every direction; but having for several days vainly attempted, by following these indications, to come up with the Scots, or even to gain correct intelligence regarding their movements, they resolved, by taking post on the banks of the river Tine, to intercept them on their return into Scotland. In this, the English army were not more fortunate; and having, from the difficulty of their route, been constrained to leave their camp baggage behind them, they suffered the utmost hardships from the want of provisions, and the inclemency of the weather. When several days had been passed in this fruitless and harassing duty, the troops nearly destitute of the necessaries of life, and exposed, without shelter, to an almost incessant rain, the king was induced to proclaim a high reward to whosoever should first give intelligence of where the Scottish army were to be found. Thomas Rokesby, an esquire, having among others set out upon this service, was the first to bring back certain accounts that the Scots lay encamped upon the side of a hill, at about five miles distance from the English camp. This person had approached so near to the enemies' position as to be taken prisoner by the outposts; but he had no sooner recounted his business to Randolph and Douglas, than he was honourably dismissed, with orders to inform the English king, that they were ready and desirous to engage him in battle, whensoever he thought proper.

On the following day, the English, marching in order of battle, came in sight of the Scottish army, whom they found drawn up on foot, in three divisions, on the slope of a hill; having the river Wear, a rapid and nearly impassable stream, in front, and their flanks protected by rocks and precipices, presenting insurmountable difficulties to the approach of an enemy. Edward attempted to draw them from their fastness, by challenging the Scottish leaders to an honourable engagement on the plain, a practice not unusual in that age; but he soon found, that the experienced generals with whom he had to deal were not to be seduced by any artifice or bravado. "On our road hither," said they, "we have burnt and spoiled the country; and *here* we shall abide while to us it seems good. If the king of England is offended, let him come over and chastise us." The two armies remained in this manner, fronting each other, for three days; the army of Edward much incommoded by the nature of their situation, and the continual alarms of their hostile neighbours, who, throughout the night, says Froissart, kept sounding their horns, "as if all the great devils in hell had been there." Unable to force the Scots to a battle, the English com-



manders had no alternative left them, than, by blockading their present situation, to compel the enemy, by famine, to quit their impregnable position, and fight at a disadvantage. The fourth morning, however, proved the futility of such a scheme: for the Scots having discovered a place of still greater strength at about two miles distance, had secretly decamped thither in the night. They were soon followed by the English, who took post on an opposite hill, the river Wear still interposing itself between the two armies.

The army of Edward, baffled and disheartened as they had been by the wariness and dexterity of their enemy, would seem, in their new position, to have relaxed somewhat in their accustomed vigilance; a circumstance which did not escape the experienced eye of Sir James Douglas; and which immediately suggested to the enterprising spirit of that commander, the possibility of executing a scheme, which, to any other mind, must have appeared wild and chimerical, as it was hazardous. Taking with him a body of two hundred chosen horse-men, he, at midnight, forded the river at a considerable distance from both armies; and by an unfrequented path, of which he had received accurate information, gained the rear of the English camp undiscovered. On approaching the outposts, Douglas artfully assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, calling out, as he advanced, "Ha! St George, you keep no ward here," and, by this stratagem, penetrated, without suspicion, to the very centre of the encampment, where the king lay. When they had got thus far, the party, no longer concealing who they were, shouted aloud, "A Douglas! a Douglas! English thieves, you shall all die!" and furiously attacking the unarmed and panic-struck host, overthrew all who came in their way. Douglas, forcing an entrance to the royal pavilion, would have carried off the young king, but for the brave and devoted stand made by his domestics, by which he was enabled with difficulty, to escape. Many of the household, and, among others, the king's own chaplain, zealously sacrificed their lives to their loyalty on this occasion. Disappointed of his prize, Sir James now sounded a retreat, and charging with his men directly through the camp of the English, safely regained his own; having sustained the loss of only a very few of his followers, while that of the enemy is said to have exceeded three hundred men.

On the day following this night attack, a prisoner having been brought into the English camp, and strictly interrogated, acknowledged, that general orders had been issued to the Scots to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, under the banner of Douglas. Interpreting this information by the fears which their recent surprisal had inspired, the English concluded that the enemy had formed the plan of a second attack; and in this persuasion, drew up their whole army in order of battle, and so continued all night resting upon their arms. Early in the morning, two Scottish trumpeters having been seized by the patrols, reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced many miles on their march homeward. The English could not, for some time, give credit to this strange and unwelcome intelligence; but, suspecting some stratagem, continued in order of battle, till, by their scouts, they were fully certified of its truth. The Scottish leaders, finding that their provisions were nearly exhausted, had prudently resolved upon a retreat; and, in the evening, having lighted numerous fires, as was usual, drew off from their encampment shortly after nightfall. To effect their purpose, the army had to pass over a morass, which lay in their rear, of nearly two miles in extent, till then supposed impracticable by cavalry. This passage the Scots accomplished by means of a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs of trees wattled together, employing these as bridges over the water runs and softer places of the bog; and so deliberately had their measures been adopted and exe-

cut, that when the whole body had passed, these were carefully removed, that they might afford no assistance to the enemy, should they pursue them by the same track. Edward is said to have wept bitterly when informed of the escape of the Scottish army; and his generals, well aware how unavailing any pursuit after them must prove, next day broke up the encampment, and retired towards Durham.

This was the last signal service which Douglas rendered to his country; and an honourable peace having been soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms, seemed at last to promise a quiet and pacific termination to a life which had hitherto known no art but that of war, and no enjoyment but that of victory. However, a different, and to him, possibly, a more enviable fate, awaited the heroic Douglas. Bruce dying, not long after he had witnessed the freedom of his country established, made it his last request, that Sir James, as his oldest and most esteemed companion in arms, should carry his heart to the holy land, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, to the end his soul might be unburdened of the weight of a vow which he felt himself unable to fulfil.

Douglas, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue of knights and esquires, set sail from Scotland, in execution of this last charge committed to his care by his deceased master. He first touched in his voyage at Sluys in Flanders, where, having learned that Alphonso, king of Castile and Leon, was then at waged war with Osmyn, the Moorish king of Granada, he seems to have been tempted, by the desire of fighting against the infidels, to direct his course into Spain, with intention, from thence, to combat the Saracens in his progress to Jerusalem. Having landed in king Alphonso's country, that sovereign received Douglas with great distinction; and not the less so, that he expected shortly to engage in battle with his Moorish enemies. Barbour relates, that while at this court, a knight of great renown, whose face was all over disfigured by the scars of wounds which he had received in battle, expressed his surprise that a knight of so great fame as Douglas should have received no similar marks in his many combats. "I thank heaven," answered Sir James, mildly, "that I had always hands to protect my face." And those who were by, adds the author, praised the answer much, for there was much understanding in it.

Douglas, and the brave company by whom he was attended, having joined themselves to Alphonso's army, came in view of the Saracens near to Tebas, a castle on the frontiers of Andalusia, towards the kingdom of Grenada. Osmyn, the Moorish king, had ordered a body of three thousand cavalry to make a feigned attack on the Spaniards, while, with the great body of his army, he designed, by a circuitous route, unexpectedly, to fall upon the rear of king Alphonso's camp. That king, however, having received intelligence of the stratagem, prepared for him, kept the main force of his army in the rear, while he opposed a sufficient body of troops, to resist the attack which should be made on the front division of his army. From this fortunate disposition of his forces, the christian king gained the day over his infidel adversaries. Osmyn was discomfited with much slaughter, and Alphonso, improving his advantage, gained full possession of the enemy's camp.

While the battle was thus brought to a successful issue in one quarter of the field, Douglas, and his brave companions, who fought in the van, proved themselves no less fortunate. The Moors, not long able to withstand the furious encounter of their assailants, betook themselves to flight. Douglas, unacquainted with the mode of warfare pursued among that people, followed hard after the fugitives, until, finding himself almost deserted by his followers, he turned his horse, with the intention of rejoining the main body. Just then,

however, observing a knight of his own company to be surrounded by a body of Moors, who had suddenly rallied, "Alas!" said he, "yonder worthy knight shall perish, but for present help;" and with the few who now attended him, amounting to no more than ten men, he turned hastily, to attempt his rescue. He soon found himself hard pressed by the numbers who thronged upon him. Taking from his neck the silver casquet which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him among the thickest of the enemy, saying, "Now pass thou onward before us, as thou wert wont, and I will follow thee or die." Douglas, and almost the whole of the brave men who fought by his side, were here slain. His body and the casquet containing the embalmed heart of Bruce were found together upon the field; and were, by his surviving companions, conveyed with great care and reverence into Scotland. The remains of Douglas were deposited in the family vault at St Bride's chapel, and the heart of Bruce solemnly interred by Moray, the regent, under the high altar in Melrose Abbey.

So perished, almost in the prime of his life, the gallant, and, as his grateful countrymen long affectionately termed him, "the good Sir James Douglas," having survived little more than one year, the demise of his royal master. His death was soon after followed by that of Randolph; with whom might be said to close the race of illustrious men who had rendered the epoch of Scotland's renovation and independence so remarkable.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, fourth earl of Morton, and regent of Scotland, was the second son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, (younger brother of Archibald, sixth earl of Angus, and a grandson of the fifth, or great earl, styled *Bell-the-cat*.) The matrimonial connexion of the sixth earl of Angus with Margaret of England, the widow of James IV., brought the whole of this great family into an intimate alliance with Henry VIII., that princess' brother.

During the reign of James V. as an adult sovereign, most of them lived in banishment in England; and it was only after his death in 1542, that they reappeared in the country. Whether the earl of Morton spent his early years at the English court is not known; but it is related by at least one historical writer, that he travelled during his youth in Italy. Immediately after the return of the family from banishment, he is found mingling deeply in those intrigues which Angus and others carried on, for the purpose of promoting the progress of the reformed religion, along with the match between Henry's son and the infant queen Mary. He seems to have followed in the wake of his father Sir George, who was a prime agent of king Henry; and who, in April, 1543, engaged, with others, to deliver up the lowland part of Scotland to the English monarch. Previous to this period, the future regent had been married to Elizabeth Douglas, third daughter of James, third earl of Morton, who was induced to bequeath his title and all his estates to this fortunate son-in-law, conjointly with his wife.<sup>1</sup> In virtue of this grant, the subject of our memoir was invested with the title of Master of Morton. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the very day when the English ambassador informed his prince of the traitorous engagement of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, his son, the Master of Morton, had a royal charter confirming the above splendid grant. This must have been obtained from the fears of the governor, Arran, against whom all the Douglasses were working. In November following, the Master is found holding out the donjon or principal tower of his father-in-law's castle of Dalkeith, against Arran; but, being destitute of victuals and artillery, he was obliged to give it up, on the condition of retiring with all his effects untouched. Nothing more is learned of this remarkable personage till 1553, when he succeeded his

<sup>1</sup> The mother of the regent's wife, was Katherine Stewart, a natural daughter of king James I V.



father-in-law, as earl of Morton. Although one of the original lords of the congregation in 1557, he did not for some time take an active or decided part against the queen regent. He had received large favours from this lady, and, possessing all that gratitude which consists in a lively anticipation of favours to come, he feared, by casting off her cause, which he supposed would be the triumphant one, to compromise his prospect of those future advantages. This caused Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, to describe him as "a simple and fearful man;" words which are certainly, in their modern sense at least, inapplicable to him. Morton was, however, a commissioner for the settlement of affairs at Upsettlington, May 31st, 1559. After the return of queen Mary, in 1561, he was sworn a privy councillor, and on the 7th of January, 1563, was appointed lord high chancellor of Scotland. By the advice of his father the earl of Lennox, Darnley consulted Morton and the earl of Crawford in preference to any other of the nobility, respecting the taking away the life of Rizzio, when his jealousy had been inflamed by the presumption of that unfortunate adventurer; and Morton became a principal actor in the tragical catastrophe that ensued. It was the opinion of these noblemen that Rizzio should be impeached before the parliament, and brought publicly to justice as an incendiary who had sown distrust and jealousy among the nobility, and had also endeavoured to subvert the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom. This there certainly would have been little difficulty in accomplishing, but it did not suit the impatient temper of Darnley, whose revenge could not be satiated without in some degree implicating the queen; and he had determined that her favourite should suffer in her almost immediate presence. He accordingly carried a number of the conspirators from his own chamber, which was below the queen's, by a narrow staircase, of which he alone had the privilege, into hers, when she had just sat down to supper, in company with the countess of Argyll and her unfortunate secretary, the object of their hatred, whom they instantly dragged from his seat, and, ere they were well out of the queen's presence, whose table they had overturned, and whose clothes the unhappy man had almost torn while he clung to her and implored her protection, despatched him with innumerable wounds. In the meantime, Morton, chancellor of the kingdom, and the protector of its laws, kept watch in the outer gallery, and his vassals paraded in the open court, preventing all egress from or ingress to the palace. The effect of this barbarous murder was an entire change of policy on the part of the court. The protestant lords, the principal of whom had been in exile, returned to Edinburgh that same night, and all papists were, by a proclamation issued by the king, commanded to leave the city next day. The queen, though she was enraged in the highest degree, concealed her feelings till she had completely overcome the foolish Darnley, whom she persuaded in the course of a few days to fly with her to Dunbar, to abandon the noblemen to whom he had bound himself by the most solemn written obligations, and to issue a proclamation denying all participation in the murder of Rizzio, and requiring the lieges to assemble instantly, for the protection of the queen and the prosecution of the murderers. In consequence of this, the queen, with her now doubly degraded husband, returned in a few days to the capital, at the head of a formidable army; and though the exiled noblemen who had newly returned, maintained their ground, Morton and his associates were under the necessity of making their escape out of the kingdom. Through the interest of the earl of Bothwell, he was pardoned shortly after; and it was attempted, at the same time, to engage him in the plot that was already formed for murdering Darnley. In this, however, he positively refused to concur; but, practically acquainted with the childish weakness of that unfortunate young man, he dared not to inform him of the design, nor did he take any



measures to prevent its being executed, which occasioned him eventually the loss of his own life. After the death of the king, and Mary's subsequent marriage to Bothwell, Morton was one of the most efficient leaders in the confederacy that was formed for her degradation, and for erecting a protestant regency under her infant son. He was the same year restored to the office of high chancellor for life. He was also constituted high admiral for Scotland, and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the forfeiture of Bothwell. He, along with the earl of Home, took the oaths for king James VI. at his coronation on August 29th, 1567, to the effect that he would observe the laws, and maintain the religion then publicly taught, so far as it was in his power. The Scottish treasury was at this time so low, that when it was determined to fit out a small fleet to apprehend and bring to justice the notorious Bothwell, who to all his other enormities had now added that of being a pirate, in which capacity he was infesting the northern islands, it was found to be impracticable, till Morton generously came forward and supplied the necessary sum from his private purse.

During the regency of the earl of Moray, Morton was an active and able assistant to him on all occasions. He was one of the principal commanders at the battle of Langside, and to his courage and good conduct it was in no small degree owing, that the results of that memorable day were of such a favourable complexion. He was also one of the commissioners in the famous conferences at York. On the murder of the regent in the year 1570, Morton became the head of the protestant or king's party, though Matthew, earl of Lennox, was created regent, chiefly through his interest and that of queen Elizabeth. Never was any country, that had made the smallest progress in civilization, in a more deplorable condition than Scotland at this time. At the time of the regent's murder, the whole, or nearly the whole faction of the Hamiltons were collected at Edinburgh, evidently that they might be able to improve that event for advancing their views, and, the very night after the murder, Ker of Fernihurst, accompanied by some of the Scotts, entered England, which they wasted with fire and sword, in a manner more barbarous than even any of their own most barbarous precedents. The reason of this was, that they did not in this instance so much desire plunder, the usual incentive to these savage inroads, as to provoke the English government to declare war, which they vainly supposed would advance the interests of their faction. Elizabeth, however, was well acquainted with the state of Scotland, and, aware that strong external pressure might unite the discordant parties, and make them for a time lose sight of those individual objects which every paltry chieftain was so eagerly pursuing, sent her ambassador Randolph to assure the Scottish council that her affection towards Scotland was not at all abated, and, as in former times of great confusion she had not been backward to assist them, she would not be so now. As for the robberies and the murders that had so lately been committed upon her people, being aware that they were authorised by no public authority, she would never think of punishing the many for the errors of the few. These marauders, however, she insisted should be restrained; and, if they felt themselves incompetent, by reason of their public commotions, to do this, she offered to join her forces to theirs for that purpose. He also added, in name of his sovereign, many advices which were regarded by the council as wholesome, equitable, and pious, but, as they had as yet elected no chief magistrate, he was requested to wait for an answer till the beginning of May, on the first day of which the parliament was summoned to meet. The interim was busily, as might easily have been foreseen, employed, by the faction of the queen, in preparing, either to prevent the parliament from being assembled, or to embroil its proceedings, if it did. Glas-

gow, therefore, being convenient for the Hamiltons, was first fixed on as the general rendezvous of the party, whence they wrote to Morton, and the party of the king, to meet them either at Falkirk or Linlithgow. This not being agreed to, the queen's faction removed themselves to Linlithgow, and afterwards, thinking to persuade the citizens to join them, into Edinburgh. Foiled in this, though Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle, had declared for them, as also in their aim to assemble the parliament before the appointed time, they, before that time approached, withdrew to Linlithgow, whence they issued an edict, commanding all the lieges to obey only the commissioners of the queen, and summoning a parliament to meet in that place on the 3d of August. Previously to their leaving Edinburgh, the faction despatched two special messengers into England, one to meet with the earl of Sussex, who was on his march with an army to punish the Scotts and the Kers, with their adherents, who had so barbarously, a few months before, carried fire and sword into England,—praying for a truce, till they should be able to inform the queen, Elizabeth, by letter, of the state of their affairs. The other carried the said letter, which contained the most exaggerated statements of their own strength, and not obscurely threatened war against the English nation. It also contained a request that Elizabeth, as arbitress of the affairs of Scotland, should annul the decrees of the two former years, that the whole business should be gone over anew, and settled by the common consent of all. Trusting to the ignorance of the English, they ventured to append to this document, not only all the names of the party, but many of those of the other, and the whole of those that stood neuter. Sussex, having full authority, opened both these despatches, and perfectly aware of the fraud, sent back the messengers with contempt. He also transmitted copies of the letters to the adherents of the king, that they might know what was going on among their enemies; in consequence of which they sent an embassy to Elizabeth, to treat about repressing the common enemy, and to show their respect for her, proposing, in the choice of a regent, to be guided by her wishes.

Sussex, in the meantime, entered Teviotdale, and laid waste without mercy the whole possessions belonging to the Scotts and the Kers, and generally all those belonging to the partisans of Mary. Under pretence of being revenged on the Johnstons, lord Scrope entered Annandale in the same manner, and committed similar depredations. They even carried their ravages into Clydesdale, where they burnt and destroyed the town and castle of Hamilton, and carried off a large booty from the different estates in that quarter belonging to the Hamiltons; after which they returned to Berwick. The messenger, who had been by the protestant lords sent to Elizabeth, in the meantime returned with an answer that contained the strongest expressions of astonishment at the length of time that had elapsed from the death of the regent, before they had thought it meet to make her acquainted with the state of their affairs, and in consequence of the delay, she declared, that she could scarcely determine in what manner she should conduct herself with regard to them. The truth was that she had been again truckling with Mary, who had promised to cause her party in Scotland deliver up the earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, subjects of Elizabeth, who had taken refuge among them; in consequence of which, Sussex had been recalled, and to save appearances with both, she was now necessitated to propose another conference, with a view to the clearing of Mary's character and restoring her to the exercise of sovereign authority. Both parties were in the meantime to abstain from hostilities of every kind, and whatever innovations they had attempted by their public proclamations, they were to annul by the same means.

Nothing could have been contrived more discouraging to the king's friends

or more detrimental to the interests of Scotland, than such a determination as this; but they had no choice left. They behoved either to be assisted by the queen of England, or run the hazard of a dangerous civil war with their own party, considerably diminished by the dilatory manner in which they had already acted, and the chance of the opposite party being assisted by a strong auxiliary force from France, which had been often promised, and as often boasted of, generally among the more uninformed classes, who had little knowledge of the internal strength of France, or of the political balance that might externally sway her councils, and prevent her government from acting according to either their promises or their wishes. But they were not altogether blind to the difficulties in which, by the subtilty of her policy, Elizabeth was involved; and they chose a middle course, trusting to the chapter of accidents for an issue more successful than they could fully or clearly foresee. Sensible how much they had lost by the delay in appointing some person to the regency, they proceeded to create Matthew, earl of Lennox, regent till the middle of July, by which time they calculated upon ascertaining the pleasure of Elizabeth, of whose friendship they did not yet despair.

The earl of Lennox was not by any means a man of commanding talent, but he was a man of kindly affections, and a lover of his country; and with the assistance of his council, set himself in good earnest to correct the disorders into which it had fallen, when about the beginning of July, letters arrived from Elizabeth, filled with expressions of high regard both for the king and kingdom of Scotland, and promising them both her best assistance; and though she wished them to avoid the nomination of a regent, as in itself invidious, yet if her opinion were asked, she knew no person who ought to be preferred to the king's grandfather to that office, because none could be thought upon who would be more faithful to his pupil while a minor, nor had any one a preferable right. On the reception of this grateful communication, Lennox was immediately declared regent, and having taken the usual oath for preserving the religion, the laws, and liberties of his country, he issued a proclamation, commanding all who were capable of bearing arms to appear at Linlithgow on the 2d of August. His purpose by this was to prevent the assembling of the party meeting, which, under the name of a parliament, was called in name of the queen, for the 2nd day of September, he himself having summoned in name of the king a parliament to meet on the 10th of October. He was accordingly attended on the day appointed by five thousand at Linlithgow, where the party of the queen did not think it advisable to appear. Hearing, however, that Huntly had issued orders for a large army to be assembled at Brechin, the garrison of which had begun to infest the highways, and to rob all travellers, he sent against that place the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with what forces they could collect at Perth and Dundee. The subject of this memoir followed them with eight hundred horse, and was at Brechin only a day behind them. The regent himself having despatched the men of Lennox and Renfrew to protect their own country, in case Argyle should attack them, followed in three days, and was waited upon by the nobility and gentry, with their followers, to the number of seven thousand men. Huntly had now fled to the north. The garrison of Brechin made a show of defending themselves, but were soon brought to submit at discretion. Thirty of them, who had been old offenders, were hanged on the spot, and the remainder dismissed.

The regent returned to Edinburgh in time to attend the meeting of parliament, which harmoniously confirmed his authority, which the queen's party observing, had again recourse to the French and the Spaniards, with more earnestness than ever, intreating them to send the promised assistance for the



restoring of the queen and the ancient religion, the latter depending, they said, upon the former. Another parliament being appointed for the 25th of January, 1510, the queen's party, through the queen of England, procured a renewal of the truce till the matters in dispute should be debated before her. The parliament on this account was prorogued from the 25th of January till the beginning of May; and on the 5th of February, the earl of Morton, Robert Pitchair, abbot of Dunfermline, and James Macgill, were despatched to London to hold the conference. For this second conference before the agents of Elizabeth we must refer our readers to the life of Mary queen of Scots. We cannot for a moment suppose that Elizabeth had any serious intentions, at any period of her captivity, to restore queen Mary, and they were probably less so now than ever. The proposals she made at this time, indeed, were so degrading to both parties as to be rejected by both with equal cordiality. There had been in this whole business a great deal of shuffling. Mary had undertaken for her partisans that they would deliver up to Elizabeth the fugitives that had made their escape from justice, or in other words, from the punishment which they had made themselves liable to on her account; but instead of being delivered up to Elizabeth they were safely conveyed into Flanders. Mary had also engaged that her partisans should abstain from courting any foreign aid; but an agent from the pope, who had vainly attempted to conciliate Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her, declared her an usurper as well as a heretic, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance to her; yet with inexplicable pertinacity, Elizabeth seemed to divide her regards between the parties, by which means she kept alive and increased their mutual hatred, and was a principal instrument of rendering the whole country a scene of devastation and misery.

While this fruitless negotiation was going on, the truce was but indifferently observed by either party. Kirkcaldy and Maitland having possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and being free from the fear of any immediate danger, were constantly employed in training soldiers, taking military possession of the most advantageous posts in the city, seizing the provisions brought into Leith, and by every means making preparations for standing a siege till the promised and ardently expected assistance should arrive from abroad. The Hamiltons oftener than once attempted the life of the regent, and they also seized upon the town of Paisley, but Lennox, marching in person against them, speedily recovered it. He also marched to Ayr against the earl of Cassillis, who gave his brother to the regent as a hostage, and appointed a day when he would come to Stirling and ratify his agreement. The earl of Eglinton and lord Boyd at the same time made their submission to the regent and were taken into favour. The castle of Dunbarton too, which had all along been held for the queen, fell at this time, by a piece of singular good fortune, into the hands of the regent. In the castle were taken prisoners Monsieur Verac, ambassador from the king of France, John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and John Fleming of Boghall. The archbishop was shortly after hanged at Stirling, as being concerned in the plots for murdering Darnley and the regent Moray. In the meantime, Morton, and the other commissioners that had accompanied him, returned from London, having come to no particular conclusion. Morton gave a particular account of all that had passed between the commissioners, to the nobles assembled at Stirling, who entirely approved of the conduct of the commissioners; but the further consideration of the embassy was postponed to the first of May, when the parliament was summoned to assemble. Both parties were now fully on the alert; the one to hold, and the other prevent, the meeting on the day appointed. Morton, after the nobles had approved of his conduct,



returned to his house at Dalkeith, attended by a hundred foot soldiers and a few horse, as a guard, in case he should be attacked by the townsmen, or to repress their incursions till a sufficient force could be collected. Morton, as desired by the regent, having sent a detachment of a few horsemen and about seventy foot to Leith, to publish a proclamation, forbidding any person to supply the faction of the queen with provisions, arms, or warlike stores, under pain of being treated as rebels, they were attacked in their way back to Dalkeith, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the townsmen were driven back into the city, though with no great loss on either side. This was the beginning of a civil war that raged with unusual bitterness till it was terminated by the intervention of Elizabeth. The regent not being prepared to besiege the town, wished to abstain from violence; but determined to hold the approaching parliament in the Canongate, within the liberties of the city, at a place called St John's cross, he erected two fortifications, one in Leith Wynd, and the other at the Dove Craig, whence his soldiers fired into the town during the whole time of the sitting of the parliament, slaying great numbers of the soldiers and citizens. This parliament forfeited Maitland the secretary, and two of his brothers, with several others of the party, and was held amid an almost constant discharge of cannon from the castle; yet no one was hurt. On its rising, the regent and Morton retired to Leith, when the party of the queen burnt down the houses without the walls that had been occupied by them; and as they withdrew towards Stirling, they sent out their horsemen after them to Corstorphine. Before they reached that place, however, the regent was gone; but they attacked the earl of Morton, who slowly withdrew towards Dalkeith. As Morton afterwards waylaid all that carried provisions into the town, a party was sent out, supposed to be sufficiently strong to burn Dalkeith. The earl, however, gave them battle, and repulsed them to the marches of the Borough Muir. The garrison seeing from the castle the discomfiture of their friends, sent out a reinforcement, which turned the tide of victory; and but for the carelessness of one of the party, who dropped his match into a barrel of powder, the whole of Morton's party might have fallen victims to their temerity in pursuing the enemy so far. This accident, whereby the horse that carried the powder and many of the soldiers were severely scorched, put an end to the affair. Elizabeth all this while had professed a kind of neutrality between the parties. Now, however, she sent Sir William Drury to Kirkcaldy, the captain of the castle, to know of him whether he held the castle in the queen's name or in the name of the king and regent; assuring him that if he held it in the name of the queen, Elizabeth would be his extreme enemy, but if otherwise that she would be his friend. The captain declared that he owned no authority in Scotland but that of queen Mary. The regent, when Drury told him this, sent him back to demand the house to be rendered to him, in the king's name; on which, he and all that were along with him should be pardoned all by-past offences, restored to their rents and possessions, and should have liberty to depart with all their effects. This offer, the captain, trusting the "carnal wit and policy of Lethington," was so wicked and so foolish as to refuse, and the war was continued with singular barbarity. The small party in the castle, in order to give the colour of law to their procedure, added the absurdity of holding a parliament, in which they read a letter from the king's mother, declaring her resignation null, and requesting that she might be restored, which was at once complied with; only they wanted the power to take her out of the hands of Elizabeth. In order to conciliate the multitude, they declared that no alteration should be made in the presbyterian religion, only those preachers who should refuse to pray for the queen were forbidden to exercise their functions.

These mock forms, from which no doubt a man of so much cunning as Lethington expected happy results, tended only to render the party ridiculous, without producing them a single partisan. The regent, all whose motions were directed by Morton, was indefatigable, and by an order of the estates, the country was to send him a certain number of men, who were to serve for three months, one part of the country relieving the other by turns. To narrate the various skirmishes of the contending parties, as they tended so little to any decisive result, though the subject of this memoir had a principal hand in them all, would be an unprofitable as well as an unpleasant task. We shall therefore pass over the greater part of them; but the following we cannot omit.

Morton, being weary and worn out with constant watching, and besides afflicted with sickness, retired with the regent to Stirling, where the whole party, along with the English ambassador, thought themselves in perfect security. The men of the castle, in order to make a flourish before Sir William Drury, came forth with their whole forces, as if to give their opponents an open challenge, to face them if they dared to be so bold. Morton, who was certainly a brave man, being told of this circumstance, rose from his bed, put on his armour, and led forth his men as far as Restalrig, where he put them in battle array, facing the queen's adherents, who had drawn up at the Quarrel Holes, having along with them two field-pieces. Drury rode between the armies and entreated them to return home, and not spoil all hopes of accommodation by fresh bloodshed. To this he at length brought them to agree, only they wanted to know who should leave the ground first. Drury endeavoured to satisfy both by standing between the armies, and giving a signal which both should obey at the same time. Morton was willing to obey the signal; but his enemies threatened that if he did not retire of his own accord they would drive him from the field with disgrace. This was enough for a man of his proud spirit. He was loath to offend the English; but he conceived that he had abundantly testified his moderation, and he therefore rushed like a whirlwind upon his foes, who, panic-struck, fled in a moment towards the nearest gate, which not being wide enough to receive at once the flying cloud, many were trodden down and taken prisoners; only one small party who rallied in an adjoining church-yard, but who again fled at the first charge, made any resistance. So complete was the panic and so disorderly the flight, that, leaving the gates unguarded, every man fled full speed towards the castle; and had not the regent's soldiers, too intent upon plunder, neglected the opportunity, the city might have been taken. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was slain, with upwards of fifty soldiers, and there were taken prisoners the lord Home, captain Cullen, a relation of Huntly's, and upwards of seventy soldiers, with some horsemen, and the two field-pieces. On the side of the regent there were slain captain Wymis and one single soldier. This adventure befel on Saturday the 26th of June, and, for its fatal issue, was long called by the people of Edinburgh, the **BLACK SATURDAY**. The faction of the queen held another parliament in the month of August, still more ridiculous than the preceding; but in the month of September, Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle, projected an expedition of the most decisive character, and which, had it succeeded, must have put an end to the war. This was no less than an attempt to surprise Stirling, where the regent and all the nobles in amity with him, were assembled to hold a parliament, and it was hoped they should all be either killed or taken prisoners at the same moment. The leaders who were chosen to execute the project, were the earl of Huntly, lord Claud Hamilton, the laird of Buccleuch, and the laird of Wormeston, and they were allowed three hundred foot and two hundred horsemen; and that the foot might reach their destination unfatigued, they pressed the day before every

horse that came into the market, upon which, and behind the horsemen, they were all mounted. In this manner they left Edinburgh on the evening of the 3d of September, 1571. Taking an opposite direction till they were fairly quit of the town, they marched straight for Stirling, where they arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and reached the market place without so much as a dog lifting its voice against them. They had for their guide George Bell, a native of Stirling, who knew every individual lodging and stable within it, and his first care was to point them, all out, that men might be stationed at them, to force up doors and bring forth the prisoners out of the lodgings, and horses from the stables. The footmen were placed in the streets by bands, with orders to shoot every person belonging to the town, without distinction, who might come in their way. The stables were instantly cleared, (for the greater part of the invaders belonged to the borders, and were excellently well acquainted with carrying off prizes in the dark,) and the finest horses of the nobility were collected at the east port. The prisoners too had been mostly seized, and were already in the streets, ready to be led away, for they were not to be put to death till they were all assembled outside the town wall. Morton, however, happened to be in a strong house, and with his servants made such a desperate resistance that the enemy could only obtain entrance by setting it on fire. After a number of his servants had been killed, he made his escape through the flames and surrendered himself prisoner to his relation the laird of Buccleuch. The regent too was secured and the retreat sounded, but the merchants' shops had attracted the borderers, and they could not on the instant be recalled from their ordinary vocation, till Erskine of Marr, who commanded the castle, issued out with a body of musqueteers, which he placed in an unfinished house that commanded the market place, and which, from its being empty, the marauders had neglected to occupy. From this commanding station he annoyed them so grievously that they fled in confusion, and in the narrow lane leading to the gate trode down one another, so that had there been any tolerable number to join in the pursuit, not one of them could have escaped. The inhabitants of the town, however, were fast assembling, and the invaders were under the necessity of quitting their prisoners or of being instantly cut to pieces. Those who had taken Alexander earl of Glencairn and James earl of Morton, were fain, for the saving of their lives, to deliver themselves up to their prisoners; and captain Calder, seeing the day lost, shot the regent, who was in the hands of Spence of Wormeston. Wormeston had already received two wounds in defending his prisoner, and now he was slain outright. Two of these who had struck at the regent and wounded him after being taken, not being able to escape to their friends, were seized and hanged. The pursuit was however prevented, by the thieves of Teviotdale having in the beginning of the affair carried off all the horses, so that those who once got clear of the gate had no difficulty in escaping. There were in Stirling at this time with the regent, Morton, Argyle, Cassillis, Glencairn, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan, Ruthven, Glamis, Sempill, Ochiltree, Cathcart, and Methven, all of whom, had the plot succeeded, would have been either killed or made prisoners. The regent died the same night, and Marr succeeded him in his office, though it was supposed that Morton was the choice of the queen of England. The parliament was continued by the new regent, and a great number of the queen's faction were forefaulted. The parliament was no sooner concluded than the regent hastened to besiege Edinburgh, for which great preparations had been made by the regent Lennox, lately deceased. Scotsmen in those days had but little skill in attacking fortified places, and though the regent erected batteries in different situations, their efforts were inconsiderable. The siege of



course was abandoned, and the former kind of ceaseless hostility renewed. Maitland and Kirkaldy, in company, now had recourse to Elizabeth to settle their disputes; but they expected their property and their offices restored, and for security, that Kirkaldy should retain the command of the castle. Elizabeth offered to protect them and to treat with the regent on their behalf; but, laying aside disguise, she informed them that Mary had been so ill advised, and adopted measures so dangerous to her, that while she lived she should neither have liberty nor rule.

It was about this time that John, lord Maxwell, was married to a sister of Archibald, earl of Angus. Morton, for the entertainment of a number of gentlemen and ladies on the occasion, had store of wines, venison, &c. provided, which being brought from Perth on the way towards Dalkeith, was taken by a party of horsemen from the castle; which so enraged Morton, that he sent a number of armed men into Fife, who destroyed all the corn on the lands of the governor of the castle, and burnt his house; and the governor the same night succeeded in burning the whole town of Dalkeith. The same detestable wickedness was, by both parties, committed in various other places shortly after. In March, 1572, all the mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were broken down, that the inhabitants might be cut off from their supply of meal; and by placing soldiers in Corstorphine, Redhall, Merchiston, Craigmillar, and other defensible places in the neighbourhood of the town, it came to be closely blockaded. Whoever was found carrying any necessary to the town was brought down to Leith, where he was either hanged or drowned, or at the very least burnt in the cheek. So inveterate, indeed, had the parties now become, that prisoners taken in the field of open war, were instantly hanged on both sides. This blind brutality was carried on without intermission for nearly two months. The town of Edinburgh was now reduced to the greatest straits, and nothing but the deepest infatuation could have prevented the governor of the castle from surrendering, especially as Elizabeth, by her ambassador, was willing to treat with the regent on his behalf. A truce was, however, effected by the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, the town was made patent to the governor, and the banished clergy were all allowed to return, but still no terms of mutual agreement could be devised, and the regent Marr, broken in spirit for the wickedness and folly of his countrymen, died, as has been generally supposed, of a broken heart, on the 24th of October, 1572. Morton had now a fair field for his ambition, and on the 24th of November, he was elected regent, in the room of the earl of Marr.

During the reign of the three former regents, Morton had been a principal actor in all matters of importance, and there did not appear to be any positive change in his principles and views, now that he was at liberty to act for himself. He still proffered peace upon the conditions that had been held out by his predecessor, but Grange, who commanded the castle, having risen in his demands, and Maitland being a man of whom he was jealous, he fell upon the plan of treating with the party separately, and by this means ruining, or at least, disabling the whole. In this he was assisted, perhaps unwittingly, by the English ambassador Killigrew, who, now that a partisan of England was at the head of the government, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between all parties. Under his auspices a correspondence was accordingly entered into with the two most powerful leaders of the party, Chatelherault and Huntly, by whom a renewal of the truce was gladly accepted. Kirkaldy, who refused to be included in the prolongation of the truce, fired some cannon at six o'clock in the morning after it had expired, against a place which had been turned into a fish market, whereby one man was slain and several wounded. The ambassa-



dor seeing this, immediately moved home, and Sir James Balfour, who had been all the time of the dispute an inmate of the castle, hastened to make his submission to the regent, and demand a pardon, which was cheerfully granted, with restoration at once to all his possessions. Perhaps rather offended than mollified by this kindness on the part of the regent towards his friend, the governor proclaimed from the walls of the castle his intention to destroy the town, commanding at the same time, all the queen's true subjects to leave the place, that they might not be involved in that ruin that was intended only for her enemies. Within two days after, a strong wind blowing from the west, he sallied out in the evening, and set fire to the houses at the foot of the rock, which burned eastward as far as the Magdalen chapel. At the same time he sent his cannon-shot along the path taken by the conflagration, so that no one dared to approach to put it out. This useless cruelty made him alike odious to his friends and his enemies, and they "sa cryit out with maledictions that he was saif frae na mannis cursing." The estates, notwithstanding all this, met in the end of January, when they passed several acts against papists and despisers of the king's authority. This meeting of the estates had no sooner broken up, than a meeting was held at Perth with the leading noblemen, who had first been of the queen's faction, when a treaty was entered into, by which a general amnesty was granted to all who should profess and support the protestant religion, and submit themselves to the authority of the regent. The only persons excepted from this amnesty, were the murderers of the king, and the regents Moray and Lennox, the archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, and the bishop of Ross, her ambassador in England, both of whom were under a sentence of outlawry. Liberty was also reserved for Kirkaldy and his associates to take the benefit of this amnesty if they did it within a given time. The English ambassador, anxious for the fate of a brave man, waited in the castle to show the governor the treaty, and to advise his acceding to it, but Maitland had so possessed him with the idea of assistance from abroad, that he was deaf to all advice. Morton, indeed, had not the means of reducing the castle himself; but he made immediate application to Elizabeth for a supply of cannon and of soldiers who could work them, which application she received most graciously, and Sir William Drury with a body of troops and a train of artillery left Berwick upon that service in the month of April, 1573. Before the march of the troops, however, a special treaty was concluded, whereby the terms upon which the aid was granted were particularly specified, and hostages were granted for the fulfilment of these terms. No time was lost in commencing the siege, and notwithstanding the skill and the bravery of the governor, the place was speedily reduced. The fall of part of the chief tower choked up the well which afforded them at best but a scanty supply, and the spur, though a place of great strength, was stormed with the loss of only eight men killed, and twenty-three wounded. The garrison on this beat a parley, and sent for one of the English captains, to whom they expressed their desire of conversing with the general and the ambassador. The regent giving his consent, Kirkaldy, according to the prediction of John Knox, along with Sir Robert Melville, was let down over the wall, the gate being choked up with rubbish. Requiring conditions which could not be granted, Kirkaldy was returned to the castle, but he found it impossible to stand another assault. They had no water but what they caught as it fell from heaven, and the garrison was discontented. Thinking on the terms that had been offered, and so often and foolishly rejected, and ascribing the obstinacy of the resistance to Maitland, the men threatened that if further attempts to preserve the place were made, they would hang him over the wall. Nothing of course was left but to capitulate at discretion: only they did so with the Eng-

lish general, in preference to the regent. The garrison had to be brought from the castle under an escort, so odious was it to the people; and Kirkaldy and Maitland, for the same reason, had to be lodged with the English general. Maitland took himself off by poison; and Kirkaldy and his brother James, along with two other persons, were hanged at the cross of Edinburgh upon the 3d day of August, 1573. Kirkaldy had been an early friend and an intrepid defender of the reformation; but his old age, in consequence perhaps of the companionships he had formed, was unworthy of his youth, and his end was most miserable. This was the last stroke to the interests of Mary in Scotland.

The regent's first care was to repair the castle, the keeping of which he committed to his brother, George Douglas of Parkhead, he himself going in person to repress the disorders that had so long prevailed among the borderers, and had been so often complained of by the English government. Along with Sir John Forrester, the English warden for the middle march, he adjusted the existing differences, and concerted measures to prevent their recurrence. From the chiefs of the different districts he exacted hostages for their good behaviour; and he appointed Sir James Home of Cowdenknows, Sir John Carmichael, one of his principal ministers, and lord Maxwell, as wardens for the eastern, the middle, and the western marches. Having settled the borders, Morton next applied himself to correct the disorders in the country in general, and to the regular distribution of justice; and in this, says the author of the history of James the sixth, "he wished to punish the transgressor rather be his gudes than be death." "He had also another purpose," says the same author, "to heap up a great treasure whatsoever way it might be obtained. For the first he prospered in effect very weil; and as to the uther, he had greater luck than any three kings had before him in sa short a space. For not only he collectit all the king's rents to his awin profit, but also controllit the yung king's family in sik sort, as they war content of sik a small pension as he pleased to appoint. Secondly, when any benefices of the kirk vaikit, he kepted the profit of their rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the kirk to mak donation tharof, and that was not given but profit for all that. And becaus the wairds and marriages war also incidental matters of the crown, and fell frequently in thais dayis, as commonly they do, he obtainit als great profit of ilk ane of them as they war of avail, and as to the gudes of those wha war ony way disobedient to the lawis, and that the same fell in the king's hand, the parties offenders escapit not but payment in the highest degree. And to this effect he had certain interpreters and componitors wha composit with all parties, according to his ain direction; and he sa appointed with them for the payment, that it sould either be made in fyne gold or fyne silver." The above, we doubt not, is a pretty fair general statement of Morton's ordinary modes of procedure. He also sentenced to whipping and imprisonment, those who dared to eat flesh in lent, but the sentences were uniformly remitted upon paying fines. His exactions upon the church perhaps were not the most aggravated of his doings, but they certainly brought him a larger share of odium than any other. The thirds of benefices had been appropriated for the maintenance of the protestant clergy; but from the avarice of the nobility, who had seized upon the revenues of the church, even these thirds could not be collected with either certainty or regularity. During the late troubles, they had in many places been entirely lost sight of; to remedy this defect, Morton proposed to vest them in the crown, under promise to make the stipend of every minister local, and payable in the parish where he served. If upon trial this arrangement should be found ineligible, he engaged to replace them in their former situation. No sooner, however, did he obtain possession of the thirds, than he appointed one man to serve

perhaps four churches, in which he was to preach alternately, with the stipend of one parish only; by which means he pocketed two-thirds, with the exception of the trifle given to three illiterate persons who read prayers in the absence of the minister. The allowance to superintendents was stopped at the same time; and when application was made at court, they were told the office was no longer necessary, bishops being placed in the diocese, to whom of right the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged. The ministers complained, and desired to be put on their former footing, but they were told that the thirds belonged to the king and the management of them behaved of course to belong to the regent and council, and not to the church. The assembly of 1574, in order to counteract the effects of their own simplicity, decreed that though a minister should be appointed to more churches than one, he should take the charge of that alone where he resided, and bestow upon the others only what he could spare without interfering with the duty he owed to his particular charge.

In the summer of 1575, an affray on the borders had well nigh involved Morton in a contest with Elizabeth. Sir John Carmichael, one of the Scottish wardens, had delivered up some outlaws to Sir John Forrester the English warden, and now made application to that officer to have a notorious thief delivered up to him; Forrester showed a disposition to evade the demand, and some of the Scottish attendants uttered their dislike in terms ruder than suited the polite ears of Englishmen. Sir John Forrester then said, that Sir John Carmichael was not an equal to him; and his followers, without ceremony, let fly a shower of arrows, that killed one Scotsman dead, and wounded many others. Inferior in numbers, the Scots were fain to flee for their lives, but meeting some of their countrymen from Jedburgh, they turned back, and dispersing the Englishmen, chased them within their own borders, and slew by the way George Heron, keeper of Tinedale and Reddisdale, with twenty-four common men. Forrester himself they took prisoner, along with Francis Russell, son to the earl of Bedford, Cudbert Collingwood, and several others, whom they sent to the regent at Dalkeith; who, heartily sorry for the affray, received them with kindness, entertained them hospitably for a few days, and dismissed them courteously. Elizabeth, informed of the circumstance, demanded by her ambassador, Killigrew, immediate satisfaction. Morton had no alternative but to repair to the border, near Berwick, where he was met by the earl of Huntington, and after a conference of some days, it was agreed that Sir John Carmichael should be sent prisoner into England. Elizabeth finding on inquiry that her own warden had been the offender, and pleased with the submissive conduct of Morton, ordered Carmichael in a few weeks to be honourably dismissed, and gratified him with a handsome present.

Morton, having a greedy eye to the temporalities of the church, had from the beginning been unfriendly to her liberties, and by his encroachments had awakened a spirit of opposition that gathered strength every year till the whole fabric of episcopacy was overturned. This embroiled him with the general assembly every year, and had no small effect in hastening his downfall; but in the bounds we have prescribed to our narrative, we cannot introduce the subject in such a way as to be intelligible, and must therefore pass it over.

In the end of 1575, the regent coined a new piece of gold of the weight of one ounce, and ordained it to pass current for twenty pounds. In the following year, a feud fell out betwixt Athole and Argyle, which the regent hoped to have turned to his own account by imposing a fine upon each of them; but they being aware of his plan, composed their own differences, and kept out of his clutches. An attempt which Morton had before this made upon Semple of Beltrees and Adam Whitford of Milntown, had given all men an evil opinion of



his disposition, and made them wish for the subversion of his power. Semple had married Mary Livingston, one of queen Mary's maids of honour, and had received along with her, in a present from his royal mistress, the lands of Bel-trees, which Morton now proposed to reassume as crown lands, which, it was alleged, were unalienable. Semple, on hearing of this design, was reported to have exclaimed, that if he lost his lands he should lose his head also; on which Morton had him apprehended and put to the torture, under which, as most men will do, he confessed whatever they thought fit to charge him with, and was condemned to be executed, but was pardoned upon the scaffold. His uncle Adam Whitford was also tortured respecting the same plot; but though they mangled his body most cruelly, he utterly denied that he knew of any such thing. The firm denial of the uncle gained of course entire credit, while the confession of the nephew was ridiculed as the effect of weakness and fear. Irritated with the reproaches which were now pretty liberally heaped upon him, Morton conceived the idea of heightening his reputation by demitting, or offering to demit his office into the hands of the king, who was now in his twelfth year. He accordingly, on the 12th day of September, 1577, proposed his resignation to his majesty, who, by the advice of Athole and Argyle, accepted it: and it was shortly after declared to the people of Edinburgh by the Lyon King at Arms, assisted by twelve heralds, and accompanied by a round from the castle guns. Morton, taken at his word, seems to have retired to Lochleven in a kind of pet, but speedily contrived to regain that power by force which he had apparently laid down of his free will. Having possessed himself of the castle and garrison of Stirling, he dexterously contrived to engross the same or at least equal power to what he possessed as regent; nor had he learned to temper it with any more of moderation. He brought the parliament that had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh, to Stirling; and he carried every thing in it his own way. He also narrowly escaped kindling another civil war; yet he still meditated the ruin of the Hamiltons, and the enriching of himself and his faction by their estates. The earl of Arran had been for a number of years insane, and confined in the castle of Draffan. But his brother, lord John Hamilton, acted as the administrator of his estates, and Claud was commendator of Paisley; both the brothers had been excepted from the amnesty granted at Perth, as being concerned in the murder of the king and the regent Murray, and Morton had now formed a scheme to involve them in a criminal sentence on that account, and to seize upon their estates. Informed of the plot, the brothers got happily out of the way, but their castles were seized; and because that of Hamilton had not been given up at the first summons, the garrison were marched to Stirling as felons, and the commander hanged for his fidelity. Still, however, Arran, being insane, was guiltless, but he was made answerable for his servants, and because they had not yielded to the summons of the king, he was convicted of treason and his estates forfeited. In the same spirit of justice and humanity, Morton apprehended a schoolmaster of the name of Turnbull, and a notary of the name of Scott, who had written, in conjunction, a satire upon some parts of his character and conduct, brought them to Stirling, where they were convicted of slandering "one of the king's councillors, and hanged for their pains." The violent dealing of the wicked almost invariably returns upon their own heads, and so in a short time did that of Morton; for while he was still meditating mischief, he was most unexpectedly accused by the king's new favourite, captain Stewart, of being an accomplice in the murder of the king's father. He was instantly committed to the castle of Edinburgh, thence carried to Dumbarton, and thence back to Edinburgh, where he was brought to trial on the 1st of June, 1581. Previously to his removal from



Dumbarton, the estate and title of the Earl of Arran, which he had so iniquitously caused to be forfeited, were bestowed upon captain Stewart, his accuser; who, at the same time that he was invested with the estate and title, received a commission to bring up the ex-regent from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, which he did at the head of one thousand men. When the commission was shown to Morton, struck with the title, he inquired who he was, not having heard of his exaltation. Being told, he exclaimed, "then I know what I have to expect." The jury that sat upon his trial was composed of his avowed enemies, and though he challenged the earl of Argyle and lord Seton as prejudiced against him, they were allowed to sit on his assize. Of the nature of the proof adduced against him we know nothing, as our historians have not mentioned it, and the records of the court respecting it have either been destroyed or lost. He was, however, pronounced guilty of concealing, and guilty art and part in the king's murder. "Art and part," he exclaimed twice, with considerable agitation, and striking the ground violently with a small walking-stick, "God knows it is not so." He heard, however, the sentence with perfect composure. In the interval between his trial and execution, he felt, he said, a serenity of mind to which he had long been a stranger. Resigning himself to his fate, he supped cheerfully and slept calmly for a considerable part of the night. He was next morning visited by several of the ministers, and an interesting account of the conference which John Dury and Walter Balcanquhal had with him, has been preserved. Respecting the crime for which he was condemned, he confessed, that after his return from England, whither he had fled for the slaughter of Rizzio, he met Bothwell at Whittingham, who informed him of the conspiracy against the king, and solicited him to become an accomplice, as the queen anxiously wished his death. He at first refused to have any thing to do with it, but after repeated conferences, in which he was always urged with the queen's pleasure, he required a warrant under her hand, authorizing the deed, which never having received, he never consented to have any hand in the transaction. On being reminded that his own confessions justified his sentence; he answered, that according to the strict letter of the law, he was liable to punishment, but it was impossible for him to have revealed the plot, for to whom could he have done so? "To the queen? she was the author of it. To the king's father? he was sic a bairn that there was nothing told him but he would tell to her again; and the two most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, Bothwell and Huntly, were the perpetrators. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it," added he, "but it was because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life. But as to being art and part in the commission of the crime, I call God to witness that I am entirely innocent." He was executed by an instrument called the maiden, which he himself had introduced into Scotland, on the 3d of June, 1581. On the scaffold he was calm, his voice and his countenance continuing unaltered; and after some little time spent in devotion, he suffered death with the intrepidity that became a Douglas. His head was placed on the public gaol, and his body, after lying till sunset on the scaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the usual burying place of criminals. "Never was there seen," says Spottiswoode, "a more notable example of fortune's mutability, than in the earl of Morton. He who a few years before had been revered by all men, and feared as a king, was now at his end forsaken by all, and made the very scorn of fortune, to teach men how little stability there is in honour, wealth, friendship, and the rest of these worldly things that men do so much admire. In one thing he was nevertheless most happy, that he died truly penitent, with that courage and resignation which became a truly great man and a good christian, and in the full assurance of a blessed immortality."

DOUGLAS, JAMES, M. D., a skilful anatomist and surgeon, and accomplished physician, was born in Scotland in the year 1675. Having completed his preliminary education, he proceeded to London, and there applied himself diligently to the studies of anatomy and surgery. Medical science was at that period but little advanced, nor were the facilities of acquiring a proficiency in any branch of it, by any means considerable. Dr Douglas laboured with assiduity to overcome the difficulties against which he had to contend;—he studied carefully the works of the ancients, which were at that time little known to his contemporaries, and sought to supply what in them appeared defective, by closely studying nature. The toils of patient industry seldom go unrewarded; and he was soon enabled so far to advance the progress of anatomy and surgery, as to entitle himself to a conspicuous place in the history of medicine. His "*Descriptio Comparativa Musculorum Corporis Humani et Quadrupedis*" was published in London in 1707. The quadruped he chose for his analogy was the dog; and he thus appears to have proceeded in imitation of Galen, who left on record an account of the muscles of the ape and in man. "As for the comparative part of this treatise, or the interlacing the descriptions of the human muscles with those of the canine, that" says Dr Douglas, "needs no apology. The many useful discoveries known from the dissection of quadrupeds, the knowledge of the true structure of divers parts of the body, of the course of the blood and the chyle, and of the use and proper action of the parts, that are chiefly owing to this sort of dissection; these, I say, give a very warrantable plea for insisting upon it, though it may be censured by the vulgar." His descriptions of the muscles, their origin and insertion, and their various uses, are extremely accurate; and to them many recent authors on myology, of no mean authority, have been not a little indebted. It soon obtained considerable notice on the continent, where, in 1738, an edition appeared in Latin, by John Frederic Schreiber. His anatomical *chef d'œuvre*, however, was the description he gave of the peritonæum, the complicated course and reflections of which, he pointed out with admirable accuracy. His account entitled "a description of the Peritonæum, and of that part of the Membrana Cellularis which lies on its outside," appeared in London in the year 1730. Nicholas Massa, and others of the older anatomists, had contended that the peritonæum was a uniform and continuous membrane, but it remained for Dr Douglas to demonstrate the fact; in which, after repeated dissections, he satisfactorily succeeded. Ocular inspection can alone teach the folds and processes of this membrane;—but his description is perhaps the best and most complete that can even yet be consulted. Besides his researches in anatomy, Dr Douglas laboured to advance the then rude state of surgery. He studied particularly the difficult and painful operation of lithotomy, and introduced to the notice of the profession the methods recommended by Jacques, Rau, and Mery. In the year 1726, he published "a History of the lateral operation for Stone," which was republished with an appendix, in 1733, and embraced a comparison of the methods used by different lithotomists, more especially of that which was practised by Cheselden. Dr Douglas taught for many years both anatomy and surgery; and his fame having extended, he was appointed physician to the king, who afterwards awarded him a pension of five hundred guineas per annum. It may be worth noticing, that while practising in London, he seems to have obtained considerable credit for having detected the imposition of a woman named Maria Tofts, who had for some time imposed successfully on the public. This impostor pretended, that from time to time she underwent an accouchement, during which, she gave birth—not to any human being—but to rabbits; and this strange deception she practised successfully on many well educated persons. Dr Douglas detected the

fraud, and explained the mode by which it was enacted, in an advertisement which he published in Manningham's Journal. During the period that Dr Douglas lectured on anatomy, he was waited upon by Mr, afterwards the celebrated Dr William Hunter, who solicited his advice in the direction of his studies. Pleased with his address, and knowing his industry and talents, Dr Douglas appointed him his assistant, and invited him to reside under his roof; an invitation which Mr William Hunter could not accept, until he had consulted Dr Cullen, with whom he had previously arranged to enter, when he had finished his education, into partnership, for the purpose of conducting the surgical part of his practice;—but his friend Dr Cullen, seeing how important to him would be his situation under Dr Douglas, relinquished cheerfully his former agreement; and young Hunter was left at liberty to accept the situation he desired. He thus became the assistant of, and found a kind benefactor in Dr Douglas; who must have been amply rewarded, had he lived to see the high fame to which his pupil attained. Thus often it happens, that the patron and preceptor of an obscure and humble boy, fosters talents which afterwards rise and shine even with greater brilliancy than his own. Dr Douglas not only attended to the practical duties of his profession, but excelled in what may be termed its literary department. He was an erudite scholar, and published a work entitled "*Bibliographiæ Anatomicæ specimen, seu Catalogus pene Omnium Auctorum qui ab Hippocrate ad Harveium rem Anatomicam ex professo vel obiter scripsit illustrarunt.*" This work appeared in London in the year 1715, and was republished in Leyden in 1734, which edition was enriched by several important additions from the pen of Albinus. Portal, in his history of anatomy and surgery, thus eulogises this valuable work—"c'est le tableau le plus fidele, et le plus succinct de l'anatomie ancienne. Douglas fait en peu de mots l'histoire de chaque anatomiste, indique leurs editions, et donne une légère notice de leurs ouvrages; sa liste des ecrivains est tres étendue . . . . . c'est ouvrage est une des meilleurs modelles qu'on puisse suivre pour donner l'histoire d'une science et j'avoue que je m'en suis beaucoup servi." Haller, when in London, visited Dr Douglas, and informs us that he was highly pleased with his anatomical preparations; particularly with those which exhibited the motions of the joints, and the internal structure of the bones. A tribute of admiration from such a man as the illustrious Haller cannot be too highly appreciated;—he observes, that he found him "a learned and skilful person; modest, candid, and obliging; and a very diligent dissector." Besides devoting his attention to those departments of his profession in the exercise of which he was most particularly engaged, Dr Douglas seems to have pursued botany, not only as a recreation, but as a graver study. In the year 1725, he published "*Lilium Sarmienne,*" or a description of the Guernsey lily. His work, descriptive of this beautiful flower, appeared in folio, illustrated by a plate, and is an admirable monograph. He also analysed with peculiar care the coffee seed, and published a work entitled "*Arbor Yemensis,*" a description and history of the coffee tree, which may still be consulted as containing a great deal of curious and valuable information. We also find in the Transactions of the royal society of London, that he contributed to that work, a description of the flower and seed vessel of the *Crocus Autumnalis Sativus*; and an essay on the different kinds of Ipecacuanha. In addition to these labours, more or less connected with his immediate professional avocations, we find that he collected, at a great expense, all the editions of Horace which had been published from 1476 to 1739. Dr Harwood, in his view of Greek and Roman classics, observes, that "this one

<sup>1</sup> Historie de l'anatomie et de le chirurgie, par M. Portal, lecteur du Roi et professeur de medecine au college royade de France, &c., a Paris, 1770. tom. iv. p. 403.



author multiplied, must thus have formed a very considerable library." An accurate catalogue of these is prefixed to Watson's *Horace*.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the works we have mentioned, Dr Douglas projected a splendid design of one on the bones, and another on *Hernia*, which, notwithstanding the great advancement of medical science since his time, we regret that he did not live to complete. He died in the year 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and when we consider the period in which he lived, and the essential services he rendered towards the advancement of medical science, the homage of the highest respect is due to his memory.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, the brother of the eminent physician whose biography we have already given, attained to considerable eminence as a surgeon, in which capacity he officiated to the Westminster infirmary. His name is principally distinguished among those of other medical men, for his celebrity as a lithotomist, and for having written a treatise insisting on the utility of bark in mortification. His work on the high operation for the stone, obtained for him considerable reputation; and will give the medical reader an accurate notion of the state of the surgical art at the period in which he lived. He also practised midwifery, and criticised with no inconsiderable asperity the works of Chamberlain and Chapman. He appears, indeed, to have been the author of several controversial works, which have deservedly floated down the stream of time into obscurity. Among others we may notice one, entitled "*Remarks on a late pompous Work*;" a severe and very unjust criticism on Cheselden's admirable *Osteology*. He wrote some useful treatises on the employment of purgatives in Syphilis; but by far his most important was "*an account of Mortifications, and of the surprising effect of Bark in putting a stop to their progress.*" This remedy had already been tried successfully in gout by Sydenham; in typhus by Ramazzini and Lanzoni; by Monro, Wall, and Huxham, in malignant variolo; and after Rushworth had tried it in the gangrene following intermitent fevers, it was introduced by Douglas, and afterwards by Shipton, Grindall, Werlhof, and Heister, in ordinary cases of gangrene.<sup>3</sup> This same Scottish family, we may add, gave birth to Robert Douglas, who published a treatise on the generation of animal heat; but the rude state of Physiology, and of animal chemistry, at that period, rendered abortive all speculation on this difficult, but still interesting subject of investigation.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, D. D., bishop of Salisbury, was born at Pittenweem, Fifeshire, in the year 1721. His father was Mr John Douglas, a respectable merchant of that town, a son of a younger brother of the ancient family of Tilliquilly. Young Douglas commenced his education at the schools of Dunbar, whence in the year 1736, he was removed, and entered commoner of St Mary's college, Oxford. In the year 1738, he was elected exhibitioner on bishop Warner's foundation, in Baliol college; and in 1741, he took his bachelor's degree. In order to acquire a facility in speaking the French language, he went abroad, and remained for some time at Montreal in Picardy, and afterwards at Ghent in Flanders. Having returned to college in 1743, he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he was appointed chaplain to the third foot guards, and joined the regiment in Flanders, where it was then serving with the allied army. During the period of his service abroad, Dr Douglas occupied himself chiefly in the study of modern languages; but at the same time he took a lively interest in the operations of the army, and at the battle of Fontenoy, was employed in carrying orders from general Campbell to a detachment of English troops. He returned to England along with that body of troops, which was

<sup>2</sup> See also Haller *Bib. Anat. and Chirurg.*

<sup>3</sup> Sprey *Histoire de la Médecine*, tom. v. f. 412.



ordered home on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745; and having gone back to college, he was elected one of the exhibitioners on Mr Snell's foundation. In the year 1747, he was ordained priest, and became curate of Tilehurst, near Reading, and afterwards of Dunstew, in Oxfordshire. On the recommendation of Sir Charles Stuart and lady Allen, he was selected by the earl of Bath to accompany his only son lord Pulteney, as tutor, in his travels on the continent. Dr Douglas has left a MS. account of this tour, which relates chiefly to the governments and political relations of the countries through which they passed. In the year 1749, he returned home; and although lord Pulteney was prematurely cut off, yet the fidelity with which Dr Douglas had discharged his duty to his pupil, procured him the lasting friendship and valuable patronage of the earl of Bath; by whom he was presented to the free chapel of Eaton-Constantine, and the donative of Uppington, in Shropshire. In the following year (1750), he published his first literary work, "*The Vindication of Milton*," from the charge of plagiarism, brought against him by the impostor Lauder. In the same year he was presented by the earl of Bath to the vicarage of High Ercal, in Shropshire, when he vacated Eaton-Constantine. Dr Douglas resided only occasionally on his livings. At the desire of the earl of Bath, he took a house in town, near Bath-house, where he passed the winter months, and in summer he generally accompanied lord Bath to the fashionable watering places, or in his visits among the nobility and gentry. In the year 1752, he married Miss Dorothy Pershouse, who died within three months after her nuptials. In 1754, he published "*The Criterion of Miracles*." In 1755, he wrote a pamphlet against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, and other religious sects, which he published under the title of "*An Apology for the Clergy*," and soon after, he published an ironical defence of these sectarians, entitled "*The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel*." For many years Dr Douglas seems to have engaged in writing political pamphlets, an occupation most unbecoming a clergyman. In the year 1761, he was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, and in 1762, through the interest of the earl of Bath, he was made earl of Windsor. In 1762, he superintended the publication of "*Henry the Earl of Clarendon's Diary and Letters*;" and wrote the preface which is prefixed to that work. In June, of that year, he accompanied the earl of Bath to Spa, where he became acquainted with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who received him with marked attention, and afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. Of this correspondence, (although it is known that Dr Douglas kept a copy of all his own letters, and although it was valuable from its presenting a detailed account of the state of parties at the time,) no trace can now be discovered. In the year 1764, the earl of Bath died, and left his library to Dr Douglas, but as general Pulteney wished to preserve it in the family, it was redeemed for a thousand pounds. On the death of general Pulteney, however, it was again left to Dr Douglas, when it was a second time redeemed for the same sum. In 1764, he exchanged his livings in Shropshire for that of St Austin and St Faith in Watling Street, London. In April 1765, Dr Douglas married Miss Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Henry Brudenell Brooke. In the year 1773, he assisted Sir John Dalrymple in the arrangement of his MSS. In 1776, he was removed from the chapter of Windsor to that of St Pauls. At the request of lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, he prepared for publication the journal of Captain Cooke's voyages. In the year 1777, he assisted lord Hardwick in arranging and publishing his *Miscellaneous Papers*. In the following year he was elected member of the royal and the antiquarian societies. In 1781, at the request of lord Sandwich, he prepared for publication Captain Cooke's third and last voyage; to which he supplied the introduc-

tion and notes. In the same year he was chosen president of Zion college, and preached the customary Latin sermon. In 1786, he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the antiquarian society, and in the month of March of the following year, he was elected one of the trustees of the British museum. In September, 1787, he was made bishop of Carlisle. In 1788, he succeeded to the Deanery of Windsor, for which he vacated his residentiaryship of St Pauls, and in 1791 he was translated to the See of Salisbury. And having reached the 86th year of his age, he died on the 18th of May, 1807. He was buried in one of the vaults of St George's chapel in Windsor Castle, and was attended to the grave by the duke of Sussex.

Mr Douglas had the honour to be a member of the club instituted by Dr Johnson, and is frequently mentioned in Boswell's life of the lexicographer; he is also twice mentioned by Goldsmith in the "Retaliation." We are told by his son that his father was an indefatigable reader and writer, and that he was scarcely ever to be seen without a book or a pen; but the most extraordinary feature in the career of this reverend prelate is his uniform good fortune, which makes the history of his life little more than the chronicle of the honours and preferments which were heaped upon him.<sup>4</sup>

DOUGLAS, ROBERT, an eminent clergyman, is said to have been a grandson of Mary queen of Scots, through a child born by her to George Douglas, younger of Lochleven, while she suffered confinement in that castle. Nothing else has come to our knowledge respecting his parentage and early history. It would appear that he accompanied, in the capacity of chaplain, one of the brigades of auxiliaries sent over from Scotland, by connivance of Charles I., to aid the protestant cause under Gustavus Adolphus, in the celebrated thirty years' war. Wodrow, in his manuscript *Analecta*, under date 1712, puts down some anecdotes of this part of Douglas's life, which, he says, his informant derived from old ministers that had been acquainted with him.

"He was a considerable time in Gustavus Adolphus's army, and was in great reputation with him. He was very unwilling to part with Mr Douglas, and when he would needs leave the army, Gustavus said of him that he scarce ever knew a person of his qualifications for wisdom. Said he, 'Mr Douglas might have been counsellor to any prince in Europe; for prudence and knowledge, he might be moderator to a general assembly; and even for military skill,' said he, 'I could very freely trust my army to his conduct.' And they said that in one of Gustavus's engagements, he was standing at some distance on a

<sup>4</sup> The following is a list of bishop Douglas's works: "Vindication of Milton from the charge of Plagiarism, adduced by Lauder," 1750. "A letter on the criterion of miracles," 1754, principally intended as an antidote against the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and the philosophers." "An apology for the clergy against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, &c." "The destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel," 1759. This was an ironical defence of those he had attacked in the preceding pamphlet. "An attack on certain positions contained in Bower's history of the Popes, &c." 1756. "A serious defence of the administration," 1756,—being an attack on the cabinet of that day for introducing foreign troops. "Bower and Tilemont compared," 1757. "A full confutation of Bower's three defences." "The complete and final detection of Bower." "The conduct of the late noble commander (lord George Sackville, afterwards lord George Germain) candidly considered," 1759. This was the defence of a very unpopular character. "A letter to two great men on the appearance of peace," 1759. "A preface to the translation of Hooke's Negotiations, 1760." "The sentiments of a Frenchman on the preliminaries of peace, 1762." "The introduction and notes to captain Cooke's third voyage." "The anniversary sermon on the martyrdom of king Charles, preached before the house of Lords," 1788. "The anniversary sermon preached before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel," 1793. Besides these, bishop Douglas wrote several political papers in the public Advertiser in 1763,-66,-70,-71. He also superintended the publication of lord Clarendon's Letters and Diary, and assisted lord Hardwick and Sir John Dalrymple in arranging their MSS. for publication, and he drew up Mr Hearne's narrative, and finished the introduction.

rising ground, and when both wings were engaged, he observed some mismanagement in the left wing, that was like to prove fatal, and he either went or sent to acquaint the commanding officer, and it was prevented, and the day gained."

Mr Wodrow further mentions that Douglas, while in the army, having no other book than the Bible to read, committed nearly the whole of that sacred volume to memory, which was of immense service to him in his future ministrations in Scotland. In 1641, Douglas was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and probably of considerable distinction. On the 25th of July that year, he preached before the parliament, an honour to which he was frequently preferred throughout the whole course of the civil war. According to Wodrow, he was "a great state preacher, one of the greatest we ever had in Scotland, for he feared no man to declare the mind of God to him." He was a man of such authority and boldness, that Mr Tullidaff, himself an eminent preacher, declared he never could stand in the presence of Douglas without a feeling of awe. Nevertheless, says Wodrow, "he was very accessible and easy to be conversed with. Unless a man were for God, he had no value for him, let him be never so great or noble." Mr Douglas was moderator of the general assembly which met in 1649, and was in general a leading member of the standing committee of that body, in company with Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Blair, and others. In August, 1650, he was one of the commissioners sent by the clergy to Dunfermline, to request Charles II. to subscribe a declaration of his sentiments for the satisfaction of the public mind. As this document threw much blame upon his late father, Charles refused to subscribe it, and the commissioners returned without satisfaction, which laid the foundation of a division in the Scottish church. Douglas became the leading individual of the party which inclined to treat Charles leniently, and which obtained the name of the *resolutions*. In virtue of this lofty character, he officiated at the coronation of king Charles at Scone, January 1, 1651: his sermon on that occasion was published at the time, and has since been reprinted. It contains ample evidence of his qualifications as a "state preacher," that is, a preacher who commented on state affairs in the course of his sermons; a fashion which rendered the *pulpit* of the seventeenth century equivalent to the *press* of the present day. When the royal cause was suppressed in Scotland by Cromwell, Douglas, among other members of the church commission, was sent prisoner to London, whence he was soon after released. At the departure of general Monk from Scotland in 1659, Mr Douglas joined with several other distinguished resolutions in sending Mr James Sharp along with that commander, as an agent to attend to the interests of the Scottish church in whatever turn affairs might take. Sharp, as is well known, betrayed his constituents, and got himself appointed archbishop of St Andrews under the new system. While conducting matters to this end, he maintained a correspondence with Mr Douglas, for the use of his constituents in general; and this correspondence is introduced, almost at full length, into Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland." It is said that Mr Douglas was offered high episcopal preferment, if he would have acceded to the new church-system, but that he indignantly refused. Wodrow, in his manuscript diary, gives the following anecdote: "When Mr Sharp was beginning to appear in his true colours, a little before he went up to court and was consecrate, he happened to be with Mr Douglas, and in conversation he termed Mr Douglas 'brother.' He checked him, and said, 'Brother! no more brother, James: if my conscience had been of the make of yours, I could have been bishop of St Andrews sooner than you.'" At another place, Wodrow mentions that, "when a great person was pressing him (Mr Douglas)



to be primate of Scotland, he, to put him off effectually, answered, 'I will never be archbishop of St Andrews, unless the chancellor of Scotland also, as some were before me;' which made the great man speak no more to him about that affair." This great man was probably the earl of Glencairn, who had himself been appointed chancellor. Kirkton, another church historian, says that when Mr Douglas became fully aware of Sharp's intention to accept the primacy, he said to him, in parting, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are clear, you will be made archbishop of St Andrews. Take it, and the curse of God with it." So saying, he clapped him on the shoulder, and shut the door upon him. In a paper which this divine afterwards wrote respecting the new introduction of prelaey, he made the quaint but true remark, that the little finger of the present bishops was bigger than the loins of their predecessors. After this period, Mr Douglas appears to have resigned his charge as a minister of Edinburgh, and nothing more is learned respecting him till 1669, when the privy council admitted him as an indulged clergyman to the parish of Pencaitland in East Lothian. The period of his death is unknown; nor is there any certain information respecting his family, except that he had a son, Alexander, who was minister of Logie, and a correspondent of Mr Wodrow.

DRUMMOND, GEORGE, provost of Edinburgh, was born on the 27th of June, 1687. He was the son of George Drummond of Newton, a branch of the noble family of Perth; and was educated at the schools of Edinburgh, where he early displayed superior abilities, particularly in the science of calculation, for which he had a natural predilection, and in which he acquired an almost unequalled proficiency. Nor was this attainment long of being called into use, and that on a very momentous occasion; for, when only eighteen years of age, he was requested by the committee of the Scottish parliament, appointed to examine and settle the national accounts, preparatory to the legislative union of the two kingdoms, to afford his assistance; and it is generally believed that most of the calculations were made by him. So great was the satisfaction which he gave on that occasion to those at the head of the Scottish affairs, that, on the establishment of the excise in 1707, he was appointed accountant-general, when he was just twenty years of age.

Mr Drummond had early imbibed those political principles which seated the present royal family on the throne; hence he took an active part on the side of government, in the rebellion of 1715. It was to him that ministry owed the first intelligence of the earl of Marr having reached Scotland to raise the standard of insurrection. He fought at the battle of Sheriff-muir, and was the first to apprise the magistrates of Edinburgh of Argyle's victory; which he did by a letter written on horseback, from the field of battle. On the 10th of February, 1715, Mr Drummond had been promoted to a seat at the board of excise; and on the rebellion being extinguished, he returned to Edinburgh, to the active discharge of his duties. On the 27th April, 1717, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the board of customs. In the same year he was elected treasurer of the city, which office he held for two years. In 1722-23, he was dean of guild, and in 1725, he was raised to the dignity of lord provost. In 1727, he was named one of the commissioners and trustees for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and on the 15th October, 1737, he was promoted to be one of the commissioners of excise.

No better proof can be given of the high estimation in which Mr Drummond was held by government, than his rapid promotion; although the confidential correspondence which he maintained with Mr Addison, on the affairs of Scotland, was still more honourable to him.



The wretched state of poverty and intestine disorder in which Scotland was left by her native princes, when they removed to England, and which was at first aggravated by the union of the kingdoms, called forth the exertions of many of our most patriotic countrymen; and foremost in that honourable band stood George Drummond. To him the city of Edinburgh, in particular, owes much. He was the projector of many of those improvements, which, commenced under his auspices, have advanced with unexampled rapidity; insomuch, that Edinburgh, from a state approaching to decay and ruin, has risen, almost within the recollection of persons now alive, to be one of the finest and most interesting cities in the world.

The first great undertaking which Mr Drummond accomplished for the benefit of his native city, was the erection of the royal infirmary. Previous to the establishment of this hospital, the physicians and surgeons of Edinburgh, assisted by other members of the community, had contributed £2,000, with which they instituted an infirmary for the reception of the destitute sick. But Mr Drummond, anxious to secure for the sick poor of the city and neighbourhood, still more extensive aid, attempted to obtain legislative authority for incorporating the contributors as a body politic and corporate. More than ten years, however, elapsed before he brought the public to a just appreciation of his plan. At last he was successful, and an act having been procured, a charter, dated 25th August, 1736, was granted, constituting the contributors an incorporation, with power to erect *the royal infirmary*, and to purchase lands, and make by-laws. The foundation stone of this building was laid 2nd August, 1738. It cost nearly £13,000, which was raised by the united contributions of the whole country; the nobility, gentry, and the public bodies all over the kingdom, making donations for this benevolent establishment; while even the farmers, carters, and timber-merchants, united in giving their gratuitous assistance to rear the building.

The rebellion of 1745 again called Mr Drummond into active service in the defence of his country and its institutions; and although his most strenuous exertions could not induce the volunteer and other bodies of troops in Edinburgh, to attempt the defence of the city against the rebels, yet, accompanied by a few of the volunteer corps, he retired and joined the royal forces under Sir John Cope, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Prestonpans. After that defeat, he retired with the royal forces to Berwick, where he continued to collect and forward information to government, of the movements of the rebel army.

The rebellion of 1745 having been totally quelled in the spring of 1746, Drummond, in the month of November following, was a second time elected provost of Edinburgh. In the year 1750, he was a third time provost, and in 1752, he was appointed one of the committee for the improvement of the city.

The desire of beautifying their native city, so conspicuous among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and which has engaged the citizens of later times in such magnificent schemes of improvement, first displayed itself during the provostship of Mr Drummond. Proposals were then published, signed by provost Drummond, which were circulated through the kingdom, calling upon all Scotsmen to contribute to the improvement of the capital of their country. These proposals contained a plan for erecting an Exchange upon the ruins on the north side of the High Street; for erecting buildings on the ruins in the Parliament Close; for the increased accommodation of the different courts of justice; and for offices for the convention of the royal burghs, the town council, and the advocates' library. A petition to parliament was also proposed, praying for an extension of the royalty of the town, in contemplation of a plan for opening new streets

to the south and north ; for building bridges over the intermediate valleys to connect these districts with the old town ; and for turning the North Lech into a canal, with terraced gardens on each side. In consequence chiefly of the strenuous exertions of provost Drummond, the success which attended these projects was very considerable. On the 3d of September, 1753, he, as grand-master of the free masons in Scotland, laid the foundation of the royal exchange, on which occasion, there was a very splendid procession. In 1754, he was a fourth time chosen provost, chiefly that he might forward and superintend the improvements. In the year 1755, he was appointed one of the trustees on the forfeited estates, and elected a manager of the select society for the encouragement of arts and sciences in Scotland. In the year 1758, he again held the office of provost ; and in October, 1763, during his sixth provostship, he laid the foundation stone of the North Bridge.

Mr Drummond, having seen his schemes for the improvement of the city accomplished to an extent beyond his most sanguine expectations, retired from public life on the expiration of his sixth provostship ; and after enjoying good health until within a short time of his death, he died on the 4th of November, 1766, in the 80th year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate churchyard. His funeral, which was a public one, was attended by the magistrates and town council in their robes, with their sword and mace covered with crape ; by the professors of the university in their gowns ; by most of the lords of session, and barons of the exchequer ; the commissioners of the excise and customs ; the ministers of Edinburgh ; several of the nobility ; and some hundreds of the principal inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood. A grand funeral concert was performed in St Cecilia's hall, on the 19th of December, to his memory, by the musical society, of which he was deputy-governor. The concert was crowdedly attended, the whole assembly being dressed in mourning. The most solemn silence and attention prevailed during the performance. Similar honours were paid to his memory by the masons' lodge of which he had been grand master. The managers of the royal infirmary, some few years after his death, placed a bust of him by Nollekins in the public hall of the hospital, under which the following inscription, written by his friend Dr Robertson the historian, was placed :—" GEORGE DRUMMOND, to whom this country is indebted for all the benefit which it derives from the royal infirmary."

His strict integrity and great talents for business, together with his affable manners and his powers as a public speaker, which were considerable, peculiarly fitted Mr Drummond to take a prominent part in civic affairs. His management of the city revenues was highly creditable to him ; and although the great improvements which were accomplished under his auspices, and during his provostships, might have warranted additional demands upon the citizens, he did not even attempt to increase the taxation of the town. Not only was he highly popular with his fellow citizens, but during four successive reigns, he obtained the confidence of the various administrations successively in power, and was the means of communicating, on several important occasions, most valuable information to government.

Mr Drummond was about the middle stature, and was of a graceful and dignified deportment. His manners were conciliating and agreeable, and his hospitality profuse ; more especially during those years in which he was provost, when he kept open table at his villa called Drummond Lodge, which stood almost on the site of Bellevue House, (afterwards the custom house, and more recently the excise office,) and nearly in the centre of the modern square called Drummond Place. Mr Drummond was strenuous in his support of religion and literature. He was a member of the "*Select Society*," which contained

among its members all the illustrious Scotsmen of the age. It was to him that Dr Robertson the historian owed his appointment as principal of the university of Edinburgh. The university was also indebted to him for the institution of five professorships: viz. chemistry, the theory of physic, the practice of physic, midwifery, and rhetoric and belles lettres.

DRUMMOND, ROBERT HAY, archbishop of York, was the second son of George Henry, seventh earl of Kinnoul, and of lady Abigail, second daughter of Robert, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of Great Britain. He was born in London, 10th November, 1711. After receiving the preliminary branches of his education at Westminster school, he was removed to Oxford, and entered at Christ Church college, where he prosecuted his studies with great diligence. Having taken his degree, he accompanied his cousin-german, the duke of Leeds, on a tour to the continent. He returned to college in the year 1735, to pursue the study of divinity, and being admitted M.A. soon after, took holy orders, when he was presented, by the Oxford family, to the Rectory of Bothall in Northumberland. In the year 1737, on the recommendation of queen Caroline, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to his majesty George II. In 1739, he assumed the name and arms of Drummond, as heir of entail of his great-grandfather, William, viscount of Strathallan; by whom the estates of Cromlin and Innerpeffry in Perthshire were settled, as a perpetual provision for the second branch of the Kinnoul family. In 1743, he attended George II. in the German campaign, and on the 7th of July preached before the king at Hanover a sermon of thanksgiving for the victory at Dettingen. On his return home, he was installed prebendary of Westminster. In 1745, he was admitted B.D. and D.D. In 1748, he was consecrated bishop of St Asaph. In this diocese he presided for thirteen years, and was accustomed to look back on the years spent there as the most delightful of his life. In the year 1753, a severe attack having been made on the political conduct of his two most intimate friends, Mr Stone and Mr Murray (afterwards the great lord Mansfield), he stood forward as their vindicator; and in an examination before the privy council made so eloquent a defence of their conduct, that the king, on reading the examination, is said to have exclaimed,—“That is indeed a man to make a friend of.” In May, 1761, he was translated to the see of Salisbury, and in November following was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York. He was soon after sworn a privy councillor, and appointed high almoner. He had the honour of preaching the coronation sermon before George III. and queen Charlotte. He died at his palace of Bishoptrope on the 10th of December, 1776, in the 66th year of his age. His conduct in the metropolitan see was most exemplary; and Mr Rostal in his history of Southwell speaks of him as being “peculiarly virtuous as a statesman, attentive to his duties as a churchman, magnificent as an archbishop, and amiable as a man,” while Robert, the late archbishop of York, says, “His worth is written in legible characters in the annals of the church, over which he presided with dignified ability and apostolic affection: in those of the state, whose honest counsellor and disinterested supporter he approved himself; and in the hearts of his surviving family and friends, who were witnesses to the extent of his information, the acuteness of his talents, the soundness of his learning, the candid generosity of his heart, and the sweet urbanity of his daily conversation.” When he was promoted to the see of York, he found the palace small and unworthy of the dignity of the primate, and the parish church in a state of absolute ruin. To the palace he made many splendid additions, particularly in the private chapel; while, assisted by a few small contributions from the clergy and neighbouring gentry, he entirely rebuilt the church.



His grace married on the 31st January, 1748, the daughter and heiress of Peter Auriol, merchant, London, by whom he had seven children. Abigail, who died young and is commemorated by Mason in a well known epitaph; Robert Auriol 9th earl of Kinnoul, Thomas Peter, lieutenant-colonel of the West York militia, John, commander, R.N. the reverend Edward, and the reverend George William, who was prebendary in York cathedral, and held many other livings, and who was unfortunately drowned in 1807, while on a voyage from Devonshire to the Clyde. Mr George William Drummond was the author of a volume of poems entitled, *Verses Social and Domestic*, Edinburgh, 1802; editor of his father's sermons, and author of that prelate's life prefixed to them.

DRUMMOND, WILLIAM, of Hawthornden, a celebrated poet and historian, was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His father, Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, was gentleman usher to king James VI., a place which he had only enjoyed a few months before he died. His mother, Susanna Fowler, was daughter to Sir William Fowler, secretary to the queen, a lady much esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life.

The family of our poet was among the most ancient and noble in Scotland. The first of the name who settled in this country, came from Hungary as admiral of the fleet which conveyed over Margaret, queen to Malcolm Canmore, at the time when surnames were first known in Scotland. Walter de Drummond, a descendent of the original founder, was secretary, or as it was termed clerk-register, to the great Bruce, and was employed in various political negotiations with England, by that prince. Annabella Drummond, queen of king Robert II. and mother of James I. was a daughter of the house of Stobhall, from which were descended the earls of Perth. The Drummonds of Carnock at this early time became a branch of the house of Stobhall, and from this branch William Drummond of Hawthornden was immediately descended.

The poet was well aware, and indeed seems to have been not a little proud of his illustrious descent. In the dedication of his history to John earl of Perth, whom he styles his "very good lord and chief," he takes occasion to expatiate at some length on the fame and honour of their common ancestors, and sums up his eulogium with the following words:—"But the greatest honour of all is (and no subject can have any greater), that the high and mighty prince Charles, king of Great Britain, and the most part of the crowned heads in Europe, are descended of your honourable and ancient family." His consanguinity, remote as that was to James I., who was himself a kindred genius and a poet, was the circumstance, however, which Drummond dwelt most proudly upon; and to the feelings which this gave rise to, we are to attribute his history. He indeed intimates himself, that such was the case, in a manner at once noble and delicate:—"If we believe some schoolmen," says he, "that the souls of the departed have some dark knowledge of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what solace then will this bring to James I., that after two hundred years, he hath one of his mother's name and race, that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world?"

Of the early period of our author's life few particulars are known. The rudiments of his education he received at the high school of Edinburgh, where we are told, he displayed early signs of that worth and genius, for which at a maturer age he became conspicuous. From thence, in due time, he entered the university of the same city, where, after the usual course of study, he took his degree of master of arts. He was then well versed in the metaphysical learning of the period; but this was not his favourite study, nor was he ever after in his life addicted to it. His first passion, on leaving college, lay in the study of the classical authors of antiquity, and to this early attachment, we have



no hesitation in saying, is to be attributed the singular purity and elegance of style to which he attained, and which set him on a level, in that particular, with the most classical of his English contemporaries.

His father, intending him for the profession of the law, he was, at the age of 21 years, sent over into France to prosecute that study. At Bourges, therefore, he applied himself to the civil law under some of the most eminent professors of the age, with diligence and applause; and it is probable, had a serious intention of devoting his after life to that laborious profession. In the year 1610, his father, Sir John, died, and our author returned to his native country, after an absence from it of four years. To his other learning and accomplishments, which there is every reason to suppose were extensive and varied beyond those of most young men of his age in Scotland, he had now added the requisites necessary to begin his course in an active professional life. That he was well fitted for this course of life, is not left to mere conjecture. The learned president Lockhart is known to have declared of him, "that had he followed the practice of the law, he would have made the best figure of any lawyer in his time." The various political papers, which he has left behind him, written, some of them, upon those difficult topics which agitated king and people, during the disturbed period in which he lived, attest the same fact; as displaying, along with the eloquence which was peculiar to their author, the more forensic qualities of a perspicuous arrangement, and a judicious, clear, and masterly management of his argument.

It was to the surprise of those who knew him that our author turned aside from the course, which, though laborious, lay so invitingly open to his approach; and preferred to the attainment of riches and honour, the quiet ease and obscurity of a country gentleman's life. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament; and it is probable, that like many others, who owe such to an over delicate and refined turn of sentiment, he allowed some vague disgust to influence him in his decision. His father's death, at the same time, leaving him in easy independency, he had no longer any obstruction to following the bent of his inclination. That decidedly led him to indulge in the luxury of a literary life, certainly the most dignified of all indolencies, when it can be associated with ease and competence. He had a strong desire for retirement, even at this early period of his life, and now, having relinquished all thoughts of appearing in public, he would leave also even the bustle and noise of the world.

No poet in this state of mind, perhaps, ever enjoyed the possession of a retreat more favoured by nature than is that of Hawthornden—so well fitted to the realization of a poet's vision of earthly bliss. The place has been long known to every lover of the picturesque, and, associated as it has become, with the poetry and life of its ancient and distinguished possessor, is now a classical spot. Upwards of a hundred years ago, it is pleasing to be made aware that this feeling was not new. The learned and critical Ruddiman, at no time given to be poetical, has yet described Hawthornden as being "a sweet and solitary seat, and very fit and proper for the muses." It was here that our author passed many of the years of his early life, devoted in a great measure to literary and philosophical study, and the cultivation of poetry. We cannot now mark with any degree of precision, the order of his compositions at this period. The first, and *only* collection published in his lifetime, containing the "Flowers of Sion," with several other poems, and "A Cypress Grove," appeared in Edinburgh in the year 1616; and to this publication, limited as it is, we must ascribe in great part, the literary fame which the author himself enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Of the poems we shall speak afterwards; but the philosophical discourse

which accompanies them, it may be as well to notice in the present place. "A Cypress Grove" was written after the author's recovery from a severe illness; and the subject, suggested we are told, by the train of his reflections on a bed of sickness, is *Death*. We have often admired the splendid passages of Jeremy Taylor on this sublimest of all earthly topics, and it is if anything but a more decided praise of these to say, that Drummond at least rivalled them. The style is exalted, and classical as that of the distinguished churchman we have named; the conception, expression, and imagery, scarcely inferior in sublimity and beauty. That laboured display of learning, a fault peculiar to the literary men of their day, attaches in a great measure to both. In this particular, however, Drummond has certainly been more than usually judicious. We could well wish to see this work of our author, in preference to all his others, more popularly known. It is decidedly of a higher cast than his other prose pieces; and the reading of it, would tend, better than any comment, to make these others relished, and their spirit appreciated.

Not long after the publication of his volume, we find Drummond on terms of familiar correspondence with several of the great men of his day. It would be impossible, considering our materials, to be so full on this head as we could have wished. The information can only be gathered from the correspondence which has been published in his works; and the very great imperfection of that, as regards the few individuals which it embraces, plainly indicates that other, and perhaps, great names have been omitted, and that much that may have been curious or important, is lost. Among the names which remain recorded, the principal are Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Robert Kerr, afterwards earl of Ancrum, Dr Arthur Johnston, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards earl of Stirling.

For the last mentioned of these, our author seems to have entertained the most perfect esteem and friendship. Alexander was a courtier, rather than a poet, though a man not the less capable of free and generous feelings. Had king James VI. not been a poet, it is to be doubted if Sir William would have had so much devotion to the divine art. His assumed passion for poetry, however, led him to cultivate the society of his ingenious contemporaries, by whom he is mentioned with respect, as much, we may believe, on account of the real excellence of the man, as of the poet. His poems, indeed, though those of an amateur, and now read only by the curious, are some of them, far from being deficient in poetical merit. His correspondence with our author, which extends through many years, is of little interest, referring almost entirely to the transmission of poetical pieces, and to points of minor criticism.

Michael Drayton, in an elogy on the English poets, takes occasion to speak of Drummond with much distinction. In the letters of this pleasing and once popular poet, there is a frank openness of manner, which forms a refreshing contrast to the stiff form and stiffer compliment of the greater part of the 'familiar epistles,' as they are termed, which passed between the literary men of that period, not excepting many of those in the correspondence of the poet of Hawthornden—"My dear noble Drummond," says he, in one of them, "your letters were as welcome to me, as if they had come from my mistress, which I think is one of the fairest and worthiest living. Little did you think how oft that noble friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, and I, have remembered you, before we trafficked in friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you: I can never hear of you too oft, and I will ever mention you with much respect of your deserved worth, &c."—"I thank you, my dear sweet Drummond, for your good opinion of 'Poly-Olbyon.' I have done twelve books more; that is, from the eighteenth book, which was Kent,

(if you note it) all the east parts, and north to the river Tweed; but it lyeth by me, for the booksellers and I am in terms: they are a company of base knaves, whom I both scorn and kick at," &c. One other passage we shall quote, which, though euphuistic, has yet as much affection as conceit in it:—"I am oft thinking whether this long silence proceeds from you or me, whether [which] I know not; but I would have you take it upon you, and excuse me; and then I would have you lay it upon me, and excuse yourself: but if you will (if you think it our faults, as I do) let us divide, and both, as we may, amend it. My long being in the country this summer, from whence I had no means to send my letter, shall partly speak for me; for, believe me, worthy William, I am more than a fortnight's friend; where I love, I love for years, which I hope you shall find, &c."

Only two of Drummond's letters in return to this excellent poet and agreeable friend have been preserved. We shall make a brief extract from one of them, as it seems to refer to the commencement of their friendship, and to be in answer to that we have first quoted of Drayton:—"I must love this year of my life (1618) more dearly than any that forewent it, because in it I was so happy as to be acquainted with such worth. Whatever were Mr Davis' other designs, methinks some secret prudence directed him to those parts only: for this, I will in love of you surpass as far your countrymen, as you go beyond them in all true worth; and shall strive to be second to none, save your fair and worthy mistress." John Davis had, it would seem, in a visit to Scotland, become acquainted with Drummond, and on his return to London did not fail to manifest the respect and admiration our poet had inspired him with. Drayton communicates as much to his friend in the following brief postscript to one of his letters:—"John Davis is in love with you." He could not have used fewer words.

Sir Robert Kerr was, like Sir William Alexander, a courtier and a poet, though unlike him he never came to be distinguished as an author. He is best known to posterity for the singular feat which he performed, by killing in a duel the "giant," Charles Maxwell, who had, with great arrogance and insult, provoked him to the combat. There is a letter from our poet to Sir Robert, on this occasion, in which philosophically, and with much kindness, he thus reprehends his friend's rashness and temerity:—"It was too much hazarded in a point of honour. Why should true valour have answered fierce barbarity; nobleness, arrogancy; religion, impiety; innocence, malice;—the disparagement being so vast? And had ye then to venture to the hazard of a combat, the exemplar of virtue, and the muses' sanctuary? The lives of twenty such as his who hath fallen, in honour's balance would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for these times, in which, as in a time of plague, men must once be sick, and that deadly, ere they can be assured of any safety. Would I could persuade you in your sweet walks at home to take the prospect of court-ship-wrecks."

There is another letter of Drummond's to this gentleman which we need not here notice, but rather pass to the one, for there is only one preserved, from the pen of Sir Robert, as it tends some little to explain the footing in which he stood related to our poet. This, which is dated from "Cambridge, where the court was the week past, about the making of the French match, 16th Dec. 1624," (about four years after the date of that above quoted),—sets off in the following strain:—"Every wretched creature knows the way to that place where it is most made of, and so do my verses to you, that was so kind to the last, that every thought I think that way hastes to be at you: it is true I get leisure to think few, not that they are *cara* because *rara*, but indeed to declare,



that my employment and ingine concur to make them, like Jacob's days, few and evil."—"The best is, I care as little for them as their fame; yet if you do not mislike them, it is warrant enough for me to let them live till they get your doom. In this sonnet I have sent you an approbation of your own life, whose character, howsoever I have mist, I have let you see how I love it, and would fain praise it, and, indeed, fainer practice it." The poem thus diffidently introduced, has had a more fortunate fate than was probably contemplated for it by its author. It is entitled "A Sonnet in praise of a Solitary Life;" and we are gratuitously informed at the end, that "the date of this starved rhyme, and the place, was the very bed-chamber where I could not sleep." Sir Robert Kerr was indeed, a character for whom Drummond might well entertain a high respect. In the remarkable adventure above alluded to, and for which he became very famous, he was not only acquitted of all blame by his own friends, but even lord Maxwell, the brother of the gentleman killed, generously protested that they should never quarrel with, nor dislike him on that account.

There is only one letter recorded of Drummond to mark that an intimacy had existed between him and his countryman the celebrated Arthur Johnston, the Latin poet. It is rather a short essay, on the subject of poetry, indeed, than a letter, written, says he, "not to give you any instruction, but to manifest mine obedience to your request." We shall quote a passage or two from this piece, not so much on account of any general excellence, as to show that Drummond, though he tolerated, and in some few instances adopted them, well understood the errors of the English poets of his time, and that he properly appreciated the purer taste displayed in the earlier models:—"It is more praiseworthy," thus it begins, "in noble and excellent things to know something, though little, than in mean and ignoble matters to have a perfect knowledge. Amongst all those rare ornaments of the mind of man, poesy hath had a most eminent place, and been in high esteem, not only at one time, and in one climate, but during all times, and through all those parts of the world, where any ray of humanity and civility hath shined: so that she hath not unworthily deserved the name of the mistress of human life, the height of eloquence, the quintessence of knowledge, the loud trumpet of fame, the language of the gods. There is not anything endureth longer: Homer's Troy hath outlived many republics, and both the Roman and Grecian monarchies: she subsisteth by herself; and after one demeanour and continuance, her beauty appeareth to all ages. In vain have some men of late (transformers of every thing) consulted upon her reformation, and endeavoured to abstract her to *metaphysical* ideas and *scholastical* quiddities, denuding her of her own habits, and those ornaments with which she hath amused the world some thousand years." We might well quote more, or indeed the whole of it, for the essay, if it may be called such, is very short; but we must make this serve. It naturally occurs to notice how much the classical taste of Johnston must have harmonized with that of his contemporary,—and how in the junction of two such minds much mutual benefit must have been communicated. In that language which became him as his own, Johnston has written a few commendatory verses on his friend, which, in the fashion of the time have been regularly prefixed to the collections of Drummond's poems.

The most remarkable incident which has descended to us, connected with the literary life of our poet, was the visit with which the well-known English dramatist, Ben Jonson, honoured him, in the winter of 1618-19. Upon this, therefore, we would desire to be somewhat particular, and the materials we have for being so, are not so barren as those which refer to other passages. Ben Jonson was a man of much decision, or what, on some occasions, might no doubt be termed



obstinacy, of purpose; and to undertake a journey on foot of several hundred miles, into a strange country, and at an unfavourable season of the year, to visit a brother poet, whose fame had reached his ears, was characteristic in every way of his constitutional resoluteness, and of that sort of practical sincerity which actuated his conduct indifferently either to friendship or enmity. We mean no disparagement by these last words, to the character of a man acknowledgedly great, as every one will allow Ben Jonson's to have been; but merely allude to a trait in that character, fully marked in the individual, and which he himself never attempted to disguise. His drinking out the full cup of wine at the communion table, in token of his reconciliation with the church of England, and sincere renunciation of popery, is an anecdote in point; and we need only hint at the animosities, one of them fatal, into which, in an opposite way, the same zealotness of spirit hurried him. There is much occasion to mark this humour throughout the whole substance of the conversations which passed between Drummond and his remarkable visitor.

The curious document which contains these, is in itself but a rough draught, written by Drummond when the matters contained in it were fresh in his recollection, and intended merely, it would seem, as a sort of memorandum for his own use. That its author never intended it should become public is evident, not only from the imperfect and desultory manner in which it is put together, but from the unsophisticated and unguarded freedom of its personal reflections. There is every proof that though it unhappily treats with much and almost unqualified severity the character and foibles of the English poet, the truth is not, so far as it goes, violated. It is not kindly, nor can it be said to be hostilely written. Inhospitably, we cannot allow it to be, as it certainly never was intended to prove offensive to the feelings of the person whom it describes, or his admirers.

Several of the incidents of Ben Jonson's life, as they were communicated by him to Drummond have been given. These we have not occasion to notice; but we cannot pass over, as equally out of place, some of the opinions entertained by that remarkable man of his literary contemporaries. They are for the most part sweeping censures, containing some truth, but oftener much illiberality; pointed, and on one or two occasions coarse,—Jonson being at all times rather given to lose a friend than a jest. Spenser's stanzas we are told, "pleased him not, nor his matter."—"Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no poet; that he had wrote the 'Civil Wars,' and yet hath not one battle in his whole book." Michael Drayton, "if he had performed what he promised in his Polyolbion, (to write the deeds of all the worthies,) had been excellent."—"Sir John Harrington's Ariosto, of all translations was the worst. That when Sir John desired him to tell the truth of his epigrams; he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not epigrams."—"Donne, for not being understood, would perish. He esteemed him the first poet in the world for some things; his verses of Ohadine he had by heart, and that passage of *the Calm, that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet.*" He told Donne that his "*Anniversary* was profane and full of blasphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable." To which Donne answered, "that he described the *idea* of a woman, and not as she was."—"Owen was a poor pedantic schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his epigrams being bare narrations."—"Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more fame than conscience: the best wits in England were employed in making his history. He himself had written a piece to him of the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book."—"Francis Beaumont was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman whom he loved."—"He fought several times with Mars-

ton. Marston wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies, &c." The most singular of all, to the modern reader, is what follows regarding Shakespeare, who is introduced with fully as little respect as is shown to any of the others mentioned;—He said, "Shakespeare wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays, he brought a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea, near by one hundred miles." Shakespeare, it may be remarked, though two years dead at the time of this conversation, was then but little known out of London, the sphere of his original attraction. The first, and well known folio edition of his plays, which may be said to have first shown forth our great dramatist to the world, did not appear till 1623, several years after. Drummond merely refers to him as the author of "Venus and Adonis," and the "Rape of Lucrece," pieces as little popularly known now, as his plays were then.

It is to Ben Jonson's honour, that, when he spared so little the absent poets of his country, he did not altogether pass over the poet of Hawthornden to his face. Our author's verses he allowed, "were all good, especially his epitaph on prince Henry; save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times: for a child, said he, may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses, in running;—yet, that he wished for pleasing the king, that piece of *Forth Feasting* had been his own."

So little did any intercourse exist two hundred years ago between the then newly united kingdoms of England and Scotland, and in particular, so unknown did the latter kingdom then and long after remain to the sister islanders, that a friendly or curious tour into Scotland, now become a matter of everyday and fashionable occurrence, was by them looked upon as pregnant with every species of novelty and adventure. Necessity or business could alone be considered as an inducement to the prosecution of such a journey, attended with so many supposed risks, and some real inconveniences; and we can well believe in the wonder and delight which a devoted and adventurous English angler is said to have experienced, when he began to reflect how, almost unconsciously, the beauty and excellence of its fine rivers had seduced him far into the heart of a peaceful and romantic land till then thought savage and barbarous. Infected we may suppose with similar feelings, Ben Jonson contemplated the design of writing "a Fisher or pastoral play," the scene of which was to be the "Lomond lake;" and he likewise formed the intention of turning to poetical account his foot pilgrimage, under the form and title of a "*Discovery of Edinburgh*"—

"The heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye."

A letter to our author, upon his return to London, and the answer to it, almost entirely refer to these two schemes.

We are informed, in the first of these, that the laureate of his day returned safely from his long journey, and met "with a most catholic welcome;" that his reports were not unacceptable to his majesty;—"who," says he, "professed (I thank God) some joy to see me, and is pleased to hear of the purpose of my book." The letter concludes thus:—"Salute the beloved Fentons, the Nisbets, the Scots, the Levingstons, and all the honest and honoured names with you; especially Mr James Writh, his wife, your sister, &c."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "No one," says a correspondent, "can read the celebrated *Heads of Conversation* between Drummond and Ben Jonson, without regretting that the former had not a spice more of Boswell in him, so as to have preserved not only his visitor's share of the dialogue, but his own also. As it is, we have a meagre outline of Jonson's opinions, with no intermixture of Drummond's replies. What an interesting discourse on the extravagant freaks of imagination may we suppose to have accompanied Jonson's statement 'that he had spent a whole night lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans

We now come to a circumstance in the life of our poet which was destined, in its consequences, to interrupt the quiet course in which his existence had hitherto flowed, and to exercise over his mind and future happiness a deep and lasting influence. This was the attachment which he formed for a young and

and Carthaginians, fight in his imagination!' Yet it is presented to us in an isolated paragraph, as if the two bards had spent a whole evening together, and that was the only thing that passed between them. Again, we have Jonson making the startling declaration, 'that he wrote all his verses first in prose, as his master Camden taught him,' and adding, 'that verses stood by sense, without either colours or accent;' and we may be sure these announcements did not fall upon the ear of Drummond like the sound of a clock striking the hour of midnight: but he tells us nothing to the contrary. Lastly, we know that Drummond had weighed well the subject of astrology, and arrived at very rational conclusions concerning the predictions pretended to be derived from it,—namely, that they were aimed 'by the sagacity of the astrologer at the blockishness of the consulter;' we might therefore have expected from him something pertinent in relation to other occult matters: but no; he gives without a word of comment the following story: 'when the king came to England, about the time the plague was in London, he (Ben Jonson) being in the country at Sir Robert Cotton's house, with old Camden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a young child, and at London, appear unto him, with the mark of a bloody cross on its forehead, as if it had been cut with a sword; at which amazed, he prayed to God, and in the morning came to Mr Camden's chamber to tell him; who persuaded him it was but an apprehension at which he should not be dejected. In the meantime there come letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him, he said, of a manly shape, and of that growth he shall be at the resurrection.' Whether Drummond suspected that Ben exercised his invention upon this occasion cannot be discovered; but such is the solution which he applies, in his *History of the Five Jameses*, to two similar tales current regarding James V.: 'both seem,' he says, 'to have been forged by the men of those times, and may challenge a place in the poetical part of history.' But though thus provokingly silent concerning his own views of the greater number of the subjects touched upon by his friend, some of the doctrines of the latter seemed to Hawthornden too preposterous to be recorded without some mark of disapprobation. It is amusing to find him expressing his displeasure at the innovation which Jonson did not scruple to make upon the classical model for the composition of pastorals. 'He bringeth in clowns,' says Drummond, 'making mirth and foolish sports, *contrary to all other pastorals!*' The decorous Scotsman would no doubt have had him to continue to show off the stiff swain of antiquity, constructed with his pipe in the accustomed mould,—thus precluding the poet not only from the imitation of nature, but even from displaying any ingenuity of art in the contrivance of new characters, just as if we should insist that the sculptor's skill ought not hereafter to aim at anything beyond multiplying copies of certain groups of figures which the world may for the time have agreed to call classical.

'Jonson's unbridled exuberance of fancy, bordering occasionally upon irreverence, appears to have been a fault beyond what was calculated to please the pure mind of the retired and philosophic Drummond; and his friend's visit probably opened to him a view of the jealousies of the poetical tribe, when assembled in one place, and all struggling for pre-eminence, which made him still more content with his own seclusion. The frankness with which Jonson criticised the verses of Drummond,—telling him 'that they were all good, especially his epitaph on prince Henry, save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times,—for that a child might write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses in running,'—may have piqued the author a little; and Ben's boisterous and jovial character may also have been offensive to the sedate and contemplative solitary of Hawthornden. It is farther to be remembered, that Drummond employed a severity in judging, the edge of which, a little more intercourse with the world might have blunted. But with all these allowances, the character he has drawn of his visitor is probably very little if at all overcharged. 'Ben Jonson,' says he, 'was a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissemler of the great parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted; thinketh nothing well done but what either he himself or some of his friends hath said or done; he is passionately kind and angry, careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but, if he be well answered, at himself; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for any religion, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which hath overmastered his reason,—a general disease in many poets. His inventions are smooth and easy; but above all he excelleth in a translation. When his play of *The Silent Woman* was first acted, there were found verses after on the stage against him; concluding that that play was well named *The Silent Woman*, because there was never one man to say *Plaudite* to it.

'Drummond has been much blamed by some for leaving behind him these notes of the conversation, and remarks on the character, of 'his worthy friend Master Benjamin Jonson;' as if all the while that he entertained his guests, he had been upon the watch for mat-



beautiful lady, daughter to Cunninghame of Barnes, an ancient and honourable family. His affection was returned by his mistress; the marriage day appointed, and preparations in progress for the happy solemnization, when the young lady was seized suddenly with a fever, of which she died. His grief on this event he has expressed in many of those sonnets, which have given to him the title of this country's Petrarch; and it has well been said, that with more passion and sincerity he celebrated his dead mistress, than others use to praise their living ones.

The melancholy temperament of Drummond, we have before said, was one reason of his secluding himself from the world, and the ease and relief of mind which he sought, he had probably found, in his mode of life; but the rude shock which he now received rendered solitude irksome and baneful to him. To divert the train of his reflections, he resolved once more to go abroad, and in time, distance, and novelty, lose recollection of the happiness which had deluded him in his own country. He spent eight years in prosecution of this design, during which he travelled through the whole of Germany, France, and Italy; Rome and Paris being the two places in which he principally resided. He was at pains in cultivating the society of learned foreigners; and bestowed some attention in forming a collection of the best ancient Greek and Latin

ter which might afterwards be reported to his prejudice. Drummond was no doubt entirely innocent of any such treacherous design; but being cut off from intercourse with men of genius, and yet having a great liking to such society, the opportunity of hearing, from the mouth of one of the most eminent wits of his time, a rapid sketch of whatever was interesting in the literary world, seemed too high an advantage not to be improved to the utmost; and Drummond wrote down notes of what passed, that he might recur to them when he could no longer enjoy the conversation of his visitor. If there happen to be some things which Jonson's biographers could wish had not been recorded against him, we cannot join them in their regret. It is certainly a pity that great men are not immaculate; but it is no pity that such faults as they are chargeable with are made known. If we were to choose, we would have the courses most frequented by our ships all clear of rocks and sands; but not being able to get things to our mind in this respect, the only resource is to mark them out as faithfully and conspicuously as possible, that those who sail the same way in future, may know to keep clear of these dangerous places. We trust the time is now nearly past for the biographer thinking it his duty to preserve an unvarying whiteness in the character he undertakes to draw. Cromwell's injunction to his painter ought to serve as a canon to all historians and writers of memoirs: 'I desire, Mr Lely,' said the gruff protector, 'that you will paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and every thing as you see me: otherwise, I will never pay you a farthing.'

"But all this, it may be said, is nothing to the breach of private confidence: Drummond was not Jonson's biographer; and there was no occasion for his setting down aught to his prejudice, of what passed in the course of social converse, and was not expected by his guest ever to be repeated. To this it may be answered, that probably Jonson cared very little whether his conversation was repeated or not. His opinions must have been expressed with equal freedom to many others besides Drummond; for he was not a man to carry them about with him, locked up with difficulty in his own breast, till he came down to Scotland, and then think he had got them safely buried in a hole,—like that foolish servant of Midas, who could not rest till he had dug a pit, whispered into it the portentous fact that his master had the ears of an ass, and then retired, thinking his secret closed up under the earth with which he had filled the pit again. If, then, Jonson did not care whether what he said was repeated or not, there was no breach of confidence towards him as an individual; and as for what is said of such disclosures having the effect to put a stop to all freedom of intercourse among literary men, since no one can be sure but that his friend is a note-taker, and will exhibit his private conversations, why, every one must take care for himself not to utter any thing upon these occasions derogatory to his own character, or which he would be ashamed to avow openly. This is a restraint, indeed, but it is one of a most salutary kind; for it cannot be contended that the enjoyments of society—or at least what ought to be its enjoyments—are abridged by the exclusion of such talk as people would afterwards have the world believe they took no part in. It is true, that in this way a man has no safeguard against a malicious or ignorant representation of his words; because such things do not usually come abroad till after the death of those persons to whom they refer. But there is no help for it; every one must just oppose uprightness of conduct and purity of conversation, to slanders present and posthumous. Voltaire furnished the world with at least one safe maxim, when he said, 'the only way to oblige people to speak well of us, is to deserve it.'



authors, and the works of the esteemed modern writers of Spain, France, and Italy. He afterwards made a donation of many of these to the college of Edinburgh, and it formed, at the time, one of the most curious and valuable collections in that great library. The catalogue, printed in the year 1627, is furnished with a Latin preface from the pen of our author, upon "the advantage and honour of libraries."

After an absence of eight years, Drummond returned to his native country, which he found already breaking out into those political and religious dissensions, which so unhappily marked, and so tragically completed the reign of Charles I. It does not appear that he took any hand whatever in these differences till a much more advanced period of his life. It would seem rather that other and quieter designs possessed his mind, as he is said about this time to have composed his history, during a stay which he made in the house of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. The history of the reigns of the five Jameses, as a piece of composition, is no mean acquirement to the literature of this country; and for purity of style and elegance of expression, it was not surpassed by any Scottish author of the age. In an historical point of view, the spirit of the work varies materially from that of preceding authors, who had written on the same period, and especially from Buchanan, though in a different way. It is certainly as free from bias and prejudice as any of these can be said to be, and on some occasions better informed. The speeches invented for some of the leading characters, after the fashion of the great Roman historian, and his imitators, are altogether excellent, and, properly discarded as they are from modern history, add much grace and beauty to the work. In short, as an old editor has expressed himself; "If we consider but the language, how florid and ornate it is, consider the order, and the prudent conduct of the story, we will rank the author in the number of the best writers, and compare him even with Thuanus himself." This work was not published till some years after Drummond's decease.

We have no reason to believe that at this time he had relinquished the cultivation of poetry; but can arrive at no certainty regarding the order of his compositions. Our author seems throughout his life, if we except the collection, which he made of his early poems, to have entertained little concern or anxiety for the preservation of his literary labours. Many of his poems were only printed during his lifetime, upon loose sheets; and it was not till 1650, six years after his death, that Sir John Scot caused them to be collected and published in one volume. An edition of this collection was published at London in 1659, with the following highly encomiastic title:—"The most elegant and elaborate Poems of that great court wit, Mr William Drummond; whose labours both in verse and prose, being heretofore so precious to prince Henry and to king Charles, shall live and flourish in all ages, whiles there are men to read them, or art and judgement to approve them." Some there were of his pieces which remained in manuscript, till incorporated in the folio edition of his works in 1711. The most popular of those detached productions, printed in Drummond's lifetime, was a macaronic poem entitled "Polemio-Middinia, or the Battle of the Dughill." This was meant as a satire upon some of the author's contemporaries; and contains much humour in a style of composition which had not before been attempted in this country. It long retained its popularity in the city of Edinburgh, where it was almost yearly reprinted; and it was published at Oxford in 1691, with Latin notes and a preface by bishop Gibson.

He had carefully studied the mathematics, and in the mechanical part of that science effected considerable improvements. These consisted principally in the restoring and perfecting some of the warlike machines of the ancients, and in

the invention of several new instruments for sea and land service, in peace and war. The names of the machines in English, Greek, and Latin, and their descriptions and uses, may be found detailed in a patent granted to our author by king Charles I., in the year 1626, for the sole making, vending, and exporting of the same. This document has been published in the collection of Drummond's works, and is worthy of notice, as illustrating that useful science, though then a neglected object of pursuit, was not overlooked by our author in the midst of more intellectual studies. Perhaps we might even be warranted in saying farther, that the attention which he thus bestowed on the existing wants and deficiencies of his country, indicated more clearly than any other fact, that his mind had progressed beyond the genius of the age in which his existence had been cast.

Drummond lived till his forty-fifth year a bachelor, a circumstance which may in great part be ascribed to the unfortunate issue of his first love. He had, however, accidentally become acquainted with Elizabeth Logan, granddaughter to Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, in whom he either found, or fancied he had found, a resemblance to his first mistress; and this impression, so interesting to his feelings, revived once more in his bosom those tender affections which had so long lain dormant. He became united to this lady in the year 1630. By his marriage he had several children. William, the eldest son, lived till an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and came to be the only representative of the knights-baronets formerly of Carnock, of whom in the beginning of this article we have made mention. We learn little more of the private life of our author after this period; but that he lived retiredly at his house of Hawthornden, which he repaired; an inscription to this effect, bearing date 1638, is still extant upon the building.

Drummond has left behind him many political papers, written between the years 1632 and 1646, in which, if he has not approved himself a judicious supporter of king Charles, and his contested rights and authority, he has only failed in a cause which could not then be supported, and which has never since been approved. That all his former feelings and habits should have inclined him to the side of monarchy, in the great struggle which had then commenced for popular rights, was natural, and to be expected; still it is evident enough, that his strong inclination for peace, and philanthropic desire of averting the impending miseries of civil war, actuated him in his interference, as powerfully as did any spirit of partisanship even in the cause of royalty itself. At a time when the grand principles of constitutional freedom were unknown or undefined, and when no wisdom could foresee the event to which new and uncertain lights regarding civil and religious government might lead, the temporizing with old established forms and customs, though it might seem to retard the spirit of improvement so busily at work, might be called humane, if it was not indeed expedient. It was not till very near the end of that century that the universal sense of the nation was prepared for a decisive and bloodless revolution.

"Irena, or a remonstrance for concord among his majesty's subjects," is the first of these political tracts; and the picture which it draws of civil strifes and disorders, and of men given to change, is set forth with much eloquence and persuasive force. Though the doctrine of obedience is enforced throughout, it is neither dogmatically nor offensively insisted upon. This, and other papers of a similar tendency, Drummond wrote in the years 1638-9; "but finding," as he informs us in one of his letters, "his majesty's authority so fearfully eclipsed, and the stream of rebellion swelled to that height, that honest men, without danger dared hardly speak, less publish their conceptions in write, the papers were suppressed."

We shall only notice one other of these compositions on account of some passages contained in it, which have been adduced as evidence of the political foresight and sagacity of the writer. It is entitled "An address to the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, &c., who have leagued themselves for the defence of religion and the liberties of Scotland," and is dated 2d May, 1639, ten years previous to the trial and execution of the king, to which, and to events following, it has prophetic reference: "During these miseries," says he, "of which the troublers of the state shall make their profit, there will arise (perhaps) one, who will name himself PROTECTOR of the liberty of the kingdom: he shall surcharge the people with greater miseries than ever before they did suffer: he shall be protector of the church, himself being without soul or conscience, without letters or great knowledge, under the shadow of piety and zeal shall commit a thousand impieties; and in end shall essay to make himself king; and under pretext of reformation, bring in all confusion."—"Then shall the poor people suffer for all their follies: then shall they see, to their own charges, what it is to pull the sceptre from their sovereign, the sword from the lawful magistrate, whom God hath set over them, and that it is a fearful matter for subjects to degradate their king. This progress is no new divining, being approved by the histories of all times." The general truth of this vaticination is amazing.

It was a saying of Drummond, "That it was good to admire great hills, but to live in the plains;" and, as in the earlier part of life he had resisted the temptations of courtly or professional celebrity, which birth and talent put alike in his way, so afterwards, he as carefully eschewed the more easily attained, though more perilous distinctions of political faction. His heart lay more towards private than public virtues; and his political writings, it is probable, were intended by their author as much for the instruction and satisfaction of a few intimate friends, as to serve (which they never did) the more important ends for which they were ostensibly written. He was a cavalier, and his principles, early prejudices, and inclinations, led him to espouse the royal cause; but his patriotism and good sense informed him correctly how far his support should be extended. His prudential forbearance was indeed sometimes put to the test; but though reputed a malignant, and more than once summoned before the circular tables at Edinburgh for satirical verses, discourses, and conversations, it does not appear that he ever seriously compromised his safety or property.

The sarcasms and lampoons of the cavalier came to be the most effective weapons they could employ against their adversaries, as they were those for the use of which it was most difficult to call them to account. Drummond, though free from the licentiousness which marked his party in their lives and conversations, could not fail of being infected somewhat with their prevailing humours. One piece of his wit in this way has been preserved. Being obliged to furnish men to the parliamentary army, it so happened, that, his estate lying in three different shires, he had not occasion to send one entire man from any of the parts of it. Upon his quota, therefore, of fractions as they might be called, he composed the following lines addressed to his majesty:

"Of all these forces raised against the king,  
'Tis my strange hap not one whole man to bring:  
From diverse parishes, yet diverse men,  
But all in halves and quarters; great king, then,  
In halves and quarters if they come 'gainst thee,  
In halves and quarters send them back to me."

The year 1649, in its commencement, witnessed the tragical end of Charles I., that first great and ominous eclipse of the Stuart dynasty. On the 4th De-



ember of the same year, Drummond died, wanting only nine days to the completion of his sixty-fourth year. His body had long been weakened by disease induced by sedentary and studious habits, and the shock which the king's fate gave him is said to have affected his remaining health and spirits. His body was interred in the family aisle in Lasswade church, in the neighbourhood of the house of Hawthornden.

In respect of his virtues and accomplishments, Drummond is entitled to rank high among his contemporaries, not in Scotland only, but in the most civilized nations of that day in Europe. Endowed with parts naturally excellent, and fitted for almost every species of improvement, his philosophic temperament and habits, and peculiar incidents of his life, tended to develop these in a manner advantageous as it was original. His early education imbued his mind deeply with the genius and classical taste of ancient Greece and Rome, perfection in which studies then formed the almost exclusive standard of literary excellence. A long residence in the more polished countries of the continent familiarized his mind with those great works of modern enlightenment, the knowledge of which had as yet made but obscure progress in Britain. He not only read the works of Italian, French, and Spanish authors, but spoke these different languages with ease and fluency. He occasionally visited London, and was upon familiar terms, as we have seen, with the men of genius of his own and the sister kingdom. He added to his other high and varied acquirements, accomplishments of a lighter kind, well fitted to enhance these others in general society, and to add grace to a character whose worth, dignity, and intelligence have alone gone down to posterity. "He was not much taken up (his old biographer informs us) with the ordinary amusements of dancing, singing, playing, &c. *though he had as much of them as a well-bred gentleman should have*; and when his spirits were too much bended by severe studies, he unbended them by playing on his lute." One of his sonnets may be considered as an apostrophe, and it is one of singular beauty, to this his favourite instrument: it adds to the effect of the address to know, that it was not vainly spoken.

Of the private life and manners of the poet of Hawthornden, we only know enough to make us regret the imperfection of his biography. Though he passed the greater part of his life as a retired country gentleman, his existence never could be, at any time, obscure or insignificant. He was related to many persons of distinguished rank and intimate with others. Congeniality, however, of mind and pursuits, alone led him to cultivate the society of men of exalted station; and, such is the nature of human excellence and dignity, the poet and man of literature, in this case, conferred lustre upon the peer and the favourite of a court. He was not a courtier, and he was, as he has himself expressed it, even "careless and negligent about fame and reputation." His philosophy was practical, not assumed; and we cannot fail to be impressed with its pure and noble spirit in the tenor of his life, no less than in the tone of many of his writings.

His natural disposition certainly bordered upon the grave and contemplative; but it was free from the reproach of morbid sentimentality or sourness of mind. "Contrary to this," says his old biographer, whom on such points there is satisfaction in quoting, "his humour was very jovial and cheerful among his friends and comrades, with whom he sometimes took a bottle, only *ad hilaritatem*, according to the example of the best ancient and modern poets, for the raising his spirits, which were much flagged with constant reading and meditating; but he never went to excess, or committed anything against the rules of religion and good manners. He was very smart and witty in his sayings and repartees, and had a most excellent talent in extemporary versifying, above the most part



of his contemporaries." The instances given of our author's pleasantry in this way are any thing but well chosen, and their authenticity may be questioned. We may continue the quotation, and present the following, not certainly for its merit, but for the pleasure of the association which it gives rise to, and as the only remaining trait which a scanty biography has left us to notice. "Being at London, it is very creditably reported of him (though by some ascribed to others) that he peeped into the room where Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert Kerr, Michael Drayton, and Ben Jonson, these famous poets, were sitting. They desired Bo-peep, as they called him, to come in, which he did. They fell a rhyming about paying the reckoning; and all owned their verses were not comparable to his, which are still remembered by the curious:—

‘ I, Bo-peep,  
See you four sheep,  
And each of you his fleece.  
The reckoning is five shilling;  
If each of you be willing  
It's fifteen pence a piece.’”

We have already alluded to several of Drummond's productions,—his "Cypress Grove," his history, and his "Irena,"—and must now briefly refer to those on which his fame as a poet is founded. They consist principally of sonnets of an amatory and religious cast; a poem of some length entitled "The river of Forth feasting;" and "Tears on the death of Mæliades," anagrammatically Miles a Deo, the name assumed in challenges of martial sport by Henry, prince of Wales, eldest son of king James VI. This last piece was written so early as 1612. As a panegyric it is turgid and overcharged; but it has been referred to by more than one critic as displaying much beauty of versification.

The sonnet, about this time introduced into our literature, must be supposed to owe somewhat of the favour it received to the elegant and discriminating taste of Drummond. He had a perfect knowledge of Italian poetry, and professed much admiration for that of Petrarch, to whom he more nearly approaches in his beauties and his faults, than we believe any other English writer of sonnets. This, however, refers more particularly to his early muse, to those pieces written before his own better taste had dared use an unshackled freedom. We shall give two specimens, which we think altogether excellent, of what we consider Drummond's matured style in this composition. The first is one of six sonnets entitled "Urania, or Spiritual Poems;" and the second (already transiently alluded to) is a sonnet addressed by the poet to his lute. The first, perhaps, refers to what Drummond considered the political unhappiness or degradation of his country; though, in truth, it may be made answerable to the state of humanity at all times; the second, to the well known catastrophe of his first love, and accordingly it has its place among the sonnets professedly written on that topic.

## I.

What hapless hap had I for to be born  
In these unhappy times, and dying days  
Of this now dotting world, when good decays;—  
Love's quite extinct and Virtue's held a scorn!  
When such are only priz'd, by wretched ways,  
Who with a golden fleece can them adorn;  
When avarice and lust are counted praise,  
AND BRAVEST MINDS LIVE ORPHAN-LIKE FORLORN!

II.

U

Why was not I born in that golden age,  
 When gold was not yet known? and those black arte  
 By which base worldlings vilely play their parts,  
 With horrid acts staining earth's stately stage?  
 To have been then, O Heaven, 't had been my bliss,  
 But bless me now, and take me soon from this.

## 11.

My lute, be as thou wert when thou did grow  
 With thy green mother in some shady grove,  
 When immelodious winds but made thee move,  
 And birds their ramage did on thee bestow.  
 Since that dear voice which did thy sounds approve,  
 Which went in such harmonious strains to flow,  
 Is reft from earth to tune the spheres above,  
 What art thou but a harbinger of woe?  
 Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,  
 But orphan's wailings to their fainting ear,  
 Each stroke a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear,  
 For which be silent as in woods before:  
 Or if that any hand to touch thee deign,  
 Like widowed turtle still *her* loss complain.

The "Forth Feasting" is a poem of some ingenuity in its contrivance. designed to compliment King James VI., on the visit with which that monarch favoured his native land in 1617. Of the many effusions which that joyous event called forth, this, we believe, has alone kept its ground in public estimation; and, indeed, as a performance professedly panegyric, and possessing little adventitious claim from the merit of its object, it is no ordinary praise to say that it has done so. It attracted, Lord Woodhouselee has remarked "the envy as well as the praise of Ben Jonson, is superior in harmony of numbers to any of the compositions of the contemporary poets of England, and in its subject one of the most elegant panegyrics ever addressed by a poet to a prince."

DRUMMOND, SIR WILLIAM, a distinguished scholar and philosopher. The date of his birth seems not to be ascertained, nor does any memoir of which we are aware, describe his early education. He became first slightly known to the world in 1794, from publishing "A Review of the Government of Sparta and Athens." It was probably a juvenile performance, which would not have been recollected but for the later fame of its author, and it is not now to be met with in libraries. In 1795, he was elected representative of the borough of St Mawes; and in 1796 and 1801, he was chosen for the town of Lostwithiel. In the meantime he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Naples, an office previously filled by a countryman celebrated for pursuits not dissimilar to some of his own—Sir William Hamilton; and he was soon afterwards ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. Of his achievements as an ambassador little is known or remembered, excepting perhaps an alleged attempt, in 1808, to secure the regency of Spain to prince Leopold of Sicily. Nor as a senator does he appear to have acquired much higher distinction; from being a regular and zealously-labouring political partizan, his studious habits and retired unbending disposition prevented him, but such political labours as he undertook were on the side of the government. In 1798, he published a translation of the Satires of Perseus, a work, which, especially in fidelity, has been held to rival the contemporaneous attempts of Gifford, and it established him in the unquestioned reputation of a classical scholar. In 1805, appeared his *Academical Questions*, the first work in which he put forward claims to be esteemed a metaphysician. Although in this work he talks of the dignity of

philosophy with no little enthusiasm, and gives it a preference to other subjects, more distinct than many may now admit; yet his work has certainly done more for the demolition of other systems than for instruction in any he has himself propounded. He perhaps carried the sceptical philosophy of Hume a little beyond its first bounds, by showing that we cannot comprehend the idea of simple substance, because, let the different qualities which, arranged in our mind, give us the idea of what we call an existing substance, be one by one taken away,—when the last is taken nothing at all will remain. To his doctrine that the mind was a *unity*, and did not contain *separate* powers and faculties, Locke's demolition of innate ideas must have led the way; but that great philosopher has not himself been spared from Sir William's undermining analysis, with which he attempted indeed to destroy the foundations of most existing systems. The Edinburgh Review, in a pretty extensive examination of the book, says, "We do not know very well what to say of this learned publication. To some readers it will probably be enough to announce, that it is occupied with metaphysical speculations. To others, it may convey a more precise idea of its character, to be told, that though it gave a violent headache in less than an hour, to the most intrepid logician of our fraternity, he could not help reading on till he came to the end of the volume.

"The book is written we think with more rhetorical ornament, and enlivened with more various literature, than is usual in similar discussions; but it is not, on this account, less 'hard to be spelled;' and after perusing it with considerable attention, we are by no means absolutely certain that we have apprehended the true scope and design of the author, or attained to a just perception of the system or method by which he has been directed. The subjects of his investigations are so various, his criticisms so unsparing, and his conclusions so hostile to every species of dogmatism, that we have sometimes been tempted to think, that he had no other view in this publication than to expose the weakness of human understanding, and to mortify the pride of philosophy, by a collection of insolvable cases, and undeterminable problems. It is but fair to recollect, however, that Mr Drummond has avowedly reserved the full exposition of his own theory to a subsequent volume, [this never appeared,] and professes in this to do little more than point out the insufficiency and contradictions that may be fairly imputed to those of preceding philosophers. It is only the task of demolition which he proposes now to accomplish; and it must be owned, that he has spread abroad his rubbish, and scattered abroad his dust, in a very alarming manner."

In 1810, Sir William, along with Mr Robert Walpole, published "*Herculaneusia*," containing archaeological and etymological observations, partly directed towards a MS. found in the ruins of Herculaneum. During the same year he published an "*Essay on a Punic inscription found in the island of Malta*." The inscription was interesting from its twice containing the name Hanni-Baal, or Hannibal; but it seems to have been merely used by Sir William as a nucleus round which he could weave an extensive investigation into the almost unknown and undiscoverable language of the Carthaginians. He proposed two methods of analytically acquiring some knowledge of this obscure subject; first, through the Phœnician and Punic vocables scattered through the works of Greek and Roman authors, and second, through the dialects cognate to the Phœnician, viz., the Arabic or ancient Syriac, the Samaritan, the Ethiopian, the fragments of Egyptian to be found in the modern Coptic, and the Hebrew.

In 1811, he printed the most remarkable of all his works, the "*Œdipus Judaicus*." It was not published and probably had it been so, it would have

brought on the author, who did not entirely escape criticism by his concealment, a torrent of censure which might have rendered life uncomfortable. It was Sir William Drummond's object to take the parts of the Old Testament commonly commented on by divines as purely historical, and prove them to be allegories. Perhaps the following extract contains a greater portion of the meaning which the author had in view, than any other of similar brevity: "When we consider the general prevalence of Tsabaism among the neighbouring nations, we shall wonder less at the proneness of the Hebrews to fall into this species of idolatry. Neither shall we be surprised at the anxious efforts of their lawgiver to persuade and convince them of the vanity of the superstitions, when we recollect, that, though he could command the elements, and give new laws to nature, he could not impose fetters on the free will of others. With such a power as this he was by no means invested; for the Almighty, in offering to the Hebrews the clearest proofs of his existence, by no means constrained their belief. It cannot be doubted, that by any act of power, God might have coerced submission, and have commanded conviction; but had there been no choice, there could have been no merit in the acceptance of his law.

"Since then Jehovah did not compel the people to acknowledge his existence, by fettering their free will, it was natural for his servant Moses to represent, by types and by symbols, the errors of the Gentile nations; and it is in no manner surprising, that the past, the existing, and the future situation of the Hebrews, as well as the religious, moral, and political state of their neighbours, should be alluded to in symbolical language by an historian, who was also a teacher and a prophet.

"Above all things, however, it is evident, that the establishment of the true religion was the great object of the divine legation of Moses. To attain this purpose, it was not enough that he performed the most surprising miracles. His countrymen acknowledged the existence of Jehovah; but with him they reckoned, and were but too willing to adore other gods. Is it then surprising, that the false notions of religion entertained by the Gentiles should be pointed out in the writings of Moses, and that their religious systems should be there made to appear what they really are—the astronomical systems of scientific idolaters?" To institute a critical investigation of the points discussed in such a book as the *Cædipus*, would require more learned investigation than is expected to be met with in a casual memoir. But with deference, we believe, a mere ordinary reader may take it on him to say, that Sir William has run riot on the dangerous and enticing ground of philology. It will be difficult to convince ordinary minds that the book of Joshua allegorically represents the reform of the calendar, or that the name Joshua is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; and when he finds the twelve labours of Hercules, and the twelve tribes of Israel identified with the twelve signs of the zodiac, one feels regret that he did not improve the analogy by the addition of the twelve Cæsars. It was with some truth that D'Oyly, in his "Remarks on Sir William Drummond's *Cædipus Judaicus*," thus characterized the species of philology in which Sir William indulged: "It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to prove that he is wrong. In some old monkish histories, the word Britain is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of Æneas: now, we may



produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connexion to have subsisted between Britain and a person named Brutus; and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it; but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person who maintains that it certainly *is* derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable. Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word "Amorites" is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a ram, the astronomical sign of Aries; that Balaam comes from a word signifying "to swallow," with allusion to the celestial Dragon; Deborah from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's eye, so we cannot possibly *confute* him, or positively *prove* that he is wrong; we can only hint that these derivations are not *very* obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind."

Sir William was not likely to create friends to his views by the tone he adopted, which was occasionally (especially in the introduction) such as he should not have used till the world had acknowledged his own system, and should not have been applied to anything held in reverence.

In 1818, Sir William Drummond published the first part of a poem, entitled "Odin," which was never popular. The first of the three volumes of his "Origines, or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities," appeared in 1824. Of the varied contents of this very eminent historical-critical work, we shall spare our readers any analysis, as it is well known to the reading world, preferring to refer to the article on Sir William Drummond in the Encyclopedia Britannica. Towards the latter period of his life Sir William was a martyr to gout. His habits were retired, and by some considered reserved. For instance, when on a visit he would seldom make his appearance after dinner, spending the afternoon in the library or study. But while he was in company his manners were bland and courteous, and his conversation was enriched by classical and elegant information. He died in the year 1828.

DRYSDALE, REVEREND DR JOHN, was born in Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, on the 29th of April, 1718, being the third son of Mr John Drysdale, minister of that parish, and of Anne, daughter of William Ferguson, provost of the town of Kirkcaldy. He received the elements of his classical education at the parish school of Kirkcaldy, taught by Mr David Young. While at school, young Drysdale was favourably distinguished: also at that early age he had the good fortune to contract a friendship (which proved lasting), with two of his school-fellows, who afterwards attained very high distinction; one of these was the celebrated Dr Adam Smith, and the other James Oswald, Esq. of Dunnikier—a name well known to all those who are familiar with the history of the leading Scotsmen of the last century. In the year 1732, at the age of fourteen, Drysdale was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with great success, and early attracted the notice of the professors. Having gone through the preliminary branches of education, he commenced the study of divinity, which he pursued until the year 1740, when he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the presbytery of Kirkcaldy.

After having officiated as assistant-minister in the college church of Edinburgh for several years, he obtained, through the interest of the earl of Hopetoun, a crown presentation to the church of Kirkcaldy in West Lothian. On entering upon the duties, he met with some opposition from his parishioners, arising from the notion that he was rather what was called a moral than an orthodox divine. He speedily acquired their esteem, however, and is said, by his unwearied benevolence and practical piety, as well as by the good sense

which pervaded his discourses, to have effected a visible improvement in the morals of his parishioners, who had been formerly noted for their irregularities and vice. After a faithful discharge of his parochial duties at Kirkliston for fifteen years, he was, through the intercession of his friend Mr Oswald with lord Bute, appointed minister of lady Yester's, one of the churches of Edinburgh. On his removal to town, the nervous eloquence of his sermons attracted a great concourse of hearers to his church. And so great was his fame as a preacher, that while he was on a visit to London, Mr Strachan, the printer, pressed him much to prepare a volume of his sermons for publication. But although on his return to Scotland, he did begin to select and revise his sermons for that purpose, a natural diffidence induced him first to procrastinate and ultimately to relinquish the undertaking.

Previous to his translation to Edinburgh, Mr Drysdale had taken little concern in the affairs of the church, but the close connection into which he was brought in town, with Dr Robertson the historian, the leader of the moderate party in the church, induced him to give that great man his best assistance and support.

In the year 1765, Mr Drysdale, without solicitation on his part, had the degree of doctor of divinity conferred on him by the university of Aberdeen. The following year, on the death of Dr John Jardine, he was preferred to the collegiate charge of the Tron church, where he had the good fortune to have for his colleague, the much esteemed and eloquent Dr Wishart. On the death of Dr Jardine, Dr Drysdale was also appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, with one-third of the emoluments of the deanery of the chapel royal. During the years 1773 and 1784, Dr Drysdale was moderator of the general assembly, being the highest mark of respect which the church of Scotland can confer on its members. At the meeting of the general assembly in May, 1788, he was appointed principal clerk to the assembly; but being unable, from the delicacy of his health, to perform the duties, he obtained permission that his son-in-law, professor Dalzell, should assist him. He did not survive long; his health had been for a considerable time very precarious, and early in June 1788, his complaints acquired increased violence, and his constitution being completely worn out, he died on the 16th of June of that year, in the 71st year of his age.

Drysdale was extremely pleasing in his manners and conversation, and seems to have gained the esteem and affection of his friends by the amiable benevolence of his heart, and the inflexible integrity of his conduct. His house was open at all times to his numerous friends and acquaintance, and was their frequent place of resort. To young men in particular, the cheerful and agreeable conversation which was encouraged in his society held out a peculiar charm. He had a very extensive correspondence with many of the first people of the day and with the clergy in general, who frequently applied to him for advice. His letters were remarkable for a happy facility and elegance of expression. Drysdale was married to the daughter of William Adam, Esq., of Maryburgh, architect.

His only work was two volumes of sermons published after his death by Professor Dalzell. Of these the late Dr Moodie who was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, says "These sermons seem admirably calculated to inspire the mind with high sentiments of piety to God, trust in providence, independence of the world, admiration of virtue, steady and resolute attachment to duty, and contempt of every thing base and dishonourable."

DUNBAR, WILLIAM, "the darling of the Scottish Muses," as he has been termed by Sir Walter Scott, was born about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr David Laing suggests the year 1460 as about the date of his birth. The place

of his nativity is not more accurately known. In the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, a series of satires which these two poets interchanged with each other, the former speaks of the "Carrick lips" of his antagonist, a *bona fide* allusion to the provincial vernacular of that poet, and, within three lines, he uses the adjective *Lothian* in the same way, respecting a part of his own person; thereby, apparently, indicating that he was a native of that district. Unless Dunbar here meant only to imply his habitual residence in Lothian, and his having consequently contracted its peculiar language, he must be held as acknowledging himself a native of the province. The early events of the poet's life are unknown. In 1475, when he must have reached his fifteenth or sixteenth year, he was sent to the university of St Andrews, then the principal seat of learning in Scotland. The name of William Dunbar is entered in the ancient registers of the university, in 1477, among the *Determinantes*, or Bachelors of Arts, in St Salvator's College, a degree which students could not receive till the third year of their attendance. His name again occurs in 1479, when he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, in virtue of which he was uniformly styled *Maister* William Dunbar, a designation which was exclusively appropriated till a late period to persons who had taken that degree at a university. Of his subsequent history, from 1480 to 1499, no trace remains. He became an ecclesiastic at an early age, having entered the mendicant order of St Francis, which had an establishment of Grey Friars at Edinburgh.

In his poem entitled, *How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier*, he gives the following intimation on this subject, as reduced to prose, by Dr Irving:—"Before the dawn of day, methought St Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, 'Go, my servant, clothe thee in these vestments, and renounce the world.' But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost. 'And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed?' 'St Francis, reverence attend thee. I thank thee for the good-will which thou hast manifested towards me; but with regard to these garments, of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, thou needs not take it in evil part. In holy legends have I heard it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars. If, therefore, thou wouldest guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friars' weed have I ascended the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury; in it have I crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from whose guilt no holy water can cleanse me.'"

It is probable that he did not long continue his connection with this order, as he informs us that the studies and life of a friar were not suited to his disposition. It is no doubt to his having been a travelling novice of the Franciscan order that his poetical antagonist Kennedy alludes, when he taunts Dunbar with his pilgrimage as a pardoner, begging in all the churches from Etrick Forest to Dumfries. His poems do not inform us how he was employed after relinquishing the office of a friar, nor how he became connected with the Scottish Court, where we find him residing, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the patronage of James IV. From some allusions in his writings, at a subsequent period of his life, to the countries he had visited while in the king's service, it is not improbable that he was employed as secretary, or in some kindred capacity, in connection with the embassies to foreign states which were maintained by the reigning monarch. In 1491 he was residing at Paris, in all likelihood in the



train of the Earl of Bothwell and Lord Monypenny, then on an embassy to the court of France.

In the books of the treasurer of Scotland, we find that Dunbar enjoyed a pension from his sovereign. Under date May 23, 1501, occurs the following entry:—"Item, to Maister William Dunbar, in his pension of Martymes by past, 5*l*." Another entry occurs December 20, "quhilk was peyit to him eftir he com furth of England." If these were half-yearly payments, the pension must have been one of ten pounds, which cannot be deemed inconsiderable, when we take into account the resources of the king, the probable necessities of the bard, and the value of money at that time. In March, 1504, he first performed mass in the king's presence. In 1507 we find that his pension was *newly eiked*, or augmented, to the sum of twenty pounds a-year; and in 1510, to eighty pounds. On the marriage of James IV. to Margaret of England, Dunbar celebrated that event, so auspicious of the happiness of his country, in a poem entitled "The Thistle and the Rose," in which he emblemized the junction and amity of the two portions of Britain. In the plan of this poem, he displays, according to Dr Irving, "boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement, and, in several of its detached parts, the utmost strength and even delicacy of colouring." Dunbar seems to have afterwards been on as good terms with the queen as he had previously been with the king, for he addresses several poems in a very familiar style to her majesty. In one, moreover, "on a Daunce in the Queene's chalmr," where various court personages are represented as coming in successively and exhibiting their powers of saltation, he thus introduces himself:—

"Than in cam Dunbar the Makar;<sup>1</sup>  
On all the flure there was nane fracar,  
And thair he dauncet the Dirry-dnntoun:  
He hopet, like a tiller wantoun,  
For luff of Musgraeffe men fulis me.  
He trippet quhile he tur his pantoun:  
A mirrear daunce nicht na man see."

The next person introduced was Mrs Musgrave, probably an English attendant of the queen, and, as the poet seems to have admired her, we shall give the stanza in which she is described:—

"Then in cam Maestres Musgraeffe:  
Scho nicht haff lernit all the laeffe.  
Quhen I saw her sa trimlye dance,  
Hir gud convoy and contenance,  
Than for hir saek I wissit to be  
The grytast erle, or duke, in France:  
A mirrear dance nicht na man see."

Notwithstanding the great merit of Dunbar as a poet, he seems to have lived a life of poverty, with perhaps no regular means of subsistence but his pension. He appears to have addressed both the king and the queen for a benefice, but always without success. How it came to pass that king James, who was so kind a patron to men professing powers of amusement, neglected to provide for Dunbar is not to be accounted for. The poet must have been singularly disqualified, indeed, to have been deemed unfit in those days for church-preferment. It appears that the queen became more disposed to be his patron than the king, for he writes a poem in the form of a prayer, wishing that the king were *John*

<sup>1</sup> Writers of verses were so termed in the sixteenth century.



*Thomson's man*, that is, subservient to the views of his consort, so that he might obtain what the queen desired his majesty to bestow upon him. The poor poet tells the king that his hopes were in reality very humble:—

“ Greit abbais graith I nill to gather,  
Bot ane kirk scant coverit with hadder;  
For I of lytil wald be fane:  
Quhilk to consider is ane pane.”

His poetry is full of pensive meditations upon the ill division of the world's goods—how some have too much, without meriting even little, while others merit all and have nothing. He says—

“ I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit,  
Bot benefices are nocht leil divydit;  
Sum men hes sevin, and I nocht ane:  
Quhilk to consider is ane pane.”

He also reflects much upon the vanity of all sublunary affairs. At the beginning, for instance, of the above poem, he thus moralizes on “the world's instabilitie:”—

“ This waverand warldis wretchidnes,  
The failyand and fruitles bissiues,  
The mispent tyme, the service vane,  
For to consider is ane pane.

The slydan joy, the glaidness schort,  
The feinyand luif, the fals comfort,  
The sueit abayd, the flichtful trane,  
For to consider is ane pane.

The sugarit mouthis, with mynds thairfra;  
The figurit speiche, with faces twa;  
The pleasand toungis, with harts unplane,  
For to consider is ane pane.”

Next to “the Thistle and the Rose,” the most considerable poem by Dunbar was “The Golden Targe,” a moral allegorical piece, intended to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden targe, or shield, of reason, he shows to be an insufficient protection to the shafts of Cupid. He is also supposed to be the author of an exquisitely humorous tale, entitled, “The Freirs of Berwick,” which has supplied the ground-work of a well known poem of Allan Ramsay, designated “The Monk and the Miller's wife.” Another composition, styled “The Twa Marriet Wemen and the Wedo,” contains much humorous sentiment, and many sarcastic reflections upon the fair sex; but of all Dunbar's poems, it is most open to the charge of immodest description. The poem, however, displaying the highest powers of mind, is certainly that entitled “A Dance,” which presents pictures of the *seven deadly sins*, equally expressive, perhaps, with any that could have been delineated by the pen of Milton himself.

Dunbar had the fortune, rare in that age, of seeing some of his works printed in his own lifetime. In 1508, among the very first efforts of the Scottish press, Chepman and Millar published his “Golden Targe,” his “Twa Marriet Wemen and the Wedo,” and several other poems. Three years after the poet's pension had been increased to eighty pounds, came the fatal disaster of Flodden, involving

the destruction of the king and his nobles. How the fortunes of the bard were affected by this sad national event does not appear. Mr. Laing thinks it probable that he at last succeeded in obtaining preferment in the church. "The queen dowager, whom, during the king's life, our poet styled his 'advocate bayth fair and sweet,' could have no difficulty, during her regency, in providing for his wants; and we cannot believe that she would allow his old age to pine away in poverty and neglect. Even were it otherwise, we are not to suppose that he had no other friends in power who would be willing to assist in procuring some adequate and permanent provision for an individual who had so long contributed. by his writings, to the amusement of the court." The poet is supposed to have survived till 1520, and died at the age of sixty. The first complete collection of his works was published by Mr David Laing in 1834. Although Dunbar received from his contemporaries the homage due to the greatest of Scotland's early *makars*, his name and fame were doomed to a total eclipse, during the period from 1530, when Sir David Lyndsay mentions him among the poets then deceased, to the year 1724, when some of his poems were revived by Allan Ramsay. Mr Laing observes, that "if any misfortune had befallen the two nearly coeval manuscript collections of Scottish poetry by Bannatyne and Maitland, the great chance is, that it might have been scarcely known to posterity that such a poet as Dunbar ever existed."

DUNCAN, LORD VISCOUNT, one of the comparatively few naval heroes of whom Scotland can boast, was a younger son of Alexander Duncan, Esq. of Lundie, in the county of Forfar. He was born in Dundee on 1st July, 1731; in which town he also received the rudiments of his education. The family of Lundie, which had for centuries been distinguished for its peaceful and domestic virtues, seems, at this time to have had an inclination directed towards the more active business of war—the eldest son having gone into the army, while the younger, the subject of the present sketch, joined the navy at the aspiring age of sixteen. In 1747, he took the humble conveyance of a carrier's cart to Leith, whence he sailed to London; and beginning his career in a manner so characteristic of the unostentatious but settled views of his countrymen, he did not revisit the place of his birth until his genius, his virtues, and his courage had secured for him the honour of an admiral's commission, and the gratitude of his country.

In the year last mentioned, young Duncan went on board the Shoreham frigate, Captain Kaldane, under whom he served for three years. He was afterwards entered as a midshipman on board the Centurion of fifty guns, then flag-ship of commodore Keppel, who had received the appointment of commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station. While on this station, Mr Duncan attracted the attention and regard of the commodore, no less by the mildness of his manners, and the excellence of his disposition, which, indeed, distinguished his character through life, than by the ability and intrepidity which he uniformly displayed in the discharge of his arduous though subordinate duties. How true it is that the sure foundations of future fame can be laid only during that period of youth which precedes the commencement of manhood's more anxious business! His submission to the severity of naval discipline, the diligence with which he made himself acquainted with the practical details of his professional duties, and the assiduity with which he cultivated an intellect naturally powerful, formed the true germs whence his greatness afterwards sprung. The amiable and excellent qualities which so soon and so conspicuously manifested themselves in his mind and character, gained for him, at an early period of his life, the affection of many whose friendship proved useful to him in the subsequent stages of his professional advancement.

As Keppel, himself a hero, had been the first to discover kindred qualities in his young friend, so he was also the first who had the honour to reward the rising genius of Mr Duncan. In January 1755, the commodore was selected to command the ships of war destined to convey the transports which had been equipped for the purpose of carrying out troops under general Braddock to North America, where the French had made various encroachments on British territory; and it was then that Keppel paid a compliment no less creditable to his own discrimination than flattering to Duncan's merits, by placing his name at the head of the list of those whom he had the privilege of recommending to promotion. Mr Duncan was accordingly raised to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he went on board the *Norwich*, captain Barrington. Soon after the arrival of the fleet in Virginia, the commodore removed Mr Duncan on board his own ship the *Centurion*, whereby he was placed not only more immediately under the friendly eye of his commander, but in a more certain channel of promotion. With the *Centurion* he returned to England, and remained unemployed (still the shipmate of Keppel, now on the home station) for three years. He was soon afterwards, however, called into active service, having been present at the attack on the French settlement of Goree on the coast of Africa; and the expectations which his commander had formed of him were amply realized by the bravery which he displayed in the attack on the fort. Before the return of the expedition he rose to the first lieutenantancy of the commodore's ship, the *Torbay*.

In September, 1759, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in February, 1761, being then in his thirtieth year, he obtained a post-captaincy. The ship to which on this occasion he was appointed was the *Valiant*, of seventy-four guns, on board which Keppel hoisted his flag, as commodore in command of the fleet which carried out the expedition to Belleisle. Here the critical duty of commanding the boats to cover the disembarkation of the troops devolved on captain Duncan, and in this, as in various other difficult and important services in which he was employed during the siege, he greatly distinguished himself. He had the honour, also, of taking possession of the Spanish ships when the town surrendered to the English.

In the year following, he sailed with the *Valiant* in the expedition under admiral Pocock, which reduced the Havannah; and he remained in command of the same vessel till the conclusion of the war, in 1763. The powers of Europe, notwithstanding the exhausting conflicts in which they had for many years been engaged, were still too heated to remain long at peace, and the war which followed, again called into active operations all the energies of the British navy. No opportunity, however, occurred that enabled Duncan, now commander of the *Suffolk* of 74 guns, to distinguish himself. On returning to England on the temporary cessation of hostilities, he had the singular fortune of being called to sit as a member of the court-martial which was held on his brave and injured friend, admiral Keppel, whose unanimous and most honourable acquittal was immediately followed by votes of thanks from both houses of parliament for his distinguished services. He discharged perhaps a less irksome, but a not less impartial duty, on the trial of Keppel's accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser, who, suffering under the censure of the court, and the resentment of the nation, was forced to relinquish all his public offices.

In the summer of 1779, captain Duncan commanded the *Monarch*, 74, attached to the channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy; and towards the conclusion of the year, he was placed under the orders of Sir George Rodney, who sailed with a powerful squadron to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. This armament, besides effecting the purpose for which it had been sent out, had the good



fortune to capture a fleet of fifteen Spanish merchantment and their convoy, a sixty-four gun ship and four frigates. The admiral had scarcely regulated the distribution of the prizes, when, on 16th January, off Cape St Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. The English admiral immediately bore down with his whole force, and captain Duncan, although his ship was one of the worst sailers in the fleet, had the honour, as it had been his ambition, to get first into action. His gallant impetuosity having been observed by his no less daring commander, the captain was warned of the danger of rushing unsupported into a position where he would be exposed to the fire of three of the enemy's largest ships. "*Just what I want,* (he coolly replied,) *I wish to be among them,*"—and the Monarch dashing on, was in an instant alongside of a Spanish ship of much larger dimensions, while two others of the same rate and magnitude lay within musket shot to leeward of him. In this perilous position—one, however, in which every true British sailor glories to be placed—the Monarch had to contend against fearful odds; but then Duncan knew that allowance was to be made for the difference between British and Spanish skill and bravery, and he calculated rightly, for though the Spaniards defended themselves with great gallantry, the two ships to leeward soon perceived that there was more safety in flight than in maintaining the contest, and they accordingly made off with all the sail they could carry, leaving their companion, who had no opportunity of escape, to make the best defence in his power. Duncan had now comparatively easy work; and directing all his fire against his antagonist, he had the satisfaction, in less than half an hour, of seeing the St Augustin of 70 guns, strike her colours to the Monarch. This engagement afforded little opportunity for a display of scientific tactics; it was, in seamen's language, a fair stand-up fight, gained by the party who had the stoutest heart and the strongest arm. But it distinguished captain Duncan as a man of the most dauntless intrepidity, and of judgment competent to form a correct estimate of his own strength, as compared with that of his adversaries. After beating the St Augustin, captain Duncan pushed forward into the heart of the battle, and, by a well-directed fire against several of the enemy's ships, contributed greatly to the victory which was that day achieved over the Spanish flag. The St Augustin proved a worthless prize. So much had she been shattered by the Monarch's tremendous fire, that it became necessary to take her in tow; but, taking water rapidly, her captors were under the necessity of abandoning her, in consequence of which she was repossessed by her original crew, and carried into a Spanish port.

On captain Duncan's return to England in the same year, he quitted the Monarch, and, in 1782, was appointed to the Blenheim, of 90 guns. With this ship he joined the main or channel fleet, under lord Howe. He shortly afterwards accompanied his lordship to Gibraltar, and bore a distinguished part in the engagement which took place in October, off the mouth of the straits, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, on which occasion he led the larboard division of the centre, or commander-in-chief's squadron. Here he again signalized himself by the skill and bravery with which he fought his ship.

After returning to England he enjoyed a respite for a few years from the dangers and anxieties of active warfare. Having removed to the Edgar, 74, a Portsmouth guard-ship, he employed his time usefully to his country, and agreeably to himself, though he would have preferred the wider sphere of usefulness which a command on the seas would have afforded him, in giving instructions in the science of naval warfare to a number of young gentlemen, several of whom subsequently distinguished themselves in their profession.



Overlooked for several years by an administration who did not always reward merit according to its deserts, he was now destined to receive that promotion to which, by his deeds, he had acquired so just a claim. On 14th September, 1787, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and three years afterwards, he was invested with the same rank in the white squadron. On 1st February, 1793, he received promotion as vice-admiral of the blue, and, on 12th April, 1794, as vice-admiral of the white. On 1st June, 1795, he was appointed admiral of the blue, and of the white, on 14th February, 1799. At none of these successive steps of advancement, except the two last, was he in active service, although he had frequently solicited a command.

In February, 1795, he received the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the ships and vessels in the north seas: he first hoisted his flag on board the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, but afterwards removed to the *Venerable*, of seventy-four, a vessel of a more suitable size for the service in which he was about to engage, and one in which he afterwards rendered so glorious a service to his country.

History does not perhaps record a situation of more perplexing difficulty than that in which admiral Duncan found himself placed in the summer of 1797. For a considerable period he had maintained his station off the Dutch coast, in the face of a strong fleet, and in defiance of the seasons, and when it was known with certainty that his opponents were ready for sea, and anxious to effect a landing in Ireland, where they expected the co-operation of a numerous band of malcontents. At this most critical juncture, he was deserted by almost the whole of his fleet, the crews of his different ships having, with those of the channel fleet, and the fleet at the Nore, broken out into a mutiny, the most formidable recorded in history. With the assistance of a foreign force, Ireland was prepared for open rebellion; Scotland had its united societies; and England, too, was agitated by political discontent, when a spirit of a similar kind unhappily manifested itself in the British fleet. Early in the year of which we speak, petitions on the subject of pay and provisions had been addressed to lord Howe from every line of battle ship lying at Portsmouth, of which no notice whatever was taken. In consequence, on the return of the fleet to the port, an epistolary correspondence was held throughout the whole fleet, which ended in a resolution, that not an anchor should be lifted until a redress of grievances was obtained. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, when lord Bridport ordered the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea, the sailors on board his own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, instead of weighing anchor, took to the shrouds, where they gave him three cheers, and their example was followed by every ship in the fleet. The officers were astonished, and exerted themselves, in vain, to bring back the men to a sense of their duty. Alarmed at the formidable nature of this combination, which was soon discovered to be extensively organized, the lords of the admiralty arrived on the 18th, and various proposals were immediately made to induce the men to return to their duty, but all their overtures were rejected. They were informed, indeed, that it was the determined purpose of the crews of all the ships to agree to nothing but that which should be sanctioned by parliament, and by the king's proclamation. In circumstances so alarming to the whole nation, government was compelled to make some important concessions, and a promise of his majesty's pardon to the offenders. These, after much deliberation, were accepted, and the men returned to their duty with apparent satisfaction. The ringleaders of the mutiny were still, however, secretly employed in exciting the men to fresh acts of insubordination; and, taking hold of some parliamentary discussions which had recently been published, the mutiny was, in the course of fourteen days, revived at Spithead with more than its

original violence ; and, under pretence that government did not mean to fulfil its engagements, the channel fleet, on the 7th of May, refused to put to sea. Such officers as had become objects of suspicion or dislike to their crews were put on shore. Flags of defiance were hoisted in every ship ; and a declaration was sent on shore, stating, that they knew the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, but, determined to have their grievances redressed, they would bring matters to a crisis at once, by *blocking up the Thames!* At this dreadful crisis, an act was hurried through parliament, increasing their wages ; but, so far from satisfying them, this conciliatory and liberal measure served only to increase their insolence, and to render them the more extravagant in their demands. Four ships of Duncan's fleet, from Yarmouth, were now moored across the mouth of the Thames. Trading vessels were prevented alike from entering and leaving the river, and all communication with the shore was prohibited. A regular system was adopted for the internal management of each ship, and Richard Parker, a person who had recently employed himself as a political agitator in Scotland, was placed at the head of the disaffected fleet. On the part of government, preparations were made for an attack on the mutineers. All farther concession was refused ; the eight articles submitted to government by Parker were rejected ; and it was intimated, that nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted by the administration. This firmness on the part of government had, at length, the desired effect. Dismayed at their own rashness and folly, the ships escaped one by one from Parker's fleet, and submitted themselves to their commanders ; and the apprehension, trial, and execution of Parker and others of the mutineers, which speedily followed, closed this most disgraceful and formidable mutiny. The anxiety of the nation all this time was intense ; that of Duncan, deserted as he was by the greater part of his fleet, while in the daily expectation of an enemy coming out, must have been extreme. On the 3d of June, when thus forsaken, he called together the faithful crew of his own ship, the *Venerable*, and gave vent to his feelings in a speech, which has been admired as one of the finest specimens of simple eloquence—“ My lads,” said he, “ I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which I believe never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is that I have been supported by the officers and seamen of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing these deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity, and that can be done only by unanimity and obedience. The ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride to look into the *Texel*, and see a foe which decided on coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed! My feelings are not easily to be expressed. Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us ; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship,

and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a spirit of adherence to our duty, and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking; God bless you all!" The crew of the Venerable were so affected by this simple, but impressive address, that on retiring there was not a dry eye among them.

Thus, admiral Duncan, by acts of mildness and conciliation, and by his uniform firmness, contrived, when every other British admiral, and even the government itself failed in the attempt, to keep his own ship, as well as the crew of the *Adamant*, free from the contagion of the dangerous evil that then almost universally prevailed.

Fortunately for Great Britain the enemy was not aware of the insubordination that existed throughout the fleet. At a time, however, when Duncan had only two line of battle ships under his control, his ingenuity supplied the place of strength, and saved this country from the disgrace of a foreign invasion; for it cannot be doubted, that had the Dutch commander known the state of helplessness in which the nation was placed, when its right arm was so effectually bound up by the demon of rebellion, they would have chosen that moment to run for our shores. It was then that the happy thought occurred to the anxious mind of Duncan, that by approaching the *Texel* with his puny force, and by making signals as if his fleet were in the offing, he might deceive the wary *De Winter* into the belief that he was blocked up by a superior squadron. This stratagem was employed with entire success, nor indeed was it known to *De Winter* that a deception had been practised upon him, until he had become his antagonist's prisoner. This manœuvre, so singular in its conception, so successful in its execution, and performed at a moment of such extreme national difficulty, stands unparalleled in naval history, and alone gave to him who devised it as good a claim to the honour of a coronet, and to his country's gratitude, as if he had gained a great victory.

On the termination of the mutiny, admiral Duncan was joined by the rest of his fleet, very much humbled, and anxious for an opportunity to wipe away, by some splendid achievement, the dishonour they had incurred. The two rival fleets were now placed on an equal footing; and all anxiety for the event of a collision was completely removed. Having blockaded the Dutch coast till the month of October, Duncan was under the necessity of coming to *Yarmouth* roads to refit, leaving only a small squadron of observation under the command of captain *Trollope*. But scarcely had he reached the roads, when a vessel on the back of the sands gave the spirit-stirring signal that the enemy was at sea. Not a moment was lost in getting under sail, and early on the morning of the 11th of October he was in sight of captain *Trollope's* squadron, with a signal flying for an enemy to leeward. He instantly bore up, made signal for a general chase, and soon came up with them, forming in line on the larboard tack, between *Camperdown* and *Egmont*, the land being about nine miles to leeward. The two fleets were of nearly equal force, consisting each of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, brigs, &c. As they approached each other, the British admiral made signal for his fleet, which was bearing up in two divisions, to break the enemy's line, and engage to leeward; each ship her opponent. The signal was promptly obeyed; and getting between the enemy and the land, to which they were fast approaching, the action commenced at half-past twelve, and by one it was general throughout the whole line. The *Monarch* was the first to break the enemy's line. The



Venerable was frustrated in her attempt to pass astern of De Winter's flag ship; but pouring a destructive broadside into the States-General, which had closed up the interval through which the Venerable intended to pass, she compelled that vessel to abandon the line. The Venerable then engaged De Winter's ship the Vryheid, and a terrible conflict ensued between the two commanders-in-chief. But it was not a single-handed fight. The enemy's Leyden, Mars, and Brutus, in conjunction with the Vryheid, successively cannonaded the Venerable, and she found it expedient to give ground a little though not forced to retreat. In the meantime the Triumph came up to her relief, and, along with the Venerable, gave a final blow to the well fought and gallantly defended Vryheid, every one of whose masts were sent overboard, and herself reduced to an unmanageable hulk. The contest throughout the other parts of the line was no less keenly maintained on both sides; but with the surrender of the admiral's ship the action ceased, and De Winter himself was brought on board the Venerable, a prisoner of war. His ship and nine other prizes were taken possession of by the English. Shortly after the States-General had received the fire of the Venerable, she escaped from the action, and, along with two others of rear-admiral Storey's division, was carried into the Texel, the admiral having afterwards claimed merit for having saved a part of the fleet. The British suffered severely in their masts and rigging, but still more so in their hulls, against which the Dutch had mainly directed their fire. The loss of lives also was great, but not in proportion to that suffered by the enemy. The carnage on board of the two admirals' ships was particularly great, amounting to not less than 250 men killed and wounded in each. The total loss of the British was 191 killed, and 560 wounded, while the loss of the Dutch was computed to have been more than double that amount. At the conclusion of the battle, the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence many thousands of Dutch citizens witnessed the spectacle of the destruction and defeat of their fleet. When the conflict was over, admiral Duncan ordered the crew of his ship together, and falling down upon his knees before them, returned solemn thanks to the God of battles for the victory he had given them, and for the protection he had afforded them in the hour of danger. This impressive act of pious humility affected the Dutch admiral to tears.

Naval tacticians accord to admiral Duncan great merit for this action. It stands distinguished from every other battle fought during the war by the bold expedient of running the fleet between the enemy and a lee shore with a strong wind blowing on the land, a mode of attack which none of his predecessors had ever hazarded. The admiral also evinced great judgment in the latter part of the contest, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from a situation so perilous and difficult—while the Dutch sustained all the character of their best days. The battle of Camperdown, indeed, whether we view it as exhibiting the skill and courage of its victor, the bravery of British seamen, or as an event of great political importance, will ever stand conspicuous among the many naval victories that adorn our annals.

On the arrival of admiral Duncan at the Nore on 17th October, he was created a peer of Great Britain by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and baron Duncan of Lundie, to which estate he had succeeded by the death of his brother; and a pension of £2,000 a-year was granted his lordship for himself and the two next heirs of the peerage. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the fleet—and the city of London presented lord Duncan with the freedom of the city, and a sword of 200 guineas value. Gold medals were also struck in commemoration of the victory, which were presented to the admirals and captains of the fleet. The public too, by whom the benefits



of no action during that eventful war were more highly appreciated than the one of which we have been speaking, paid Lord Duncan a flattering mark of respect by wearing, the women, gowns and ribands, and the men vests of a particular kind which were named "Camperdowns," after the victory.

Lord Duncan continued in the command of the north-sea squadron till the beginning of the year 1800, when there being no longer any probability of the enemy venturing to sea, and having now arrived at his 69th year, he finally retired from the anxieties of public, to the enjoyment of private life; which he adorned as eminently by his virtues, as he had done his public station by his energy and talents.

In 1777 his Lordship married Miss Dundas, daughter of lord president Dundas, of the court of session in Scotland, by whom he had several children. He did not long enjoy his retirement, having been cut off in the 73rd year of his age by a stroke of apoplexy at Cornhill, on his way from London, in the summer of 1804. He was succeeded in his estates and titles by his eldest son,—in elevating whom to an earldom, William IV. not only paid an honourable tribute of respect to the memory of the father, but a just compliment to the talents, public spirit, and worth of the son.

We close this sketch in the words of a late writer: "It would perhaps be difficult to find in modern history, another man in whom with so much meekness, modesty, and unaffected dignity of mind, were united so much genuine spirit, so much of the skill and fire of professional genius; such vigorous and active wisdom: such alacrity and ability for great achievements, with such indifference for their success, except so far as they might contribute to the good of his country. Lord Duncan was tall, above the middle size, and of an athletic and firmly proportioned form. His countenance was remarkably expressive of the benevolence and ingenuous excellencies of his mind."

DUNCAN, ANDREW, SENR. M. D., an esteemed physician and professor of the institutions of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, was born at St Andrews on the 17th October, 1744. His father, who was formerly a merchant and shipmaster in Crail, was descended from a younger branch of the Duncans of Ardownie, in the county of Angus; and his mother, a daughter of professor Villant, was related to the Drummonds of Hawthornden. He received his preliminary education for the profession of medicine at St Andrews, from the university of which city he obtained the degree of master of arts in May, 1762. He then transferred his residence to Edinburgh, where he pursued his medical studies under the happiest auspices, being the pupil, as he was afterwards the friend, of Dr Cullen, Dr John Gregory, Dr Monro the second, Dr John Hope, and Dr Black. The university of Edinburgh was at this period beginning to hold a prominent position in the scientific and literary world; for although the many discoveries that have since been made, lay then concealed like precious stones in their mines, unknown and unsuspected, yet the general and visible advancement of the progressive sciences which were here taught and cultivated by their respective professors, began to be duly felt and appreciated both at home and abroad. The professors, who held not their offices as sinecures, toiled incessantly and indefatigably to advance the interests and extend the known boundaries of science; and the students, emulating their examples, were likewise animated by a spirit of zeal and inquiry, which in turn reflected back honour on the university. It is not, then, to be supposed that our young candidate for medical honours, who had already distinguished himself by his talents and acquirements at St Andrews, would be less active than his fellow-students; and accordingly, we find that he soon obtained their suffrages of respect and esteem, in being elected a president of the Royal Medical Society in the session of

1764, the second year after the commencement of his medical studies in Edinburgh. In the welfare of this society he ever afterwards took a warm interest, nor did he hesitate to declare, that he considered it an essential part of the medical school of Edinburgh. In the year 1768-9, having completed his studies, he went a voyage to China, in the capacity of surgeon to the honourable East India company's ship *Asia*, under the command of captain, afterwards Sir Robert Preston. So much to the satisfaction and advantage of the ship's company did he discharge his professional duties, that when the vessel returned to England on the termination of the voyage, the captain offered him the sum of 500 guineas to go out with him a second time; but this offer, however complimentary, he thought it expedient to decline, for the purpose of pursuing a different and more congenial tenor of life. In the October, therefore, of the same year (1769), he received the diploma of doctor of medicine from the university of St Andrews, and in the month of May following, was admitted a licentiate of the royal college of physicians in Edinburgh. Dr Duncan immediately sought to distinguish himself in his profession, and in 1770 came forward as a candidate for the professorship of medicine in the university of St Andrews, that chair having become vacated by the death of Dr Simpson. On this occasion he produced flattering testimonials from all the members of the medical faculty of the university of Edinburgh, and from other eminent members of the profession; but his application proved unsuccessful, the rival candidate being duly elected. In the four sessions succeeding that of 1769-70, he was annually re-elected one of the presidents of the royal medical society, and during this period exerted himself in completing the arrangements for the erection of the medical hall, now occupied by the society. About this time he became attached to, and married a lady with whom he enjoyed an uninterrupted union of upwards of fifty-seven years, and by whom he had twelve children. She was a Miss Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of Mr John Knox, surgeon in the service of the East India company, who, it may be added, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Knox, minister of Dairsie, in the county of Fife, and great-grand-nephew to the illustrious reformer.

On the death of Dr John Gregory, professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, which occurred in February, 1773, Dr Drummond was appointed to that chair, but being absent from the country, Dr Duncan was chosen to supply the temporary vacancy. He, accordingly, during the sessions 1774-5 and 1775-6, delivered lectures on the theory of medicine; in addition to which he revived the judicious plan adopted by Dr Rutherford, of illustrating the select cases of indigent patients labouring under chronic complaints, by clinical lectures. Dr Drummond still failing to attend to his duties, the magistrates and town council, on the 12th June, 1776, declared the chair to be again vacant, and on the 19th of the same month elected Dr James Gregory, the son of the late professor, to the professorship, the duties of which had been for two years discharged by Dr Duncan. The life of every man is more or less chequered by disappointment, and assuredly this could not be otherwise than keenly felt by Dr Duncan, who, in his concluding clinical address, after reviewing the records of the hospital, and alluding to the successful practice he there adopted, thus proceeds: "I have the satisfaction of being able to retire from this arduous task with ease in my own mind, and I hope not without some additional credit in your estimation. My academical labours have not indeed in other respects been attended with equal advantage. I was not without hopes that by my exertions here, I should still have been able to hold the office of a teacher in the university, and I had no hesitation in offering myself a candidate for the chair lately vacant. In that competition I had indeed no powerful connexion, no political interest to aid my cause; but I thought that my chance for success

stood on no infirm basis when it was rested on what I had done to deserve it. Although, however, I can no longer act in an equally conspicuous capacity, yet I hope I may hereafter be employed as a teacher in one not less useful. I am neither arrived at that age which requires ease, nor am I placed in those circumstances which will allow of it. It is therefore my present intention, still to dedicate my labours to the service of the students of medicine. \* \* \* \* I have already lived long enough to have experienced even advantages from disappointment on other occasions, and time alone can determine whether the present disappointment may not yet afford me the strongest instance of the favour of heaven." The human mind often acquires additional strength and activity from the fruits of adversity; and in the present instance, Dr Duncan immediately determined on delivering an independent course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, without the walls of the university; besides which, as his clinical lectures had been so numerous attended, he also announced his intention of continuing them. "While these lectures," said he, in announcing his intention, "are more immediately intended for the instruction of students, they will be also the means of furnishing the indigent with advice and medicines gratis, when subjected to chronic diseases." He soon found that the number of sick poor who applied to him for relief was so considerable, that he was induced to project a scheme for the establishment of a dispensary for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of those whose diseases were not of a nature to entitle them to admission into the royal infirmary. When, in addition to the gnawing miseries of poverty, the victims of ill fortune have to writhe under the tortures of slow and lingering disease, sad indeed are the endurances of suffering humanity; and no wonder therefore is it, that when the objects of this institution, by the unwearied exertions of Dr Duncan, were brought fully and fairly before the public, a sufficient fund was raised to carry his views into effect. In Richmond Street, on the south side of the city, a commodious building for this charity was erected, and in 1818, the subscribers were incorporated by royal charter. Notwithstanding the increasing number of similar institutions, this dispensary continues to flourish; and a picture of the venerable founder is placed in its hall.

In the same year that Dr Duncan commenced lecturing (1773), he also undertook the publication of a periodical work, entitled "Medical and Philosophical Commentaries," which was avowedly on the plan of a similar publication at Leipsic;—the "Commentarii de Rebus in Scientia Naturali et Medicina gestis,"—which obviously could only be a very imperfect channel for the communication of British medical literature. The Medical and Philosophical Commentaries contained an account of the best new books in medicine, and the collateral branches of philosophy; medical cases and observations; the most recent medical intelligence, and lists of new books: it appeared in quarterly parts, forming one volume annually, and continued until the year 1795 under his sole superintendance, when it had extended to twenty volumes. It was afterwards continued by him under the title of "Annals of Medicine," until the year 1804, when it consisted of eight volumes more, after which, Dr Duncan ceased to officiate as editor, and changing its appellation, it became the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal," which, under the care of his son, became subsequently one of the most influential medical journals in Europe.

In the year 1790, Dr Duncan was elected president of the college of physicians in Edinburgh, and in the same year, his venerable friend Dr Cullen having resigned the professorship of the practice of medicine, Dr James Gregory

<sup>1</sup> Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, vol. iv. 103, 104.



was translated to that chair. The object of Dr Duncan's former ambition he now obtained, for after having lectured with increasing reputation for fourteen years without the walls of the college, he was elected successor to Dr James Gregory as the professor of the institutions of medicine.

The life of a physician, unlike that of a statesman, a soldier, or adventuring artist, whether poet or painter, is seldom diversified by any stirring or remarkable incidents; it flows equably and unobtrusively along, never coming immediately under the gaze of the public, and although in ministering to the wants of the afflicted, human nature be seen often under the most varied and touching aspects, yet over every scene that speaks to the heart of charity, a veil is drawn; the secrets of the sick chamber being always esteemed sacred and inviolable. No class of men are brought so closely and so continually into contact with human wretchedness; yet even this charity, which constitutes perhaps the most estimable feature of the human mind, can seldom be duly appreciated, for it is manifested only in secret, and seeks not the empty approbation of the multitude. Fortunately, in the instance of Dr Duncan, his actions speak for themselves, and prove him to have been always actuated by the most philanthropic, generous, and humane motives. The cast of his mind was truly benevolent. In 1792, perceiving how destitute was the condition of those unhappy beings suffering under the bereavement of reason, he brought forward a plan for the erection and endowment of a lunatic asylum, which he laid before the royal college of physicians of Edinburgh. It is said that the idea of such an institution was suggested to him by the death of the poet Ferguson, who in 1774, a few years after Dr Duncan had settled in Edinburgh, expired in the cells of the common charity work-house, in a state of the most abject and appalling wretchedness. After much time had elapsed, and many difficulties been surmounted, a petition was presented to the king, who granted a royal charter, dated the 11th April, 1807, under which, a lunatic asylum was erected and opened at Morningside. In September, 1808, the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh presented Dr Duncan with the freedom of the city, as a public acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of the services he had rendered the community by the establishment of the public dispensary and lunatic asylum; and assuredly this honour was never more deservedly conferred.

In 1809, Dr Duncan brought forward a scheme for another public association for the purpose of contributing to the interests and happiness of society. He observed that the study of horticulture had been too much neglected in Scotland, and proposed therefore the institution of a society which should receive communications and award prizes to those who distinguished themselves by making discoveries, or promoting the interests of this science. His proposal, and exertions in accomplishing this favourite object, he lived to see amply rewarded; for the horticultural society soon attaining considerable importance in the estimation of the public, was incorporated by royal charter, and among the number of its members will be found the names of many who are an ornament and an honour to their country. "The latest public object undertaken by Dr Duncan," says his friend Dr Huie, "was connected with this society, in the success of which he ever took the warmest interest. This was the establishment of a public experimental garden, for the purpose of putting to the test various modes of horticulture, and also for collecting specimens and improving the method of cultivating every vegetable production, from every quarter of the globe, which could either be agreeable to the palate, or pleasing to the eye. By means of private subscriptions, assisted by a loan from government, this object was at last attained; and the venerable promoter of the scheme had the satisfaction, before



his death, of seeing his views on the subject in a fair way of being realized.<sup>2</sup> On the death of Dr James Gregory, which happened in 1821, Dr Duncan, who had long served his majesty when prince of Wales in that capacity, was appointed first physician to the king for Scotland.

The royal college of physicians in 1824, as a signal mark of respect and favour, re-elected Dr Duncan president; but he had now attained that advanced age when men find it necessary to retire from the more active cares and anxieties of the world. He, however, continued so long as he could command bodily strength to participate in the business of those institutions which had been his pride in earlier life. More especially it was his pride to continue his physiological lectures in the university; and to pay that attention to his pupils which always showed the natural kindness of his heart. He made a point, like his venerable preceptor Dr Cullen, of inviting them to his house, and cultivating a friendly and confidential intercourse with them. It was his custom to invite a certain number to be with him every Sunday evening, which he intimated by little printed circulars, twenty or thirty of which he would issue at a time, taking his pupils in the order they entered to his class, until every one had been invited. On these occasions he conversed cheerfully and freely with them on all subjects; a practice which is surely encouraging to the pupil, and calculated to increase rather than diminish his respect and attachment towards the professor. His kindness of heart was indeed unbounded. He never heard of a pupil having to struggle against the ills of poverty, or being in any kind of distress, that he did not exert himself to emancipate him from such difficulty; and many now live whose feelings of silent gratitude are the most appropriate homage to his memory. "While his benevolence fell with the warmth of a sunbeam on all who came within the sphere of its influence, it was more especially experienced," says Dr Huie, "by those students of medicine who came from a distance, and had the good fortune to attract, or be recommended to his notice. Over them he watched with paternal solicitude. He invited them when in health to his house and his table. He attended them when in sickness with assiduity and tenderness, and when they sunk the victims of premature disease, the sepulchre of his family was thrown open for their remains."<sup>3</sup>

He was in some respects eccentric; but there was not an eccentricity or custom he adopted which did not indicate that some generous or good feeling was the ruling principle of his actions. In addition to the institutions to which we have alluded, of a grave character, Dr Duncan established the Esculapian and Gymnastic clubs, at which, by assembling round the social and convivial board, it was intended to soften down those asperities and inimical feelings which, proverbially and from the most ancient time, have been imputed to medical men. With the same object in view, and to encourage a taste for experimental research, in the year 1782 he founded the Harveian Society, to which, for a period of forty-seven years, he discharged the duties of secretary. This society, which still flourishes, proposes annually a question, or the subject for an essay; and an honorary reward, consisting of a gold medal and a copy of the works of the great exemplar, is awarded to the successful candidate. The adjudication takes place publicly on the anniversary of Harvey's birth day, which is afterwards commemorated by an elegant convivial entertainment. Before adjudging the prize, the secretary is appointed to pronounce an *éloge* on some deceased ornament of the profession; and among others, those read by Dr Duncan on the lives of Alexander Munro *primus*, Alexander Munro *secundus*, and Sir Joseph Banks, merit particular notice. Dr Duncan occasionally stepped

<sup>2</sup> Harveian Oration for 1829, by R. Huie, M. D., who succeeded Dr Duncan as secretary to the Harveian Society.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

aside from the ordinary avocations of his profession to indulge in effusions—both prose and verse—little consonant with the more general tenor of his occupations. Among these we may notice, a work he published, entitled, “*Elogiorum Sepulchralium Edinensium delectus—Monumental inscriptions selected from burial grounds near Edinburgh;*” in the preface of which, speaking as the editor, he observes: “Since the death of an amiable son, the editor has made it a religious duty to pay a visit to his grave every Christmas-day, the period of his death. This visit he has also extended to other church-yards, where the dust of several of his best friends is now deposited. His meditations, during these mournful visits, have led him to imagine that he was invited by the calls of gratitude, to take this method of promulgating commemorations of departed worth.” He then adds, that he has selected the inscriptions and printed them in that form, for the benefit of “an able scholar, who, depressed by accidental misfortunes in the mercantile line, now supports a young family by his knowledge of ancient and modern languages.” This is peculiarly characteristic both of the affectionate and charitable disposition of his nature. He always, even to the very latest period of his life, looked back with satisfaction and pride at the period when he participated in the proceedings of the royal medical society; and it was his custom to go down to the medical hall one night or more every season, for the purpose of hearing the discussions, in which he always expressed great interest. In the winter of 1827, he visited it for the last time, being then in the eighty-third year of his age. The members of that society had two years previously testified the high esteem in which they held his memory, by subscribing for a full length portrait of him, which was admirably executed by Mr Watson Gordon, and now adorns the hall of the institution. It had been Dr Duncan’s custom for more than half a century to pay an annual visit to the summit of Arthur’s Seat every May-day morning. This feat of pedestrianism he accomplished as usual on the 1st of May, 1827; but he was obliged from a feeling of physical infirmity to relinquish the attempt in May, 1828, on which day he had invited some friends to dine with him; finding himself rather unwell in the morning, he was under the necessity of retiring and confining himself to his chamber. From this period he was never able to go abroad. His appetite and flesh failed him, and without having suffered any acute distress, he expired on the 5th of July, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

His funeral was attended by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh; the principal and professors of the university, the royal college of physicians, the managers and medical officers of the royal public dispensary, the royal medical society, the royal physical society, the Caledonian horticultural society, and a large assemblage of private gentlemen, and friends of the venerable deceased.

He published numerous works during the course of his life; among which, *Elements of Therapeutics—Medical Commentaries—Heads of lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic—Annals of Medicine—Essay on Consumption—Medical Cases and Observations*, may be regarded as important additions to the medical literature of that period. To the royal college of physicians he bequeathed seventy volumes of MS. notes from the lectures of the founders of the Edinburgh school of medicine, Drs Munro *primus*, Rutherford, Alston, St Clair, and Plummer, together with one hundred volumes of practical observations in his own hand writing, which he had employed as notes for his clinical lectures. His exertions in his profession, and in the general cause of humanity, obtained for him the highest respect of his contemporaries, both at home and abroad. He was elected a corresponding member of the medical society of Denmark in 1776, and of the royal medical society of Paris in 1778; he was

chosen a member of the American philosophical society of Philadelphia in 1786, and of the medical society of London in 1787; he was appointed an honorary member of the Cesarian university of Moscow in 1805, and first president of the medico-chirurgical society of Edinburgh at its institution in 1821. As a professor in the university of Edinburgh, he was deserved and esteemed. His lectures were written in a perspicuous and unadorned style, and the physiological doctrines he promulgated, were those which were considered the best established at that period; and these he explained in so clear a manner that his course of lectures may even yet be regarded as valuable, notwithstanding the additions that have been since made to our knowledge in this department of medical science. His style of lecturing was simple and unaffected, and no man could discharge more conscientiously the duties of his office. Both as a professor and a man, in his public and private career, his many estimable qualities endeared him to society, where all who had the good fortune to know him, yet justly venerate his memory.

DUNCAN, ANDREW, JUNIOR, M. D., the son of the excellent physician whose memoir we have given above, is entitled to a prominent rank among those who have distinguished themselves in the history of medicine. He was born in Edinburgh on the 10th August, 1773. At an early age he showed a predilection for medical science, being, when yet very young, often found in his father's library poring over medical books; to gratify which inclination he would often rise at an early hour before the rest of the family. His father naturally, therefore, destined him for the profession, and after going through the preliminary course of education prescribed for youth, he commenced its study in 1787. That he might become acquainted with the science in all its practical details, he served a regular apprenticeship for five years with Messrs Alexander and George Wood, fellows of the royal college of surgeons; during which probation he toiled assiduously in laying the foundation of his future reputation. He then went through a complete course of literature and philosophy at the university, where, in 1793, he was admitted master of arts, and in 1794, received the degree of doctor of medicine.

With the view of acquiring a still more competent knowledge of his profession, he spent the ensuing winter, 1794-95, in London, where he attended the lectures on anatomy and surgery, then delivered in Windmill Street, by Dr Baillie and Mr Cruickshank; and dissected under the superintendence of Mr Wilson. He there also became a pupil of Dr George Pearson in chemistry, materia medica, and medicine, and received unusual advantages and opportunities of improvement from the attention and kindness of his father's numerous friends. He then proceeded to the continent. After spending some time in Hamburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, for the purpose of acquiring the German language, seeing the hospitals of those cities, and becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished individuals at the head of the profession there, he entered himself a student in the university of Gottingen. There he attended the hospital under Richter, and resided with professor Grellman, and had the good fortune to enjoy the intimate acquaintance of Blumenbach, Torisberg, Gmelin, Arnemann, Stromeyer, and Heine, gaining besides the friendship of many of the most distinguished students, who now fill chairs in the universities of Germany.

From Gottingen he went to Vienna, visiting the hospitals and most of the celebrated men in the various universities and capitals through which he passed; after which he proceeded to Italy through the Tyrole, and having seen the hospitals at Milan, resided during the winter at Pisa, in the house of Brugnattelli, the professor of chemistry. He there attended the lectures and hospital prac-



tice of Scarpa, whose friendship and correspondence he had ever afterwards the honour of retaining; and also clinical medicine under Joseph Frank, and natural history under Spallanzani. He then made the tour of Italy as far as Naples, remained some time at Rome, and returned by Padua, Venice, and Trieste, to Vienna, where he attended the clinical lectures of John Peter Frank, then at the head of the profession in Germany. From Vienna he returned home, through Prague, Leipsic, Halle, Dresden, and Berlin, remaining in each long enough to see the public institutions and become acquainted with the most celebrated men. During this tour, not only did he acquire a more accurate and more extensive knowledge concerning the medical institutions and the state of medical science abroad than was at that time possessed by other medical men in this country; but he attained a proficiency in foreign languages, and an erudition in literature, which added all the accomplishments of a scholar to his qualifications as a physician. Here, too, in leisure hours snatched from severer studies, he cultivated his taste for the fine arts, more especially for painting and music, in which he ever afterwards found a charm to relieve him from the fatigues he had to encounter in the laborious and anxious discharge of his professional and professorial duties.

On his return to Edinburgh, he assisted his father in editing the Medical Commentaries, which, as we have already stated, extended to twenty volumes, and was succeeded by the Annals of Medicine, on the title page of which the name of Dr Duncan junior, first appeared along with that of his father as joint editors. But at the request of lord Selkirk he was again induced to leave his native city to visit the continent, for the purpose of attending his lordship's son, who was suffering under ill health. On his arrival, however, he found that this young nobleman had expired; but the attainments of Dr Duncan having attracted considerable notice on the continent, and being already signalized by a portion of the fame he afterwards enjoyed, he was solicited to prolong his stay in Italy, where he was by many invalids professionally consulted, and again enjoyed the opportunity of prosecuting his favourite pursuits. No man, perhaps, was ever more thoroughly imbued with the love of knowledge. It was in him an innate desire, urging him on with increasing restlessness to constant mental activity. He now remained chiefly in Florence and Pisa nine months, where he lived on habits of intimacy with the celebrated Fontana and Fabroni; after which, having visited many places in Switzerland and Germany, which he had not passed through during his former tour, he again returned to Edinburgh. He there settled as a medical practitioner, and was elected a fellow of the royal college of physicians, and shortly afterwards one of the physicians of the royal public dispensary, founded by the exertions of his father, in 1773.

While actively engaged in the practical department of his profession, he did not neglect the application of his erudition and talents to the diffusion and advancement of medical science among his professional brethren. In 1803, he undertook the chief editorship of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, which has for twenty-seven years sustained the high reputation of being one of the most valuable and influential medical journals in Europe. He acted from the commencement as the chief editor, although for some time he was assisted by Dr Kellie of Leith, Dr Balteman of London, Dr Reeve of Norwich, and afterwards by Dr Craigie. But his chief and most valuable contribution to medical science was the Edinburgh Dispensary, the first edition of which appeared in 1803. A similar work had been published by Dr Lexis in London, in 1753, under the title of the New Dispensary, but the advancement of chemistry and pharmacy since that period, had rendered a complete revision of it absolutely necessary. This task, which required no ordinary extent and variety of know-



ledge, and no slight assiduity, he executed with so much skill, judgment, and fidelity, that his work, immediately on publication, commanded the most extensive popularity, and became a standard authority in every medical school in Europe. Notwithstanding, indeed, that it has had to encounter the rivalry of other meritorious works on pharmaceutic chemistry and materia medica, it still maintains its pre-eminence. By Sir James Wylie it was made great use of in his *Pharmacopœia Castrensis Russica*, published at Petersburg in 1808, for the use of the Russian army. It has been since translated into German by Eschenbach, with a preface by professor Kuhn; into French by Couverchel, and has been several times republished by different editors in America.

He next conferred an essential service not only on the university, but on the general interests of the community, by calling, in a strong and emphatic manner, attention to that branch of science, denominated by the Germans, state medicine, which comprehends the principles of the evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine, in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law. This study, to which the more appropriate term of medical jurisprudence was applied, had been chiefly confined to the Germans, nor had the advantages resulting from their labours been sufficiently communicated to other countries. This Dr Duncan fully perceived; he laid before the profession the substance of the few medico-legal works which had then been published on the continent; he pointed out, and advocated ably, the necessity of this department of medical science being systematically studied in this country; and, after combating many prejudices and overcoming many difficulties, succeeded in the cause he defended, and was rewarded by seeing the chair of medical jurisprudence instituted in the university. To his exertions, the profession—we should rather say the public—is indebted for the institution of this important professorship, and when we look at the current of public events, and the numerous complex and momentous cases that are continually agitated in our judiciary and civil courts, often implicating the liberty, fortunes, and even lives of our fellow-creatures, we cannot remain insensible of the great good he has achieved. The chair of medical jurisprudence and police was instituted in the Edinburgh university in 1807, and Dr Duncan was considered the most proper person to discharge its duties. He was therefore appointed the professor, and commenced his lectures the following session. He soon, by the lectures he delivered, and the numerous papers he published in his journal, impressed on the public mind the importance of the science he taught; and the interest he excited in its cultivation, both among his pupils, and medical practitioners generally, gave, in this country, the first impetus to the progress of medical jurisprudence.

He repeatedly, during this time, was called upon to assist his father in officiating as physician in the clinical wards, and occasionally delivered clinical lectures. He also had at times the charge of the fever hospital at Queensberry house; to which, on the resignation of Dr Spens, he was elected physician. But his introduction into the university, brought on him an accumulation of labours, for he was shortly afterwards appointed secretary and also librarian; offices, the duties of which required at that period no ordinary exertions to discharge. Already it may have been gathered from the lives of Drs Cullen and Duncan, senior, that the Edinburgh university was at this time only just emerging from that original infantine state which must precede the maturer glory of all institutions, on however grand a scale; and although Pitcairn, McLaurin, the Mouroes, Plummer, St Clair, Alston, and Cullen, had thrown over it a lustre which was recognized by men of science throughout Europe, yet its internal state and economy required the most assiduous attention and careful management. The library, which, from the charter of the college, was entitled to every published work,

was at this time, as may readily be supposed, a mass of confusion, which to reduce to any thing like order was little less than an Herculean task. Added to this, the building of the university was yet unfinished, and every possible inconvenience opposed the duties of the librarian. Still the labours of Dr Duncan were incessant. He was then appointed one of the commissioners for superintending the completion of the building of the college; and the services which in both capacities he rendered to the public, cannot be too highly estimated.

Having officiated for his father and Dr Rutherford in the clinical wards of the royal infirmary during the winter of 1817-18 and the summer of 1818, he published at the end of that year reports of his practice, for the purpose of preserving a faithful record of the epidemic, which at that time spread its ravages through Edinburgh. His labours did not go unrewarded. In 1819, the patrons of the university appointed him joint professor with his father in the chair of the theory of medicine. His skill as a lecturer on physiology was duly estimated by his pupils; but he did not retain this office long, for in 1821, Dr Home being translated to the chair of the practice of physic, he was elected in his place professor of materia medica and pharmacy. It is worthy of observation, that so highly were the qualifications of Dr Duncan appreciated, and so obviously did they entitle him to this honour, that when it was understood that he had come forward as a candidate, no person ventured to compete with him for the vacated chair. He commenced his lectures at considerable disadvantage, being at the time in ill health, owing to an accident he had recently met with; but his abilities as a lecturer, and his profound knowledge of materia medica, with all its collateral branches being well known, attracted crowds to his class, among whom no individual can fail to remember how amply his expectations were redeemed. In the discharge of his duties as a professor, he laboured most conscientiously, sacrificing his own comforts and health for the instruction of his pupils. During this season and indeed ever after, says one who had every opportunity of knowing his domestic habits, "he was often seated at his desk at three in the morning, for his lectures underwent a continual course of additions and improvements." When, by the tender solicitude of his own relatives, he was often entreated to relax his incessant toils, and told that surely his task must be finished, he would reply, that to medical knowledge there was no end, and that his labours must be therefore infinite; and so truly they were, for it was one of the peculiar traits of his character to be ever investigating, which he did with unwearied patience, every new improvement and every new discovery that was announced in this country or on the continent. His lectures on materia medica were most comprehensive and profound, and attracted so great a number of students to his class that the expectations which had been formed of the good which the university would derive from his promotion were amply fulfilled. He discharged the duties of this professorship with unwearied zeal and assiduity for eleven years. We have now arrived at the saddest period of his life. His constitution was never strong. It was constantly preyed upon by the exertions of an over-active mind, which allowed itself no repose. Had he been less solicitous about the discharge of his duties and less zealous in the pursuit of science, his health might have been invigorated and his life prolonged. But there was that disparity between the powers and energies of his mind, and the limited vigour of his body, which generally proves fatal to men of superior attainments. He had for years toiled incessantly, bearing up against the consciousness of ill health and physical suffering. His anxiety to discharge his duties, indeed, absorbed every other consideration, and prompted him to endure until endurance itself could no longer obey its own high resolves. His strength, which had been severely impaired by an attack of fever in 1827,

which was contracted in the discharge of his hospital duties, gradually declined. After persevering in delivering his lectures until nearly the end of the session, he took to his bed in April 1832, and having endured a lingering illness, during which he displayed all that patience and moral courage which are characteristic of a highly-gifted mind, he died on the 13th of the following May, in the 58th year of his age. His funeral, according to his own directions, was intended to be strictly private; but the members of numerous institutions, anxious to show their affection for his memory, met in the burial ground to attend the obsequies of their lamented friend.

Great energy and activity of mind, a universality of genius that made every subject, from the most abstruse to the most trivial, alike familiar to him, and a devoted love of science, which often led him to prefer its advancement to the establishment of his own fame, were his distinguishing traits. So well was he known and appreciated on the continent, that he received, unsolicited on his part, honorary degrees and other distinctions from the most famous universities; and few foreigners of distinction visited Edinburgh without bringing introductions to him. He had the honour of being in the habit of correspondence with many of the most distinguished persons in Europe, whether celebrated for high rank, or superior mental endowments. He had a great taste for the fine arts in general, and for music in particular; and from his extensive knowledge of languages, was well versed in the literature of many nations. His manners were free from pedantry or affectation, and were remarkable for that unobtrusiveness which is often the peculiar characteristic of superior genius. He possessed a delicacy of feeling and a sense of honour and integrity amounting, in the estimation of many, to fastidiousness, but which were the elements of his moral character. He was indeed as much an ornament to private as to public life.

Among his contributions to medical science deserving especial notice may be enumerated his experiments on Peruvian bark, whereby he discovered cinchonin, and paved the way for the discovery of the vegetable alkaloids, which has so essentially contributed to the advancement of pharmaceutical science; his examination of the structure of the heart and the complicated course of its fibres; his paper on diffuse inflammation of the cellular tissue; and more recently his Experiments on Medicine, communicated to the royal society of Edinburgh so late as December 1830. In addition to these, and besides the numerous essays written in his own journal, he contributed to the Edinburgh Review the articles on the Pharmacopœia of the Royal College of Physicians—on Vaccination—and on Dr Thomson's System of Chemistry; and to the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica those on Aqua Toffana, Digestion, and Food.

DUNCAN, WILLIAM, a learned writer, was born at Aberdeen, in July, 1717. He was the son of William Duncan, a tradesman in that city, and of Euphemia Kirkwood, the daughter of a farmer in Haddingtonshire. He received the rudiments of his education partly at the grammar school of Aberdeen, and partly at a boarding school at Foveran, kept by a Mr George Forbes. In 1733 Mr Duncan entered the Marischal college at Aberdeen, and applied himself particularly to the study of Greek, under Dr Blackwell. At the end of the usual course, he took the degree of M.A. His first design was to become a clergyman; but, after studying divinity for two years, he abandoned the intention, and, removing to London, became a writer for the press. The greater part of his literary career was of that obscure kind which rather supplies the wants of the day, than stores up fame for futurity. Translations from the French were among his mental exertions, and he was much beloved and respected by the other literary men of his day, especially those who were of the same nation with himself, such as George Lewis Scott and Dr Armstrong.



The principal work of Mr Duncan was his translation of select orations of Cicero, which is still a book of standard excellence, and constantly used in our schools. He contributed the department of Logic to "Mr Dodsley's Modern Preceptor," which appeared in 1748, and was one of the most useful and popular books published during the eighteenth century. In 1752 appeared his last work, the translation of Cæsar's Commentaries, which is decidedly the best in our language. Duncan has in a great measure caught the spirit of the Roman writer, and has preserved his turn of phrase and expression as far as the nature of our language would permit. In this year, Mr Duncan received a royal appointment to a philosophical chair in the Marischal college; and in 1753, commenced lecturing on natural and experimental philosophy. Before leaving London, he had engaged to furnish a bookseller with a new translation of Plutarch; but his health proved inadequate to the task. His constitution had been considerably injured by the sedentary nature of his employments in London, and he was now content to discharge the ordinary duties of his chair. After a blameless life, he died (unmarried) May 1, 1760, in the forty-third year of his age. Mr Duncan cannot so much be said to have possessed genius, as good sense and taste; and his parts were rather solid than shining. His temper was social, his manners easy and agreeable, and his conversation entertaining and often lively. In his instructions as a professor, he was diligent and very accurate. His conduct was irreproachable, and he was regular in his attendance on the various institutions of public worship. Soon after his settlement in the Marischal college, he was admitted an elder in the church session of Aberdeen, and continued to officiate as such till his death.

**DUNDASSES OF ARNISTON.** This family holds a very conspicuous place in the legal and political history of Scotland for a period extending almost to a century and a half; and to the biographical student, nothing can be more interesting than to trace the merited elevation of the successive heads of the family to the highest judicial appointments in the country. The Arniston family is sprung from that of Dundas of Dundas, one of the most ancient in Scotland. Sir James Dundas, the first of Arniston, who received the honour of knighthood from James VI., and was governor of Berwick, was the third son of George Dundas of Dundas, the sixteenth in descent from the Dunbars, earls of March, a family which, according to Sir James Dalrymple, can trace its origin from the Saxon kings of England. The mother of Sir James Dundas was Catherine, daughter of Lawrence, lord Oliphant. Having premised this much of the origin of the family, we proceed to give short biographical notices of its most distinguished members.

**DUNDAS, SIR JAMES,** of Arniston, eldest son of the first Sir James, by Mary, daughter of George Hume of Wedderburn, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by Charles I. After receiving a liberal education, he spent a considerable time abroad, visiting the principal courts of Europe. On his return, he was chosen one of the representatives of the county of Mid-Lothian, in the Scottish parliament, and during a period of great danger and difficulty he maintained the character of a steady patriot, and a loyal subject,—an enemy alike to slavish subserviency, and to treasonable turbulence. He greatly disapproved of the measures proposed by Charles I. at the instigation of Laud, for establishing episcopacy in Scotland, and did not think it inconsistent with a sincere principle of loyalty to subscribe the national covenant, entered into for the purpose of resisting that innovation.

After the restoration, when the English judges who had officiated in Scotland during the usurpation, were expelled, and the court of session re-established, Sir James Dundas was, in 1662, appointed one of the judges, and took his seat



on the bench under the title of lord Arniston. His high character and great natural abilities, were thought sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantage arising from the want of a professional education. But he held this appointment only for a short time. For Charles II. having been induced by the unsettled state of Scotland, to require that all persons holding office, should subscribe a declaration, importing that they held it unlawful to enter into leagues or covenants, and abjuring the "national and solemn league and covenant," the judges of the court of session were required to subscribe this *test* under pain of deprivation of office. The majority of them complied; but Sir James Dundas refused, unless he should be allowed to add, "in so far as such leagues might lead to deeds of actual rebellion." Government, however, would consent to no such qualification; and lord Arniston was consequently deprived of his gown. The king himself had proposed as an expedient for obviating the scruples of the recusant judges, that they should subscribe the test publicly, but should be permitted to make a *private* declaration of the sense in which they understood it. Most of them availed themselves of this device, but lord Arniston rejected it, making the following manly answer to those of his friends who urged him to comply—"I have repeatedly told you, that in this affair I have acted from conscience: I will never subscribe that declaration unless I am allowed to qualify it; and if my *subscription* is to be public, I cannot be satisfied that the *salvo* should be *latent*." His seat on the bench was kept vacant for three years, in the hope, apparently, that he might be prevailed on to yield to the solicitations which, during that interval, were unceasingly, but in vain addressed to him, not only by his friends and brother judges, but by the king's ministers. He had retired to his family seat of Arniston, where he spent the remainder of his life in the tranquil enjoyment of the country, and in the cultivation of literature, and the society of his friends. He died in the year 1679, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Robert, the subject of the immediately succeeding notice.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, son of Sir James, by Marion, daughter of lord Boyd, was bred to the profession of the law, and for many years represented the county of Edinburgh in the Scottish parliament. In the year 1689, immediately after the revolution, he was raised to the bench of the court of session by king William, and took the title of lord Arniston. He continued to fill that station with great honour and integrity during the long period of thirty-seven years; and died in the year 1727, leaving his son Robert, by Margaret, daughter of Robert Sinclair of Stevenston,<sup>1</sup> to succeed him in his estates, and to follow his footsteps in the legal profession.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, F. R. S. Edinburgh, third lord of session of the family, and first lord president, was born on the 9th December, 1685. Although at no time distinguished for laborious application to study, yet he had obtained a general acquaintance with literature, while his remarkable acuteness, and very extensive practice, rendered him a profound lawyer. He became a member of the faculty of advocates in 1709, and in 1717, while the country was recovering from the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of 1715, he was selected, on account of his firmness and moderation, to fill the responsible office of solicitor-general for Scotland, which he did with much ability and forbearance. In 1720, he was presented to the situation of lord advocate; and in 1722, was returned member to the British parliament for the county of Edinburgh. In parliament he was distinguished by a vigilant attention to Scottish affairs, and by that steady and patriotic regard to the peculiar interests of his native country, which has been all along one of the most remarkable character-

<sup>1</sup> It is from this lady, familiarly termed Meg Sinclair, that the peculiar talent of the family is said to have been derived.

istics of his family. When Sir Robert Walpole and the Argyle party came into power in the year 1725, Mr Dundas resigned his office, and resumed his place as an ordinary barrister; soon after which, he was elected by his brethren dean of the faculty of advocates; a dignity which confers the highest rank at the bar, it being even at this day a question, whether, according to the etiquette of the profession, the dean is not entitled to take precedence of the lord advocate and the solicitor-general. In 1737, Mr Dundas was raised to the bench; when, like his father, and grandfather, he took the title of lord Arniston. He held the place of an ordinary, or puisne judge, until the year 1748, when, on the death of lord president Forbes of Culloden, he was raised to the president's chair, and continued to hold that high office until his death. He died in 1753, in the 68th year of his age.

As a barrister Mr Dundas was a powerful and ingenious reasoner. To great quickness of apprehension he added uncommon solidity of judgment; while, as a public speaker, he was ready, and occasionally impressive; without being declamatory. His most celebrated display was made in 1728, at the trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, indicted for the murder of the earl of Strathmore. Mr Dundas, who was opposed on that occasion to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then lord advocate, conducted the defence with great ability, and had the merit, not only of saving the life of his client, but of establishing, or rather *restoring*, the right of a jury in Scotland to return a general verdict on the guilt or innocence of the accused. An abuse, originating in bad times, had crept in, whereby the province of the jury was limited to a verdict of finding the facts charged *proven*, or *not proven*, leaving it to the court to determine by a preliminary judgment on the relevancy, whether those facts, if proved, constituted the crime laid in the indictment. In this particular case, the fact was, that the earl of Strathmore had been accidentally run through the body, and killed, in a drunken squabble; the blow having been aimed at another of the party, who had given great provocation. The court, in their preliminary judgment on the relevancy, found that the facts, as set forth in the indictment, if proved, were sufficient to infer the "*pactus of law*,"—or, in other words, that they amounted to *murder*;—and therefore they allowed the public prosecutor to prove his case before the jury, and the accused to adduce a proof in exculpation. Had the jury confined themselves to the mere question whether or not the facts stated in the indictment were *proved*, the life of Mr Carnegie would have been forfeited. But Mr Dundas, with great acuteness and intrepidity, exposed and denounced this encroachment on the privileges of the jury, which he traced to the despotic reigns of Charles II., and his brother James II.; and succeeded in obtaining a verdict of not guilty. Since that trial, no similar attempt has been made to interfere with juries. The trial, which is in other respects interesting, will be found reported in Arnot's Collection of celebrated Criminal Trials; and in preparing that report, it appears, that Mr Arnot was favoured, by the second lord president Dundas, with his recollections, from memory, of what his father had said, together with the short notes from which Mr Dundas himself spoke. These notes prove, that, in preparing himself, he merely jotted down, in a few sentences, the heads of his argument, trusting to his extemporaneous eloquence for the illustrations.

In his judicial capacity, lord Arniston was distinguished no less by the vigour of his mind and his knowledge of the law, than by his strict honour and inflexible integrity. It has been said of him, that his deportment on the bench was forbidding and disagreeable; but although far from being affable or prepossessing in his manners, he was much liked by those who enjoyed his friendship; and was remarkable throughout his life, for a convivial turn approaching occa-

sionally to dissipation. Some allowance, however, must be made for the manners of the time, and for the great latitude in their social enjoyments, which it was the fashion of the Edinburgh lawyers of the last century, to allow themselves. It is to be regretted that lord Arniston was not raised to the president's chair earlier in life. He succeeded lord president Forbes, one of the most illustrious and eminent men who ever held that place; and it is not therefore very wonderful, that, far advanced in life as president Dundas was, he should not have been able to discharge the duties of his important office, with all the dignity and energy of his highly-gifted predecessor.

Lord Arniston was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, by whom he left Robert, afterwards lord president of the court of session, and two daughters; and secondly, to Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Invergordon, bart., by whom he left four sons, and one daughter. One of the sons of this second marriage was Henry, afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of lord viscount Melville.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord president of the court of session, the eldest son of the first lord president Dundas, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, was born on the 18th of July, 1713. When at school and at college he was a good scholar; but afterwards was never known to read through a book, and seldom even to look into one, unless from curiosity, when he happened to be acquainted with the author. It was the custom at the period when the subject of this memoir received his education, for Scottish gentlemen, intended for the higher walks of the legal profession, to study the Roman law at the schools on the continent, where that law was then taught with much celebrity. Young Dundas, therefore, after acquiring the elementary branches of his education, under the care of a domestic tutor, and at the schools and university of Edinburgh, proceeded to Utrecht, towards the close of the year 1733, in order to prosecute his legal studies at that famous university. He remained abroad during four years; spending his academical vacations in visiting Paris, and several of the principal towns and cities in France, and the Low Countries.

He returned to Scotland in the year 1737, and in the year following, became a member of the faculty of advocates. His first public appearances sufficiently proved that he had inherited the genius and abilities of his family; his eloquence was copious and animated; his arguments convincing and ingenious; while even his most unpremeditated pleadings were distinguished by their methodical arrangement. In consultation his opinions were marked by sound judgment and great acuteness; while his tenacious memory enabled him with facility and readiness to cite precedents and authorities. Although endowed by nature with very considerable talents for public speaking, yet he not only neglected the study of composition, but contemned the art of elocution. In his pleadings, however, as well as in his conversation, he displayed a great deal of fancy and invention, which the strength and soundness of his judgment enabled him to restrain within due bounds. In spite of his want of application, and a strong propensity to pleasure and dissipation, he rose rapidly into practice at the bar. But from the course which he adopted, it seems to have been his intention, without rendering himself a slave to business, to attain such a high place in his profession, as should entitle him to early promotion. Acting on this principle, he usually declined, except in very important cases, to prepare those written pleadings and arguments which at that time, and until lately, were so well known in the court of session. The labour attending this part of his professional duty he felt to be irksome. For the same reason he was accustomed to return many of the briefs which were sent to him; confining his practice to noted cases, or such as excited general interest. In this manner, with-



out undergoing the usual drudgery of the bar, he acquired a degree of celebrity and distinction, which opened to him, at a period remarkably early in his career, the highest honours of his profession. In September 1742, when he had just entered his twenty-ninth year, he was appointed solicitor-general for Scotland. He had obtained this appointment under the Carteret administration, and therefore, in 1746, when the Pelham party gained the ascendancy, he resigned this office along with the ministry; but in the same year, (as had happened to his father under similar circumstances,) he was honoured by one of the strongest marks of admiration which his brethren at the bar could confer; having been, at the early age of thirty-three, elected dean of the faculty of advocates; which office he continued to hold until the year 1760, when he was elevated to the bench.

In the beginning of the year 1754, Mr Dundas was returned to parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh, and in the following summer he was appointed lord advocate for Scotland. During the rancorous contention of parties which at that time divided the country, it was scarcely possible to escape obloquy, and Mr Dundas shared in the odium cast upon the rest of his party by the opposition; but it may be truly affirmed of him, that in no instance did he swerve from his principles, or countenance a measure which he did not believe to be conducive to the general welfare of the country. He suffered much in the opinion of a numerous party in Scotland on account of his strenuous opposition to the embodying of the militia in that part of the kingdom. The alarm of invasion from France, occasioned by the small expeditions which sometimes threatened our coasts, had led to numerous meetings throughout the country to petition parliament in favour of the establishment of a militia force for the defence of Scotland. There were cogent reasons, however, why these petitions should not be acceded to. The country was still in a very unimproved condition; agriculture neglected, and manufactures in their infancy; while the inhabitants were as yet but little accustomed to the trammels of patient industry. In such circumstances, to put arms into their hands had a tendency to revive that martial spirit which it was the great object of government to repress. The embodying of the militia was farther objectionable, inasmuch as the disaffected partisans of the Stuart family, although subdued were by no means reconciled to the family of Hanover; and, therefore, to arm the militia, would have been in effect so far to counteract the wise measure of disarming the Highlanders, which had proved so efficacious in tranquilizing the northern districts of the kingdom. Mr Dundas's opposition to the proposal for embodying a militia in Scotland was thus founded on grounds of obvious expediency; any risk of foreign invasion being more than counterbalanced by the still greater evil of a domestic force on which government could not implicitly rely, and which might by possibility have joined rather than opposed the invaders. The lesson taught by the rebellion in Ireland, in 1797, has since illustrated the danger of trusting arms in the hands of the turbulent and disaffected, and has fully established the wisdom of Mr Dundas's opposition to a similar measure in Scotland.

On the 14th of June, 1760, Mr Dundas was appointed lord president of the court of session, the highest judicial office in Scotland. When he received this appointment, some doubts were entertained how far, notwithstanding his acknowledged and great abilities, he possessed that power of application, and that measure of assiduity which are the first requisites for the due discharge of the duties of the high office he filled. Fond of social intercourse, and having risen to eminence as a lawyer by the almost unassisted strength of his natural talents, he had hitherto submitted with reluctance to the labour of his profession. But it speedily became evident, that one striking feature in his character



had remained undeveloped; for he had no sooner taken his seat as president, than he devoted himself to the duties of his office with an ardour which had been rarely exhibited by the ablest and most diligent of his predecessors; and with a perseverance which continued unabated until his death. So unwearied and anxious was his application to the business of the court, that he succeeded in disposing of an arrear of causes which had accumulated during a period of five sessions. This task he accomplished in the course of the summer session of 1760, and that without interrupting or impeding the current business of the court; and while he presided, no similar arrear ever occurred.

President Dundas was distinguished by great dignity and urbanity. In delivering his opinions on the bench, he was calm and senatorial; avoiding the error into which the judges in Scotland are too apt to fall, namely, that of expressing themselves with the impatience and vehemence of debaters eager to support a particular side, or to convince or refute their opponents in an argument. Impressed with a conviction that such a style is ill suited for the bench, president Dundas confined himself to a calm and dispassionate summary of the leading facts of the case, followed by an announcement, in forcible, but unadorned language, of the legal principle which ought, in his apprehension, to rule the decision. To the bar, he conducted himself with uniform attention and respect a demeanour, on the part of the bench, to which, in former times, the Scottish bar was but little accustomed; and even at this day, the deportment of the Scottish judges to the counsel practising before them, is apt to surprise those who have had opportunities of observing the courtesy uniformly displayed by the English judges in their intercourse with the bar. President Dundas listened with patience to the reasonings of counsel; he neither anticipated the arguments of the pleader, nor interrupted him with questions; but left him to state his case without interference, unless when matter evidently irrelevant was introduced, or any offence committed against the dignity of the court. In this last particular, he was sufficiently punctilious, visiting the slightest symptom of disrespect to the bench, with the severest animadversion. While he was thus constant in his anxiety to improve the administration of justice, and to insure due respect for his own court, he was scrupulously attentive in reviewing the decisions, and watchful in the superintendance of the conduct of the inferior judges. He also treated with the greatest rigour every instance of malversation or chicanery in the officers or inferior practitioners in the courts. No calumnious or iniquitous prosecution, and no attempt to pervert the forms of law, to the purposes of oppression, eluded his penetration, or escaped his marked reprehension.

A disregard or contempt for literary attainments has been brought as a charge against president Dundas; and a similar charge was, with less justice, afterwards made against his celebrated brother, lord Melville. This peculiarity was the more remarkable in the president, because in early life he had prosecuted those studies which are usually termed literary, with advantage and success. In his youth he had made great proficiency in classical learning; and as his memory retained faithfully whatever he had once acquired, it was not unusual with him, even towards the close of his life, in his speeches from the bench to cite and apply, with much propriety, the most striking passages of the ancient authors.

Having attained the advanced age of 75 years, president Dundas was seized with a severe and mortal illness, which, although of short continuance, was violent in its nature; and he died at his house in Adam Square, Edinburgh, on the 13th of December, 1787; having borne his sufferings with great magnanimity. He retained the perfect enjoyment of his faculties until his death, and was in the active discharge of his official duties down till the date of his last illness. He was interred in the family burial-place at Borthwick. The body was

attended to the outskirts of the city by a procession consisting of all the public bodies in their robes and insignia.

We cannot more appropriately close this imperfect sketch, than by subjoining the testimony borne to the high talents and many virtues of president Dundas, in the funeral sermon preached on the Sunday following his interment. "But by us, my brethren," the preacher observed, "he was known for other virtues. The public have lost a father and friend. We saw him in the more private walks of life, and experienced the warmth of his attachment, or the blessings of his protection. The same ardour of mind that marked his public character, descended with him to his retirement, to enliven his devotion, and prompt his benevolence. Attached to the ordinances of religion, and active in his duties as a member of the church, he was studious to give you, in this holy place, an example of that public reverence which is due from all to the Father of their spirits. Hospitable in his disposition, attentive in his manner, lively in his conversation, and steady in his friendships, he was peculiarly formed to secure the esteem of his acquaintance, and to promote the intercourse of social life. The poor, who mourn for his loss, and his domestics, who have grown old in his service, testify the general humanity of his mind. But his family alone, and those who have seen him mingling with them in the tenderness of domestic endearment, knew the warmth of his paternal affections."—"Such were the qualities that adorned the illustrious judge whose death we now deplore. If he had his failings, (and the lot of humanity, alas! was also his,) they were the failings of a great mind, and sprang from the same impetuosity of temper which was the source of his noblest virtues. But they are now gone to the drear abode of forgetfulness; while his better qualities live in the hearts of the good, and will descend in the records of fame, to rouse the emulation of distant ages."

President Dundas was twice married, first to Henrietta, daughter of Sir James Carmichael Baillie, of Lamington, Bart., by whom he left four daughters; and secondly, 7th September, 1756, at Prestongrange, to Jane, daughter of William Grant of Prestongrange, an excellent man, and good lawyer, who rose to the bench under the title of lord Prestongrange. By his second lady he left four sons and two daughters, of whom Robert, the eldest son, was successively lord advocate and lord chief baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, eldest son of the second lord president Dundas, by Miss Grant, youngest daughter of William Grant, lord Prestongrange, was born on the 6th of June, 1758. Like his distinguished predecessors, he was educated for the legal profession, and became a member of the faculty of advocates in the year 1779. When Mr (afterwards Sir Ilay) Campbell was promoted to the office of lord advocate, Mr Dundas, at a very early age, succeeded him as solicitor general; and afterwards in 1789, on Sir Ilay's elevation to the president's chair, Mr Dundas, at the age of 31, was appointed lord advocate. This office he held for twelve years, during which time he sat in parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh; and on the resignation of chief baron Montgomery in the year 1801, he was appointed his successor. Mr Dundas sat as chief baron until within a short time of his death, which happened at Arniston, on the 17th of June, 1819, in the 62nd year of his age. He had previously resigned his office, and it happened that Sir Samuel Shepherd, who succeeded him, took his seat on the bench on the day on which Mr Dundas died.

Without those striking and more brilliant talents for which his father and grandfather were distinguished, chief baron Dundas, in addition to excellent abilities, possessed, in an eminent degree, the graces of mildness, moderation, and affability; and descended to the grave, it is believed, more universally

loved and lamented, than any preceding member of his family. This is the more remarkable, when it is borne in mind that he held the responsible office of lord advocate during a period of unexampled difficulty, and of great political excitement and asperity. His popularity, however, was not attributable to any want of firmness and resolution in the discharge of his public duties; but arose in a great measure, from his liberal toleration for difference in political opinion, at a time when that virtue was rare in Scotland; and from his mild and gentlemanlike deportment, which was calculated no less to disarm his political opponents, than to endear him to his friends. It would have been impossible, perhaps, for any one of his professional contemporaries to have been the immediate agent of government in the trials of Muir, Skirving, and Palmer, without creating infinite public odium.

As chief baron, Mr Dundas was no less estimable. The Scottish court of exchequer never opened a very extensive field for the display of judicial talent; but wherever, in the administration of the business of that court, it appeared that the offender had erred from ignorance, or from misapprehension of the revenue statutes, we found the chief baron disposed to mitigate the rigour of the law, and to interpose his good offices on behalf of the sufferer. It was in private life, however, and within the circle of his own family and friends, that the virtues of this excellent man were chiefly conspicuous, and that his loss was most severely felt. Of him it may be said, as was emphatically said of one of his brethren on the bench—"he died, leaving no good man his enemy, and attended with that sincere regret, which only those can hope for, who have occupied the like important stations, and acquitted themselves so well."

Chief baron Dundas married his cousin-german, the honourable Miss Dundas, daughter of Henry, the first lord viscount Melville, by whom he left three sons, and two daughters; Robert, an advocate, and his successor in the estate of Arniston; Henry, an officer in the navy; and William Pitt. His eldest daughter is the wife of John Borthwick, esq. of Crookston.

DUNDAS, DAVID, general Sir, was born near Edinburgh, about the year 1735. His father, who was a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, was of the family of Dundas of Dundas, the head of the name in Scotland; by the mother's side he was related to the first lord Melville. This distinguished member of a great family had commenced the study of medicine, but changing his intentions, he entered the army in the year 1752, under the auspices of his uncle, general David Watson. This able officer had been appointed to make a survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and he was engaged in planning and inspecting the military roads through that part of the country. While engaged in this arduous undertaking, he chose young Dundas, and the celebrated general Roy, afterwards quarter-master-general in Great Britain, to be his assistants. To this appointment was added that of a lieutenancy in the engineers, of which his uncle was at that time senior captain, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

In the year 1759, Dundas obtained a troop in the regiment of light horse raised by colonel Elliot, and with that gallant corps, he embarked for Germany, where he acted as aid-de-camp to colonel Elliot. In that capacity he afterwards accompanied general Elliot in the expedition sent out in the year 1762, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, against the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. On the 28th May, 1770, he was promoted to the majority of the 15th dragoons, and from that corps he was removed to the 2nd regiment of horse on the Irish establishment, of which he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy.

It was to the ministerial influence of general Watson that colonel Dundas owed his rapid promotion; and he now obtained, through the same interest, a staff appointment as quarter-master-general in Ireland. He was also allowed to



sell his commission in the dragoons, and at the same time to retain his rank in the army. He afterwards exchanged his appointment for that of adjutant-general, and in 1781 he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Shortly after the peace of 1783, Frederick king of Prussia having ordered a grand review of the whole forces of his kingdom, the attention of military men throughout Europe was attracted to a scene so splendid. Amongst others, colonel Dundas, having obtained leave of absence, repaired to the plains of Potsdam, and by observation and reflection on what he there saw, he laid the foundation of that perfect knowledge of military tactics, which he afterwards published under the title of "Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry."

In the year 1790, colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of major-general, and in the following year, he was appointed colonel of the 22nd regiment of infantry, on which he resigned the adjutant-generalship of Ireland.

Previous to the publication of general Dundas' work on military tactics, the military manœuvres of the army were regulated by each succeeding commander-in-chief; while even the manual exercise of the soldier varied with the fancy of the commanding officer of the regiment. The disadvantages attending so irregular a system is obvious; for when two regiments were brought into the same garrison or camp, they could not act together until a temporary uniformity of exercise had been established. To remedy these defects in our tactics, his majesty, George III., to whom general Dundas' work was dedicated, ordered regulations to be drawn up from his book, for the use of the army; and accordingly in June, 1792, a system was promulgated, under the title of "Rules and Regulations for the formations, field-exercises, and movements of his Majesty's forces; with an injunction that the system should be strictly followed and adhered to, without any deviation whatsoever: and such orders as are formed to interfere with, or counteract their effects or operation, are considered hereby cancelled and annulled." "The Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry" were also planned by general Dundas. It is therefore to him that we are indebted for the first and most important steps which were taken to bring the British army to that high state of discipline which now renders it the most efficient army in Europe.

At the commencement of the late war, general Dundas was put on the staff, and in autumn 1793, he was sent out to command a body of troops at Toulon. While on this service, he was selected to lead a force ordered to dislodge the French from the heights of Arenes, which commanded the town; and although he succeeded in driving the enemy from their batteries, still the French were too strong for the number of British employed in the service, and he was ultimately driven back; and Toulon being consequently deemed untenable, lord Hood judged it prudent to embark the troops and sail for Corsica. Soon after the expedition had effected a landing in that island, some misunderstanding having arisen between general Dundas and admiral Hood, the former returned home.

General Dundas immediately returned to the continent, and served under the duke of York in Holland; and in the brilliant action of the 10th of May, 1794, at Tournay, he greatly distinguished himself. During the unfortunate retreat of the British army, which ended in the evacuation of the Dutch territory, general Dundas acted with much skill and great gallantry, and on the return of general Harcourt to England, the command of the British army devolved upon him. Having wintered in the neighbourhood of Bremen, he embarked the remnant of the British forces on board the fleet on the 14th of April, 1795, and returned home.



In December, 1795, general Dundas was removed from the command of the 2d foot, to that of the 7th dragoons. He was also appointed governor of Languard-fort, and on the resignation of general Morrison, he was nominated quarter-master-general of the British army.

In the expedition to Holland in the year 1799, general Dundas was one of the general officers selected by the commander-in-chief; and he had his full share in the actions of that unfortunate campaign. On the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, general Dundas succeeded him in the command of the 2d North British dragoons, and also in the government of Forts George and Augustus. In the summer of 1801, he was second in command of the fine army of 25,000 men, which assembled in Bagshot heath; and made uncommon exertions to bring it to the high state of discipline which it displayed on the day it was reviewed before his majesty, George III., and the royal family.

On the 12th of March, 1803, he resigned the quarter-master-generalship, and was put on the staff as second in command under the duke of York, when his majesty invested him with the riband of the order of the Bath. In the year 1804, he was appointed governor of Chelsea Hospital, and on the 1st June of that year, he, along with many others, was installed as a knight of the Bath in Henry VII.'s chapel. On the 18th of March, 1809, he succeeded the duke of York as commander-in-chief of the forces, which high appointment he held for two years. He was made a member of the privy council and colonel of the 95th regiment. The last of the many marks of royal favour conferred on him, was the colonelcy of the 1st dragoon guards.

General Dundas died on the 18th of February, 1820, and was succeeded in his estates by his nephew, Sir Robert Dundas of Beechwood, Bart.

DUNDAS, the right honourable Henry, viscount Melville and baron Dunira, was born in the year 1741. He was the son of the first, and brother to the second, Robert Dundas of Arniston, each of whom held the high office of lord president of the court of session. His father's family, as has been mentioned in the notice of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, derived their origin from the very ancient family of Dundas of Dundas; his mother was the daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. After receiving the preliminary branches of education at the high school and university of Edinburgh, and having gone through the usual course of legal study, Mr Dundas was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates in the year 1763. It is related of him that after paying the expenses of his education and his admission to the faculty, he had just sixty pounds of his patrimony remaining. He commenced his professional career in chambers situated at the head of the Flesh-market close of Edinburgh; and such was the moderate accommodation of Scottish lawyers in those days, that his rooms did not even front the High street. The meanness of his apartments, however, is to be attributed rather to the habits of the times, and the state of Edinburgh, than to pecuniary obstacles, or to any distrust of success; for the member of a family so well connected in the country, and so highly distinguished in the courts before which Mr Dundas proposed to practise, enjoyed every advantage which a young lawyer could have desired as an introduction to his profession. In Mr Dundas these recommendations were happily combined with great talents and persevering application to business; so that, although he did not resist the temptations to gaiety and dissipation which beset him, he on no occasion allowed the pursuit of pleasure or amusement, to interfere with the due discharge of his professional duties. Nor did he lose any opportunity which presented itself of cultivating his oratorical powers. With that view he early availed himself of the opening afforded for that species of display, in the annual sittings of the general assembly of the church of Scotland. As a

lay member of that venerable body, Mr Dundas gave a foretaste of that manly eloquence and address, which in after life rendered him the able coadjutor of Mr Pitt in the management of the house of commons during a period of unexampled difficulty.

The first official appointment which Mr Dundas held, was that of one of the assessors to the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh. He was afterwards deputy-advocate, that is, one of the three or four barristers who, by delegation from the lord advocate, prepare indictments, attend criminal trials, both in Edinburgh and on the circuits of the high court of judicature; and in general, discharge, under the lord advocate, his function of public prosecutor. The office of solicitor general for Scotland, was the next step in Mr Dundas' promotion; and with regard to this part of his career it is sufficient to observe, that his sound judgment, sagacity, and prompt discernment as a lawyer, obtained for his pleadings the respect and attention of the ablest judges on the bench, (no small praise, considering the manner in which the bench of the court of session was at that time occupied,) and held out to him the certainty of the highest honours of the profession in Scotland, had he limited his ambition to that object.

To the high estimation in which Mr Dundas was held, at a period comparatively early in life, lord Kames bears flattering testimony in the dedication to his "Elucidations of the common and statute law of Scotland." That dedication is dated in 1777, and the following are the terms in which this distinguished lawyer and philosopher addresses Mr Dundas:—"Though law has been my chief employment in a long and laborious life, I can, however, address my young friend without even a blush, requesting his patronage to this little work. As in some instances it pretends to dissent from established practice, I know few men, young or old, who have your candour to make truth welcome against their own prepossessions; still fewer who have your talents to make it triumph over the prepossession of others." Mr Boswell, the biographer of Johnson, furnishes another contemporary account of Mr Dundas as a Scottish barrister, which is equally laudatory. In reference to the celebrated case of Knight, the negro, who claimed his freedom as a consequence of setting his foot on the soil of Scotland, Mr Boswell, writing also under the date of 1777, mentions that Mr Dundas had volunteered his aid to Knight. The leading lawyers were retained on both sides, and exerted themselves to the uttermost, and the following is Mr Boswell's account of the impression made on him by Mr Dundas' eloquence: "Mr Dundas' Scottish accent, which has been so often in vain obtruded as an objection to his powerful abilities in parliament, was no disadvantage to him in his own country. And I do declare, that upon this memorable question, he impressed me, and I believe all his audience, with such feelings as were produced by some of the most eminent orations of antiquity. This testimony I liberally give to the excellence of an old friend, with whom it has been my lot to differ very widely upon many political topics; yet I persuade myself, without malice, a great majority of the lords of session decided for the negro"—*Boswell's Johnson*.

We have now reached a stage of Mr Dundas' life, at which he may be almost said to have taken leave of the Scottish bar, and of law as a profession, and to have entered on a scene where objects of still higher ambition presented themselves. In 1774, he stood candidate for the county of Edinburgh in the general election of that year, and was returned in opposition to the ministerial influence. But he soon joined the party then in power, and became a strenuous supporter of lord North's administration. He frequently spoke in the house of commons, and notwithstanding the disadvantages of an ungraceful manner, and

a provincial accent, he was always listened to with attention, on account of the clearness of his statements and the weight of his arguments. As a reward for his services, he was, in 1775, appointed lord advocate of Scotland, on the elevation of Sir James Montgomery to the office of lord chief baron; and in 1777, he obtained the sinecure appointment of keeper of the king's signet for Scotland.

The lord advocate holds the highest political office in Scotland, and is always expected to have a seat in parliament, where he discharges something resembling the duties of secretary of state for that quarter of the kingdom. And Mr Dundas, from the time of his obtaining this appointment, appears to have devoted his chief attention to public business and party politics. The contentions among political parties ran very high towards the close of lord North's administration; but supported by the king, that nobleman was long enabled to hold out against the unpopularity occasioned by the disastrous progress of the American war, aggravated by the eloquent invectives of an opposition, perhaps the most talented which any British ministry ever encountered. The result of the unfortunate campaign of 1781, however, compelled lord North to resign. Mr Dundas had supported his administration; but at the same time, by maintaining a cautious forbearance during this arduous struggle for power, he ingratiated himself with all parties. Nor is it uninteresting to observe the manner in which at this period he met the opposition of Mr Pitt, then a young man, in his twenty-first year; but who, even at that early age, was so remarkably gifted, that a man of Mr Dundas' penetration was at no loss to foresee and to predict his speedy rise to the highest political distinction. We quote from *Touline's* life of that great statesman. "The lord advocate, (Mr Dundas) who had been a uniform supporter of the American war, and was one of the ablest debaters in favour of the administration, replied to Mr Pitt. After adverting, in general terms, to several persons who had taken part in the debate, he proceeded thus, with a sort of prophetic eulogy—"The honourable gentleman who spoke last, claims my particular approbation. I am unwilling to say to that honourable gentleman's face, what truth would exact from me were he absent; but even now, however unusual it may be, I must declare, that I find myself impelled to rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow subjects, who are destined, at some future day, to derive the most important services from so happy a union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persuasive eloquence."

When the fall of lord North's administration became certain, Mr Dundas' knowledge of public business, and his intimate acquaintance with the state of the nation, rendered him a most valuable accession to the new administration. He held no office, however, except that of lord advocate under the Rockingham ministry; but the dissensions in the cabinet which followed the death of lord Rockingham, and the promotion of lord Shelburne to the premiership, made way for Mr Dundas, who, in 1782, was appointed treasurer of the Navy. The administration under which he thus accepted office was however speedily displaced by the celebrated coalition administration; on the formation of which Mr Dundas resigned, and became the able coadjutor of Mr Pitt, in his opposition to the measures proposed by Mr Fox and lord North. At that time public attention was turned very much to India, in the hope apparently, that in that quarter of the globe the country might find something to counterbalance the loss of our American colonies. The complaints of misgovernment in India were very loud. The British conquests in that country were at the same time rapidly extending; and, at last, the dissensions in the supreme council of Bengal rendered it necessary to bring the subject before parliament. In April,



1782, on the motion of lord North, a secret committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in India, and the unfavourable state of the company's affairs. Of this committee Mr Dundas (who had previously rendered himself remarkable in parliament for his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India) was appointed chairman. His reports, extending to several folio volumes, were drawn up with great ability and precision, and contained a mass of authentic and important information concerning the transactions of the company and their servants, both at home and abroad, of the very highest value. These reports Mr Dundas followed up by a "Bill for the better regulation and government of the British possessions in India, and for the preservation and security thereof." But the ministry having intimated their intention to oppose this measure, and to introduce one of their own, Mr Dundas did not attempt to carry it through the House; and in November, 1783, the ministerial pledge was redeemed by the introduction of Mr Fox's famous East India bill.

It is foreign to the purpose of the present memoir to inquire into the merits or demerits of this celebrated bill. It met, as is well known, the uncompromising opposition of Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas. Nevertheless it passed the house of commons, by large majorities, and would also have been carried through the house of lords, but for the firmness of the king, which led, of course, to the resignation of lord North and Mr Fox; when Mr Pitt was called to the helm of affairs. On first taking office this great statesman had to contend against a majority of the house of commons, and in this arduous struggle he was most powerfully aided by Mr Dundas, who led the ministerial party in the house of commons during the temporary absence of Mr Pitt prior to his re-election, after his acceptance of the chancellorship of the exchequer. This extraordinary contest between the ministers and parliament was terminated by the general election of 1784. In the new parliament Mr Pitt had a decided majority; and very soon after its meeting he introduced his India bill. The introduction of that measure was also preceded by a select committee, of which Mr Dundas was chairman; and although the new bill was not liable to the strong objections which had been urged against that of Mr Fox, it nevertheless encountered a very serious opposition, and might have been greatly obstructed or mutilated in its progress, but for the assistance of Mr Dundas. His intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs, and his skill and dexterity as a debater, were invaluable to government, and contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to neutralize, or overcome, the opposition of the East India Company, and ultimately to carry the bill triumphantly through parliament.

We have Mr Tomline's testimony to the valuable assistance rendered by Mr Dundas at that time. "Though the whole business of the nation," (says he, talking of Mr Pitt), "rested upon him, as the sole minister in the house of commons, it would be injustice not to mention, that he had a most able adviser and supporter in Mr Dundas, who had been accustomed to take an active part in parliament during lord North's administration, and who now exerted his vigorous understanding and manly powers of debate, in a manner highly useful to Mr Pitt. On him he could always rely as ready to argue judiciously, and with effect, any point which might be brought into discussion; and the particular attention which Mr Dundas had for many years given to the affairs of India, enabled him to render Mr Pitt the most essential service, in arranging and carrying through parliament his plan for the future government of that important part of the British empire."—*Life of Mr Pitt*, vol. i. p. 567.

Mr Dundas had been restored to his office of treasurer of the navy, immediately on the formation of Mr Pitt's administration; and on the passing of the East India bill he was also appointed president of the board of control. As



treasurer of the navy Mr Dundas' services were in the highest degree beneficial. His arrangements for the disbursement of the money appropriated to this branch of the public service, substituted order and economy in the place of perplexity and profusion. He, at the same time, provided for greater promptitude in the payment of the seamen's wages; and, in order to render the service still more attractive, he introduced and carried through parliament, various measures calculated to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the seamen in the royal navy. In particular, he got an act passed for preventing the passing of forged instruments. By this act, the wills and powers of attorney, executed by seamen, were required to be counter-signed by the officers of the port at which they were dated, and thus a check was given to numerous frauds against the families of sailors who were either absent or who had fallen in the service of their country. He also introduced a bill which was afterwards passed, empowering seamen, to make over half their pay to their wives and families. By these and other reforms which he effected in the naval department, Mr Dundas, while he greatly increased the efficacy of the navy, showed a humane consideration for those engaged in the service, which is at this day gratefully remembered by many members of that profession, who can speak from their own experience of their obligations to one who was most justly called "the sailor's friend." Among the measures introduced by Mr Dundas while he held the treasurership of the navy, was the act for the regulation of the money destined for the service of the navy. Previously the salary of the treasurer of the navy was £2000 per annum; but the perquisites attached to the office, and particularly the command of the public money, added greatly to the emoluments. In order to prevent the risk, profusion, and irregularity inseparable from such a system, Mr Dundas' bill fixed the salary at £4000, and prohibited the treasurer from making any private or individual use of the public money. It was in consequence of a supposed violation of this statute, that Mr Dundas, at a later period of his life, was exposed to much unmerited obloquy, and made the subject of a public inquiry, to which we shall have occasion more particularly to advert in the sequel.

In the session of 1784, Mr Dundas introduced his bill for restoring the estates in Scotland, forfeited on account of the rebellion of 1745. The expediency of this measure as a means of conciliating the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and reconciling them to the reigning family was manifest; still it was necessary, for obvious reasons, so far to cover the true motive, and to represent the boon as a reward to the people of Scotland for the services which they had rendered in the armies of the country, during the recent wars. And such accordingly was the tone taken by the supporters of the measure.<sup>1</sup>

As president of the board of control, Mr Dundas' services were no less beneficial to the country. His sound judgment and remarkable business talents, combined with his intimate acquaintance with the complicated and multifarious details of the East India company's affairs, enabled him to simplify and reduce to order what had been previously an absolute chaos. Hence, also, in parlia-

<sup>1</sup> It was in the course of the debates on this bill that Mr Dundas introduced a passage from a speech of the great lord Chatham, which may not seem altogether out of place here, not only on account of its intrinsic merit and pertinency, but also as indicative of the superiority of that great man's mind to those national prejudices which are happily now wearing out, but which, in those days, were openly avowed in very high quarters. "I am," said lord Chatham, "above all local prejudices, and care not whether a man has been rocked in a cradle in this, or on the other side of the Tweed: I sought only for merit, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I there found a hardy race of men, able to do their country service; but labouring under a proscription. I called them forth to her aid, and sent them to fight her battles. They did not disappoint my expectations: for their fidelity could only be equalled by their valour, which signalized their own and their country's renown, all over the world."

ment, he was at all times prepared to give the requisite explanations, and to furnish full information concerning Indian matters; while it was his constant endeavour to collect, and to avail himself of the information and suggestions which his situation placed at his command, in order to introduce those reforms in the company's administration which the rapid extension of their possessions in that quarter of the world rendered necessary. It was with this view, that, in the session of 1786, Mr Dundas carried a bill through parliament for effecting certain modifications and improvements in Mr Pitt's India bill. In the same session Mr Burke originated those discussions which terminated in the impeachment of Mr Hastings. It is now well known that, on that occasion, the exuberant and inexhaustible eloquence of Mr Burke, was, without his being aware of it, to a certain extent made subservient, not only to party purposes, but to the gratification of the private animosity of Mr Francis. We can now look back dispassionately and with sympathy to the unmerited and protracted sufferings to which Mr Hastings was subjected; but, during the progress of the investigation, truth as well as justice were lost sight of, amidst the splendid declamation of some of the greatest orators who ever appeared in parliament. Even Mr Dundas seems to have yielded to the prevailing delusion; for although he uniformly opposed himself to the spirit of persecution which characterized the proceedings of the accusers, and ultimately defeated their object, he made no attempt to vindicate Mr Hastings from those charges, which, when stripped of rhetorical and oriental embellishments, were found to be either entirely groundless, or such as admitted of explanations not only reconcileable with Mr Hastings' innocence, but which actually exhibited him as at once the benefactor of the natives, and as one who, by the vigour and wisdom of his administration, had contributed more than any of his predecessors to the extension and consolidation of the company's possessions in India.

After taking part with Mr Pitt in the debates on the regency question, during the king's illness in 1788, the next prominent feature in Mr Dundas' public life, was his steady and determined opposition to the pernicious principles of the French revolution. In that memorable struggle in which the salvation of this country was attributable chiefly to the energy and firmness of Mr Pitt, the minister, as usual, found in Mr Dundas his most able and cordial coadjutor. In 1791, he was appointed principal secretary of state for the home department, and thus became a member of the cabinet. He, at the same time, retained his other appointments; and yet, such was his aptitude for business, and his unwearied application to his official duties, that the three important departments committed to him, never were in a state of greater efficiency. Many of the most approved public measures originated with, or were directly promoted by him. Among those were the formation of the fencible regiments, the supplementary militia, the volunteer corps, and the provisional cavalry. The whole, in short, of that domestic military force which, during the war, consequent on the French revolution, was raised and kept in readiness as a defence at once against foreign invasion and internal disturbance, was projected and organized under the direction of Mr Dundas. To him also we owe the improved system of distributing the army throughout the country in barracks and garrisons, by which, in times of commercial distress and political agitation, the most prompt protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants might be afforded. On the accession of the duke of Portland and his party to the ministry, in 1793, it was thought advisable to appoint a third secretary of state, rather than remove Mr Dundas from the superintendence of the military system which he had brought into operation. Accordingly, while the duke of Portland took the home secretaryship, Mr Dundas, in 1794, was nominated secretary of state for the war department.

At this time he also held the office of keeper of the privy seal of Scotland, and governor of the bank of Scotland; still retaining the presidency of the board of control and the treasurership of the navy,—which last office he continued to hold until May, 1800; his other political offices he held until his resignation along with Mr Pitt, in 1801.

While in the house of commons, Mr Dundas represented first the county, and afterwards the city of Edinburgh. He sat for the county from 1774, to 1787, and for the city, from the latter year, until 1802, when he was raised to the peerage. And during the whole course of his official life he was considered as virtually the minister of Scotland. He had what is called the political patronage of that quarter of the kingdom; and so acted, as well in the discharge of his various public duties, as in the distribution of the favours of government, that he attached to himself, and to the administration of which he formed a part, the great majority of the men of rank, property, and influence in that country. It has been objected to him, that in the exercise of this patronage he looked too exclusively to his own political partisans; but in justice to him, it must never be forgotten, that he held office in times when the acrimony of his opponents (to say nothing of the dangerous principles avowed by some of them) put conciliation entirely out of the question; and besides, the charge is to a great extent unjust; for on his trial it was admitted, even by his bitterest enemies, that in disposing of appointments in the navy and army he was remarkable for his impartiality and indifference to party distinctions. Nor is it possible to overlook the fact, that the political party by whom this charge was brought against Mr Dundas, had always been proverbial for their own adherence to the practice they were so ready to condemn in him.

When Mr Pitt retired from office in 1801, previous to the peace of Amiens, Mr Dundas followed his example. On that occasion he laid before parliament a very favourable statement of the condition in which the East India company's affairs then were; and although his opponents did not fail to cavil at his views, yet all parties concurred in expressing the highest approbation of the manner in which Mr Dundas had discharged his duty as president of the board of control. The court of directors were disposed to award him more substantial marks of their gratitude; but finding that he had resolved to decline any pecuniary remuneration, they conferred a pension of £2000 per annum, on Mrs Dundas. About the same time the town council of Edinburgh testified their sense of his merit, by resolving, at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose, that a subscription should be opened for the erection of a statue of him as a tribute of gratitude for his lengthened and eminent public services.

In the year 1802, the Addington administration raised Mr Dundas to the peerage by the titles of viscount of Melville, in the county of Edinburgh, and baron of Dunira, in the county of Perth. On this event, the town council of Edinburgh again came forward, and in a letter addressed to him by the lord provost, in the name of the council, expressed their attachment to him and his family; their admiration of his talents; and their gratitude for the many services which he had rendered to his country, and particularly to the city of Edinburgh. This address lord Melville answered in person, taking occasion, in a speech delivered at a meeting of the town council, to touch on various interesting topics, and, in particular, to bring under their notice one of the practical blessings of the British constitution, of which his own life afforded a very striking example. "Having mentioned the constitution under which we have the happiness to live," said his lordship, "I trust I shall not be thought to deviate very far from the object of my present address, if I presume to trouble you with one observation, re-



sulting from the situation in which I am now placed. I will not trouble you with any of the particulars of the outset of my life ; they are too well known to need any detail from me. I content myself with barely alluding to them. It has pleased Providence to bless my family with success beyond my most sanguine expectations : while we, therefore, continue to resist the pernicious effects of these frantic principles of ideal equality, incompatible with the government of the world, and the just order of human society, let us rejoice in those substantial blessings, the result of real freedom and of equal laws, which open to the fair ambition of every British subject the means of pursuing with success those objects of honour, and those situations of power, the attainment of which, in other countries, rest solely upon a partial participation of personal favour, and the enjoyment of which rests upon the precarious tenure of arbitrary power. It is impossible to look round to any quarter without seeing splendid examples of the truth of this remark."

On Mr Pitt resuming the premiership in 1804, lord Melville was appointed first lord of the admiralty ; but this important office he did not long enjoy. The earl of St Vincent, his predecessor at the head of the admiralty, had obtained the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate certain suspected abuses in the naval department of the public service. That commission, in their tenth report, implicated lord Melville, while he held the treasurership of the navy, in a breach of the statute which he had himself introduced in 1785 ; whereby the treasurer of the navy was prohibited from converting to his own use or emolument, any part of the public money voted for the service of the navy. This report led to an unsatisfactory correspondence between lord Melville and the commissioners ; and on the 5th of April, 1805, Mr Whitbread brought the matter under the notice of the house of commons. After a speech full of violent invective, that gentleman moved thirteen resolutions, to the effect generally, that lord Melville had been guilty of gross malversation, and breach of duty, in so far as he had misapplied or misdirected certain sums of public money, and had also in violation of the act of parliament, retained in his possession, or authorized his confidential agent, Mr Alexander Trotter, who held the office of paymaster of the navy, to retain, and to speculate in the funds, and discount private bills with the balances of the public money, voted for the service of the navy, in the profits of which transactions lord Melville had participated. Mr Pitt, after an eloquent and able defence of lord Melville, concluded by moving as an amendment, that the tenth report be referred to a select committee of the house. He was replied to by lord Henry Petty, now lord Lansdowne, Mr Fox, and other leading members of the whig party ; and the result was, that in a very full house (433), the original resolutions were carried by the speaker's casting vote.

The debate was then adjourned to the 10th of April, 1805, on which day Mr Pitt announced to the house on its meeting, that in consequence of the vote of the former evening, lord Melville had resigned the office of first lord of the admiralty. Mr Whitbread then delivered another vituperative speech, and concluded by moving that an address should be presented to the king, praying that lord Melville might be dismissed " from all offices held by him during pleasure, and from his majesty's council and presence for ever." Mr Canning, who at that time held the office of treasurer of the navy, deprecated the rancour with which the whig party were proceeding.—He contrasted their conduct with that of lord Melville himself, when lord Grey and the earl of St Vincent were on their trial before the house, under similar circumstances, upon which occasion, lord Melville, although the political opponent of these noblemen, had strenuously defended them ; while he, " so far from experiencing equal generosity,



was now persecuted and hunted down; and by whom? by the friends of lord Grey and earl St Vincent! Ho congratulated the gentlemen on their sense, true spirit, and virtue; and prayed God Almighty to forbid that he should ever imitate their example." The debate concluded by a vote that a copy of the resolutions of the 8th of April should be laid before his majesty by the whole house. Some discussion afterwards took place as to the ulterior measures to be adopted against lord Melville and Mr Trotter, in the course of which, the same extraordinary acrimony was displayed; and on the 6th of May, Mr Pitt intimated that his majesty had been advised, in deference to the prevailing sense of the house, to strike the name of lord Melville out of the list of the privy council, and that accordingly, it would be erased, on the first day on which a council should be held. In making this communication, Mr Pitt appeared to be deeply affected; but no sympathy was shown on the opposition benches. On the contrary, it is impossible to deny, that relentless exultation over the expected downfall of an illustrious public servant, and a total disregard for the feelings of his friend the premier, were too prominently manifested by the whig party, on that, as on every other occasion on which this painful subject was before the house.

On the 11th of June, the speaker stated that he had received a letter from lord Melville, announcing his readiness to attend and be examined relative to the tenth report. He was thereupon admitted, and a chair placed for him within the bar; when he entered upon a concise vindication of his conduct; declaring his entire ignorance of Mr Trotter's speculations with the public money, either in the funds, or as a private banker; denied all connivance at the violation of the statute 25th George III., relative to the money voted to the navy; and solemnly asserted, that on no occasion whatever, had he authorized Mr Trotter to draw money from the bank for his own private emolument;—the only object in allowing him to lodge money with private bankers having been to facilitate the public payments. In short, lord Melville gave those explanations of his conduct which were afterwards triumphantly established on his trial, by evidence. But, as may be easily believed, they did not, at this time, satisfy his opponents; and after a protracted debate, and more than one division adverse to the whig party, it was at last resolved, that the mode of procedure should be by impeaching his lordship at the bar of the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanours. On the 26th of June, a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to prepare articles of impeachment:—Mr Whitbread's name being placed at the head. Among the members of this committee were Mr Fox, Mr Grey (late earl Grey), Mr Sheridan, lord Archibald Hamilton, and other leaders of the party. The committee on the 4th of March, 1806, made a report to the house, of certain new information which had come to their knowledge; and the result of the debate which ensued, was an additional article of impeachment. To this new article lord Melville was of course allowed to put in a replication; and the preliminaries being at length adjusted, the house of lords fixed the 29th of April, 1806, for the trial.

This imposing exhibition was conducted with the customary pomp and solemnity. Westminster hall was, as usual, fitted up for the occasion; and the nobility, including the princes of the blood, having taken their places in the full robes of their respective ranks, this tribunal, the most august and venerable in the world, proceeded to the discharge of their high duty. The articles of impeachment resolved into ten charges, of which the following is the substance.—

1. That lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, prior to January, 1786, fraudulently applied to his own use, or at least mis-directed, and would not explain how, £10,000, of the money which came into his hands as treasurer of

the navy.—2. That, in violation of the act of parliament already mentioned, he permitted Mr Trotter to draw large sums from the money issued to the treasurer for the use of the navy, and to place it in the banking house of Messrs Coutts and Co. in his (Mr Trotter's) own name.—3. That while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, and after the passing of the foresaid act, he permitted Mr Trotter to draw large sums of money from the treasurer's public account, kept with the bank of England, under the said statute, and to place those sums in Mr Trotter's individual account with Coutts and Co., for purposes of private emolument.—4. That after the 10th of January, 1786, and while treasurer of the navy, he fraudulently, and illegally, and for his own private advantage, or emolument, took from the public money, set apart for the use of the navy, £10,000; and that he and Mr Trotter, by mutual agreement, destroyed the vouchers of an account current kept between them, in order to conceal the advances of money made by Mr Trotter to him, and the account or considerations on which such advances were made.—5. That whilst Mr Trotter was thus illegally using the public money, he made, in part therefrom, several large advances to lord Melville, and destroyed the vouchers, as aforesaid, in order to conceal the fact.—6. That in particular, he received an advance of £22,000, without interest, partly from the public money, illegally in Mr Trotter's hands, and partly from Mr Trotter's own money in the hands of Messrs Coutts, and destroyed the vouchers as aforesaid.—7. That he received an advance of £22,000 from Mr Trotter, for which, as alleged by himself, he was to pay interest; for concealing which transaction the vouchers were destroyed as aforesaid.—8. That during all, or the greater part of the time that he was treasurer, and Mr Trotter paymaster of the navy, Mr Trotter gratuitously transacted his (lord Melville's) private business, as his agent, and from time to time advanced him from £10,000, to £20,000, taken partly from the public money, and partly from Mr Trotter's own money, lying mixed together indiscriminately in Messrs Coutts' hands; whereby lord Melville derived profit from Mr Trotter's illegal acts.—9. That Mr Trotter so acted gratuitously as lord Melville's agent, in consideration of his connivance at the foresaid illegal appropriations of the public money; nor could Mr Trotter, as lord Melville knew, have made such advances otherwise than from the public money at his disposal by his lordship's connivance, and with his permission.—10. That lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, at divers times between the years 1782, and 1786, took from the moneys paid to him as treasurer of the navy, £27,000, or thereabouts, which sum he illegally applied to his own use, or to some purpose other than the service of the navy; and continued this fraudulent and illegal conversion of the public money, after the passing of the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.

The charges, of which the above is an abstract, having been read, Mr Whitbread, as leading manager for the house of commons, opened the case in an elaborate speech, in which he detailed, and commented on, the evidence which the managers proposed to adduce. This was followed by the examination of witnesses in support of the several charges; the chief witness being Mr Trotter himself, in whose favour an act of indemnity had been passed, in order to qualify him to give his testimony with safety. The examination of the witnesses in support of the charges occupied nearly nine days. On the tenth day of the trial, Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the managers, gave a summary of what, as he maintained, had been proved. He was followed by Mr Plomer, the leading counsel for lord Melville, who opened the defence in a speech of distinguished ability, the delivery of which occupied two days. The substance of the defence was, that lord Melville, so far from being accessory to, or conniving at, Mr Trotter's appropriation of the public money, was entirely ignorant of these irre-

gular practices. As to the £10,000, it was admitted to have been diverted from the service of the navy, and used in another department of the public service, but this was prior to the passing of the foresaid act, when such a proceeding was perfectly lawful and customary; and at any rate, no part of that sum was applied either directly or indirectly to the individual profit or advantage of lord Melville. Mr Plomer farther showed, that lord Melville had been remarkable during his whole life for his carelessness about money, and for his superiority to all mercenary motives—that while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, he had voluntarily relinquished the salary attached to the office of secretary of state, to the aggregate amount of £34,730, being a sum exceeding the whole of the public money which he was said to have misapplied—that if there had been any irregularity at all, it was imputable solely to Mr Trotter, and perhaps, to a slight degree of laxity on the part of lord Melville, whose attention was distracted by many engrossing and more important public duties. Witnesses were then called to prove that lord Melville had voluntarily relinquished, for the benefit of the public, £8,648, 13s. 2d., in the home department, and £26,081, 7s. 5d. in the war department, making a total of £34,730, 0s. 7d.; and the case on the part of the defendant was then concluded by a very able speech from Mr Adam, afterwards lord chief commissioner of the jury court in Scotland. Sir Arthur Piggot, on the part of the managers of the house of commons, replied at some length to the legal arguments of Messrs Plomer and Adam, and Mr Whitbread closed the case by a reply upon the evidence, in the course of which he resumed the invective and sarcasm against lord Melville, which had distinguished his opening speech, as well as all his speeches on this subject in the house of commons. It would seem, however, if we are to judge from the result, that either his sarcasm or his arguments had by this time lost their efficacy. After a few words from Mr Plomer, the peers adjourned, and having met again, after an interval of nearly a month, on the 10th of June, to determine on lord Melville's guilt or innocence, he was acquitted of every charge by triumphant majorities. On the 4th charge in particular, which concerned the sum of £10,000, alleged to have been applied by lord Melville for his own advantage or emolument, their lordships were unanimous in their acquittal; and in general the majorities were very large on all the charges which imputed corrupt or fraudulent intentions to lord Melville. The votes on the several charges were as follow:—

	<i>Guilty</i>	<i>Not Guilty.</i>	<i>Majority.</i>
First charge, . . . . .	16 . . . . .	119 . . . . .	103
Second charge, . . . . .	56 . . . . .	79 . . . . .	23
Third charge, . . . . .	52 . . . . .	83 . . . . .	31
Fourth charge, . . . . .	None . . . . .	All . . . . .	—
Fifth charge, . . . . .	4 . . . . .	131 . . . . .	127
Sixth charge, . . . . .	48 . . . . .	87 . . . . .	39
Seventh charge, . . . . .	50 . . . . .	85 . . . . .	35
Eighth charge, . . . . .	14 . . . . .	121 . . . . .	107
Ninth charge, . . . . .	16 . . . . .	119 . . . . .	103
Tenth charge, . . . . .	12 . . . . .	123 . . . . .	111

The dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, generally voted *not guilty*. The dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, *guilty*, except of the 4th charge. The lord chancellor, Erskine, generally voted with the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex. The prince of Wales was not present.

On looking back dispassionately to the whole of this proceeding, it is impossible not to be struck with the rancour with which it was characterized. Had lord Melville been a rapacious and mercenary peculator, enriching himself at



the public expense; or a vindictive political partisan, and otherwise undistinguished, we might have found some excuse for the uncompromising course adopted. But the reverse of all that was the fact. He was confessedly a generous and high-minded competitor in the great game of politics; incapable of pecuniary meanness—impoverished rather than enriched by his connexion with the state, and the consequent expense in which it involved him;—and above all, he was, by the admission even of his enemies, a most meritorious public servant, who, during a long and laborious official career, had conferred great and lasting benefits on his country. On this last point we can have no better testimony than that of Mr Whitbread himself, who, on this very trial, was constrained, in common justice, to admit,—“that, during the time lord Melville was treasurer of the navy, several most beneficial regulations took place in his office, and several acts were passed for the protection and defence of those who were before unprotected and defenceless. The widows and orphans of those gallant sons of the empire, who were fighting the battles of their country, were the objects of his peculiar care, and a number of lives were preserved by his prudent and generous interposition. However detestable the crime may be, it had been a common practice to forge the wills of those who fell in the defence of the state, and this atrocious conduct, and its pernicious consequences, have been, in a great degree, prevented by the salutary plans recommended by the defendant; for which he deserves the thanks of the British people.” Mr Whitbread might easily have extended his eulogy to the defendant's public conduct as president of the board of control, as home secretary, as secretary of state for the war department, and finally to his patriotic exertions for the improvement of his native country of Scotland.

Yet such was the man, who, after having been held up to popular execration, in vague and declamatory speeches in parliament, was brought to his trial labouring not only under the odium and prejudice thus excited, but actually *punished before trial*; for it never can be forgotten, that his accusers, before attempting to prove the charges, in the proof of which they ultimately failed, and even before putting him on his trial, had declared him incapable of public trust, and had succeeded in getting his name erased from the list of the privy council. In such circumstances of degradation and obloquy, with his cause to a certain extent prejudged, and almost overwhelmed by the weight and influence of his adversaries, his acquittal was indeed the triumph of justice, and a memorable encomium on the impartiality of the august tribunal before which the trial proceeded. Nor is it necessary for lord Melville's vindication from the graver charges to deny that he was guilty of a certain degree of negligence. Undoubtedly, amidst his multifarious public avocations, he was not so vigilant in scrutinizing Mr Trotter's money transactions, as in strictness he ought to have been. But such oversights are comparatively venial, and, in this instance, they were natural; for, even before lord Melville became treasurer of the navy, Mr Trotter was in a confidential public office. He afterwards rose by his own merits to a place of higher trust, and throughout, nothing had occurred to excite suspicion. Indeed, it is not the least remarkable feature of this prosecution, that it was never attempted to be shown, that the public had lost one farthing by the supposed delinquencies of lord Melville, or even by the admitted irregularities of Mr Trotter. To assert, however, that the investigation originated merely in factious or party motives, would be going beyond the truth; but perhaps it may be now said without offence, that the many disclamations of personal hostility, and the anxious professions of disinterested zeal for the public service, which the accusers were in the daily habit of repeating during the whole progress of the discussion, were found to be necessary, in order to counteract the



growing suspicion, that their zeal was stimulated by the prospect of supplanting, or at least displacing, a powerful and able political opponent, and perhaps paralysing the administration, of which he was so conspicuous a member.

The proceedings against lord Melville made a deep impression on Mr Pitt, who unfortunately did not survive to congratulate him on his acquittal. According to the author of the article "*Great Britain*," in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Mr Pitt was thus deprived "of his only efficient coadjutor, at a time when, from the magnitude of his public cares, he was more than ever in want of support. The consequent fatigue and anxiety made severe inroads on a constitution naturally not strong. His indisposition became apparent in the early part of the winter, and, on the meeting of parliament, it was understood to have reached a dangerous height. His (Mr Pitt's) death took place on the 23d January, 1806."

Soon after his acquittal, lord Melville was restored to his place in the privy council; but although the whig administration which was in power at the end of the trial, resigned within a few months, he never returned to office. The loss of his friend, Mr Pitt, and his own advanced age, rendered him little anxious to resume public life; and thenceforward he lived chiefly in retirement; taking part only occasionally in the debates of the house of lords. One of his last appearances was made in the year 1810, when he brought forward a motion recommending the employment of armed vessels, instead of hired transports, for the conveyance of troops. His death, which was very sudden, took place in Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1811. He died in the house of his nephew, lord chief baron Dundas, in George Square; having come to Edinburgh, it is believed, to attend the funeral of his old friend, lord president Blair, who had been himself cut off no less suddenly, a few days before, and who lay dead in the house adjoining that in which lord Melville expired.

Lord Melville's person was tall, muscular, and well formed. His features were strongly marked, and the general expression of his face indicated high intellectual endowments, and great acuteness and sagacity. In public life, he was distinguished by his wonderful capacity for business; by unwearied attention to his numerous official duties; and by the manliness and straightforwardness of his character. He was capable of great fatigue; and, being an early riser, he was enabled to get through a great deal of business before he was interrupted by the bustle of official details, or the duties of private society. As a public speaker he was clear, acute, and argumentative; with the manner of one thoroughly master of his subject, and desirous to convince the understanding without the aid of the ornamental parts of oratory; which he seemed, in some sort, to despise.

In private life his manner was winning, agreeable, and friendly, with great frankness and ease. He was convivial in his habits, and, in the intercourse of private life, he never permitted party distinctions to interfere with the cordiality and kindness of his disposition; hence, it has been truly said, that whig and tory agreed in loving him; and that he was always happy to oblige those in common with whom he had any recollections of good humoured festivity. But perhaps the most remarkable peculiarity in his character, was his intimate and familiar acquaintance with the actual state of Scotland, and its inhabitants, and all their affairs. In Edinburgh, in particular, there was no person of consideration whose connections and concerns were not known to him. Amongst the anecdotes told of him, there is one which strikingly illustrates the natural kindness of his disposition, while, at the same time, it discloses one of the sources of his popularity. It is said, that, to the latest period of his life, whenever he came to Edinburgh, he made a point of visiting all the old ladies with whom

he had been acquainted in his early days; climbing, for this purpose, with unwearying steps some of the tallest staircases in the old town. He was sagacious in the discernment of merit, and on many occasions showed a disinterested anxiety to promote the success of those he thought deserving. His public duties left him little time for the cultivation of literary pursuits, even had he been so inclined; he frequently, however, proved himself a sincere but unostentatious patron of learning. In the earlier part of his life he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Dr Robertson; and lived on habits of great intimacy with Dr Hugh Blair, on whom he conferred several preferments. On the death of Dr Robertson, he obtained the office of historiographer for Scotland for Dr Gillies, the historian of Greece, whose merit he fully appreciated. He also increased the number of the royal chaplains in Scotland from six to ten, thus adding one or two additional prizes to the scantily endowed church establishment of Scotland.

But lord Melville's great claim on the affection and gratitude of Scotsmen is founded on the truly national spirit with which he promoted their interest, and the improvement of their country, whenever opportunities presented themselves. We have seen of late a disposition to *provincialize* Scotland, (if we may so express ourselves,) and a sort of timidity amongst our public men, lest they should be suspected of showing any national predilections. Lord Melville laboured under no such infirmity. *Cæteris paribus* he preferred his own countrymen; and the number of Scotsmen who owed appointments in India and elsewhere to him, and afterwards returned to spend their fortunes at home, have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the marked improvement on the face of the country which has taken place during the last fifty years. Neither did he overlook the interest of those who remained at home. The abolition of the public boards, courts, and other memorials, of the former independence of Scotland, had not occurred to the economists of lord Melville's day. He acted, therefore, on the exploded, although by no means irrational, notion, that the community, generally, would derive benefit from the expenditure of the various resident functionaries, at that time connected with our national establishments. In all this he may have been wrong, although there are many who are still at a loss to perceive the error; but however that may be, he must be but an indifferent Scotsman, be his political principles what they may, who can talk lightly of the debt which his country owes to lord Melville. Indeed it is well known, that during his life, the services which he had rendered to this part of the island, were readily acknowledged even by those who differed most widely from him on the general system of public policy in which he took so active a part.

The city of Edinburgh contains two public monuments to lord Melville's memory—the first, a marble statue, by Chantrey, which stands on a pedestal at the north end of the large hall of the parliament house. This statue, which is a remarkably fine specimen of the artist's skill, was erected at the expense of gentlemen of the Scottish bar, in testimony of their respect for one who had in early life, been so distinguished a member of their body. Among the subscribers are to be found the names of many gentlemen who differed in politics from lord Melville, but who esteemed him as a benefactor to his native country. The other monument is the column surmounted by a statue of his lordship, which adorns the centre of St Andrew Square. This fine pillar is copied from Trajan's column at Rome; with this difference, that the shaft, in place of being ornamented with sculpture, is fluted. The entire height of the column and pedestal is 136 feet 4 inches. The statue, which is of free-stone, and the work of the late Mr Forrest, the well-known sculptor, about 15 feet in height, giving a total altitude of about 150 feet. The expense of this erection was defrayed by

subscription, chiefly among gentlemen connected with the navy. The foundation stone was laid in April, 1821; the scaffolding removed in August, 1822, on the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh, and the statue was put up in 1827. The architect was Mr William Burn of Edinburgh. Lord Melville was twice married; first to Miss Rannie, daughter of Captain Rannie of Melville, with whom he is said to have got a fortune of £100,000. Another of Captain Rannie's daughters was the wife of Mr Baron Cockburn of the Scottish court of exchequer, and mother to Henry Cockburn, Esq., now one of the lords of session. Lord Melville's second wife was lady Jane Hope, daughter of John and sister to James, earl of Hopetoun. Of his first marriage there were three daughters and one son; of the second no issue. Lord Melville's lauded property in Scotland consisted of Melville Castle in Mid-Lothian and Dumira in Perthshire. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his only son, the right honourable Robert Dundas, the present lord Melville, who held the office of first lord of the admiralty under the administrations of the earl of Liverpool and of the duke of Wellington.

Lord Melville can hardly be said to have been an author, but he published the three subjoined political pamphlets, each of which was distinguished by his usual good sense and knowledge of business.<sup>1</sup>

DUNLOP, WILLIAM, principal of the university of Glasgow, and an eminent public character at the end of the seventeenth century, was the son of Mr Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, of the family of Auchenkeith, in Ayrshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Mure of Glanderston. One of his mother's sisters was married to the Rev. John Carstairs, and became the mother of the celebrated principal of the college of Edinburgh; another was the wife, successively of Mr Zachary Boyd, and Mr James Durham. Being thus intimately connected with the clergy, William Dunlop early chose the church as his profession. After completing his studies at the university of Glasgow, he became tutor in the family of William, lord Cochrane, and superintended the education of John, second earl of Dundonald, and his brother, William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. The insurrection of 1679 took place about the time when he became a licentiate, and he warmly espoused the views of the moderate party in that unfortunate enterprise. Though he was concerned in drawing up the Hamilton declaration, which embodied the views of his party, he appears to have escaped the subsequent vengeance of the government. Tired, however, like many others, of the hopeless state of things in his own country, he joined the emigrants who colonized the state of Carolina, and continued there till after the revolution, partly employed in secular, and partly in spiritual work. He had previously married his cousin, Sarah Carstairs. On returning to Scotland in 1690, he was, through the influence of the Dundonald family, presented to the parish of Ochiltree, and a few months after, had a call to the church of Paisley. Ere he could enter upon this charge, a vacancy occurred in the principality of the university of Glasgow, to which he was preferred by king William, November, 1690. Mr Dunlop's celebrity arises from the dignity and zeal with which he supported the interests of this institution. In 1692, he was an active member of the general correspondence of the Scottish universities, and in 1694, was one of a deputation sent by the church of Scotland, to congratulate the king on his return from the continent, and negotiate with his majesty certain affairs concerning the interest of the church. He seems to have participated considerably in the power and influence enjoyed by his distinguish-

<sup>1</sup> The substance of a speech in the house of commons, on the British government and trade in the East Indies, April 23, 1793, London, 1813, 8vo.—Letter to the chairman of the court of directors of the East India Company, upon an open trade to India, London, 1813, 8vo.—Letters to the right honourable Spenser Percival, relative to the establishment of a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet, London, 1810, 4to.



ed brother-in-law, Carstairs, which, it is well known, was of a most exalted, though irregular kind. In 1699, he acted as commissioner for all the five universities, in endeavouring to obtain some assistance for those institutions. He succeeded in securing a yearly grant of £1200 sterling, of which £300 was bestowed upon his own college. While exerting himself for the public, principal Dunlop regarded little his own immediate profit or advantage: besides his principalship, the situation of historiographer for Scotland, with a pension of £40 a year, is stated to have been all that he ever personally experienced of the royal bounty. He died in middle life, March, 1700, leaving behind him a most exalted character: "his singular piety," says Wodrow, with whom he was connected by marriage, "great prudence, public spirit, universal knowledge, general usefulness, and excellent temper, were so well known, that his death was as much lamented as perhaps any one man's in this church."

Principal Dunlop left two sons, both of whom were distinguished men. Alexander, who was born in America, and died in 1742, was an eminent professor of Greek in the Glasgow university, and author of a Greek Grammar long held in esteem. William was professor of divinity and church history in the university of Edinburgh, and published the well known collection of creeds and confessions, which appeared in 1719 and 1722 (two volumes), as a means of correcting a laxity of religious opinion, beginning at that time to be manifested by some respectable dissenters. To this work was prefixed an admirable essay on confessions, which has since been reprinted separately. Professor William Dunlop, after acquiring great celebrity, both as a teacher of theology and a preacher, died October 29th, 1720, at the early age of twenty-eight.

DUNS, JOHN DE, (SCOTUS,) that is, "John of Dunse, Scotsman," an eminent philosopher, was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries are distinguished, in the history of philosophy, as the *scholastic age*, in which the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were employed, to an absurd and even impious degree, in demonstrating and illustrating the truths of the Holy Scriptures. Among the many scholars of Europe, who, during this period, perverted their talents in the exposition of preposterous dogmas and the defence of a false system of philosophy, JOHN DE DUNSE, called the Subtle Doctor, was perhaps the most celebrated. So famous indeed was he held for his genius and learning, that England and Ireland have contended with Scotland for the honour of his birth. His name, however, seems to indicate his nativity beyond all reasonable dispute. Though convenience has induced general modern writers to adopt the term Scotus as his principal cognomen, it is evidently a signification of his native country alone; for Erigena, and other eminent natives of Scotland in early times, are all alike distinguished by it in their learned titles; these titles, be it observed, having been conferred in *foreign* seminaries of learning. *John of Dunse* points as clearly as possible to the town of that name in Berwickshire, where, at this day, a spot is pointed out as the place of his birth, and a branch of his family possessed, till the beginning of the last century, a small piece of ground, called in old writings, "Duns's Half of Grueldykes." Those who claim him as a native of England set forward the village of Dunstane in Northumberland as the place of his birth; but while the word *Dunse*<sup>2</sup> is exactly his name, Dunstane is not so, and therefore, without other proof, we must hold the English locality as a mere dream. The Irish claimants again say, that, as *Scotia* was the ancient name of Ireland, *Scotus* must have been an Irishman. But it happens that Scotland and Ireland bore their present

<sup>2</sup> It is a common story that the term *Dunse* is derived from the name of the philosopher, but in an oblique manner; a stupid student being termed *another Dunse*, on the same principle as a person of heavy intellect in general life is sometimes termed a *bright man*.



names from a period long antecedent to the birth of John de Dunse; and all over Europe, *Hibernus* and *Scotus* were distinguishing titles of Irishmen and Scotsmen. Independent, too, of the name, there are other testimonies concerning the native place of Scotus. In the earliest authentic record of him, preserved in his life by Wading, (an Irishman and advocate for Ireland), the following passage occurs, which represents him as a boy conducted by two friars to Dumfries, a town in a county almost adjoining that in which Dunse is situate:—"Some infer that the acute genius of Scotus was inborn. Father Ildephonsus Birzenus (*in Appar.* §. 2.) from Ferchius (*Vita Scoti*, c. 20.) and the latter from Gilbert Brown (*Hist. Eccles.*) relate, 'that Scotus, occupied on a farm, and, though the son of a rich man, employed in keeping sheep, according to the custom of his country, that youth may not become vicious from idleness, was met by two Franciscan friars, begging as usual for their monastery. Being favourably received by his father's hospitality, they began to instruct the boy by the repetition of the Lord's prayer, as they found him ignorant of the principles of piety; and he was so apt a scholar as to repeat it at once. The friars, surprised at such docility, which they regarded as a prodigy, prevailed on the father, though the mother warmly and loudly opposed, to permit them to lead the boy to Dumfries, where he was soon after shorn as a novice, and presented to our holy father, St Francis; and some say that he then assumed the profession of a friar.' Such are the words of Birzenus." Another passage from the same authority is still more conclusive regarding the country of Scotus:—"Nor must a wonderful circumstance be omitted, which, with Birzenus, we transcribe from Ferchius (c. 5.), that we may obtain the greater credit. Hence it appears, that the Holy Virgin granted to Dunse innocence of life, modesty of manners, complete faith, continence, piety, and wisdom. That Paul might not be elated by great revelations, he suffered the blows of Satan; that the subtle doctor might not be inflated by the gifts of the mother of Christ, he was forced to suffer the tribulation of captivity, by a fierce enemy. Gold is tried by the furnace, and a just man by temptation. Edward I. king of England, called, from the length of his legs, *Long Shanks*, had cruelly invaded Scotland, leaving no monument of ancient majesty that he did not seize or destroy, leading to death, or to jail, the most noble and learned men of the country. Among them were twelve friars; and that he might experience the dreadful slaughter and bitter captivity of his country, John of Dunse suffered a miserable servitude; thus imitating the apostle in the graces of God, and the chains he endured."

When delivered from his servitude in England, Scotus studied at Merton college, Oxford, where he soon became distinguished, particularly by the facility and subtilty of his logical disputations. His progress in natural and moral philosophy, and in the different branches of mathematical learning, was rapid; and his skill in scholastic theology was so striking, that he was, in 1301, appointed divinity professor at Oxford. In this situation he soon attracted unbounded popularity. His lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard drew immense crowds of hearers, and we are assured that there were no fewer than thirty thousand students brought to the university of Oxford, by the fame of the subtle doctor's eloquence and learning. These lectures have been printed, and fill six folio volumes. In 1304, he was commanded by the general of his order (the Franciscan) to proceed to Paris, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which had been impugned by some divines. No fewer than two hundred objections are said to have been brought against that doctrine, which he "heard with great composure, and refuted them with as much ease as Sampson broke the cords of the Philistines." Hugo Cav-

illus, in his life of Scotus, says that one who was present on this occasion, but who was a stranger to the person, though not to the fame of Scotus, exclaimed, in a fervour of admiration at the eloquence displayed, "This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns Scotus!" The same anecdote we have seen applied to various other prodigies, but this is perhaps the origin of it. As a reward for his victory in this famous dispute, he was appointed professor and regent in the theological schools of Paris, and acquired the title of the SUBTLE DOCTOR. Nothing, however, could be more barren and useless than the chimerical abstractions and metaphysical refinements which obtained him his title. He opposed Thomas Aquinas on the subject of grace, and established a sect called the Scotists, in contra-distinction to the Thomists, which extended its ramifications throughout every country in Europe. In 1308, he was sent to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception, against the disciples of Albert the Great. But he was only a few months there when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which cut him off on the 8th of November, 1308, in the forty-fourth, or, according to others, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It is said, that he was buried before he had been actually dead, as was discovered by an after examination of his grave.

The writings which Scotus left behind him were numerous. Various editions of parts of them, particularly of his lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard, were printed towards the close of the fifteenth century; and in 1639, a complete edition of all his works, with his life, by Wading, *et cum Notis et Comm. a P. P. Hibernis Collegii Romani S. Isidori Professoribus*, appeared at Lyons in twelve volumes folio! These labours, which were at one time handled with reverential awe, are now almost totally neglected.

The fame of John Duns Scotus, during his lifetime, and for many years after his decease, was extraordinary, and goes to prove the extent of his talents, however misapplied and wasted they were on the subtilties of school philosophy and the absurdities of school divinity. From among the testimonials regarding him which Wading has collected in his life, the following, by a learned cardinal, may be given as a specimen: "Among all the scholastic doctors, I must regard John Duns Scotus as a splendid sun, obscuring all the stars of heaven, by the piercing acuteness of his genius; by the subtilty and the depth of the most wide, the most hidden, the most wonderful learning; this most subtle doctor surpasses all others, and, in my opinion, yields to no writer of any age. His productions, the admiration and despair even of the most learned among the learned, being of such extreme acuteness, that they exercise, excite, and sharpen even the brightest talents to a more sublime knowledge of divine objects, it is no wonder that the most profound writers join in one voice, 'that this Scot, beyond all controversy, surpasses not only the contemporary theologians, but even the greatest of ancient or modern times, in the sublimity of his genius and the immensity of his learning.' This subtle doctor was the founder of the grand and most noble sect of the Scotists, which, solely guided by his doctrine, has so zealously taught, defended, amplified, and diffused it, that, being spread all over the world, it is regarded as the most illustrious of all. From this sect, like heroes from the Trojan horse, many princes of science have proceeded, whose labour in teaching has explained many difficulties, and whose industry in writing has so much adorned and enlarged theological learning, that no further addition can be expected or desired." Here is another specimen of panegyric: "Scotus was so consummate a philosopher, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it

was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits, as if he had been an angel; the felicities of a future state as if he had enjoyed them; and the ways of providence as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtle of the sons of men."<sup>3</sup>

These extracts may suffice to show the estimation, or rather adoration, in which the subtle doctor was once held; and it was not alone among his own disciples that he was venerated; for Julius Cæsar Scaliger acknowledges, that in the perusal of John of Dunse, he acquired any subtilty of discussion which he might possess; and Cardan, one of the earliest philosophers who broke the yoke of Aristotle, classes Scotus among his chosen twelve masters of profound and subtle sciences. In comparing the enthusiastic popularity in which Scotus and his works were once held with the undisturbed oblivion which they now enjoy, the mind adverts to the fleeting nature of all, even the most honourable earthly aggrandizement; and a likeness of name and situation suggests the question, Shall another *Scotus*, who, in our own day, has excited throughout Europe the liveliest admiration, come, in two or three centuries, to be forgotten like John of Dunse, or only remembered, like him, as a curious illustration of the follies of a dark and ignorant age?

DURHAM, JAMES, "that singularly wise and faithful servant of Jesus Christ," was by birth a gentleman. He was descended from the family of Grange-Durham, in the shire of Angus, and was proprietor of the estate of Easter Powrie, now called Wedderburn. From his age at the time of his death, he appears to have been born in 1622. We have but few memorials of his early life. Leaving college before taking any degree, he retired to his paternal estate, where he lived for some years as a country gentleman. At an early period he married a daughter of the laird of Duntarvie; and soon afterwards, while on a visit to one of her relations, became deeply impressed with religious feelings.<sup>4</sup> On his return home, he devoted himself almost wholly to study, in which he made great proficiency, and we are told, "became not only an experimental christian, but a learned man." He did not, however, contemplate becoming a clergyman, till the time of the civil wars, in which he served as a captain. On one occasion, before joining battle with the English, he called his company together to prayer. Mr David Dickson riding past, heard some one praying, drew near him, and was much struck with what he heard. After the service was finished, he charged him, that as soon as the action was over, he should de-

<sup>3</sup> Brukeri Hist. Philos. tom. iii. p. 828.

<sup>4</sup> The following account of his conversion is given in Wodrow's *Analecta* (MS. Adv. Lib.):

"He was young when he married, and was not for a while concerned about religion. He came with his lady to visit his mother-in-law, the lady Duntarvie, who lived in the parish of the Queensferry. There fell at that time a communion to be in the Queensferry, and soe the lady Duntarvie desired her son-in-law, Mr Durham, to go and hear sermon upon the Saturday, and for some time he would by no means go, till both his lady and his mother-in-law, with much importunity, at last prevailed with him to go. He went that day, and heard very attentively; he seemed to be moved that day by the preacher being very serious in his discourse, so that there was something wrought in Mr Durham that day; but it was like an embryo. When he came home, he said to his mother-in-law, 'Mother, ye had much ado to get me to the chureh this day; but I will goe to-morrow without your importuning me.' He went away on the Sabbath morning, and heard the minister of the place, worthy Mr Ephraim Melvine, preach the action sermon upon 1 Pet. 2. 7, and Mr Durham had these expressions about his sermon: 'He commended him, he commended him, again and again, till he made my heart and soul commend him;' and soe he immediately closed with Christ, and covenanted, and went down immediately to the table, and took the seal of the covenant; and after that he became a most serious man."



vote himself to the ministry, "for to that he judged the Lord had called him." During the engagement, Mr Durham met with two remarkable deliverances, and accordingly, considered himself bound to obey the stranger's charge, "as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy to him."

With this resolution, he came to the college of Glasgow, where he appears to have taken his degree,<sup>5</sup> and to have studied divinity under his celebrated friend David Dickson. The year 1647, in which he received his license, was one of severe pestilence. The masters and students of the university removed to Irvine, where Mr Durham underwent his trials, and received a recommendation from his professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. Though now only about twenty-five years of age, study and seriousness of disposition had already given him the appearance of an old man. The session of Glasgow appointed one of their members to request him to preach in their city, and after a short period, "being abundantly satisfied with Mr Durham's doctrine, and the gifts bestowed upon him by the Lord, for serving him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' church, then vacant." Thither he removed in November, the same year. In 1649, Mr Durham had a pressing call from the town of Edinburgh, but the general assembly, to whom it was ultimately referred, refused to allow his translation. In his ministerial labours he seems to have exercised great patience and diligence, nor was he wanting in that plainness and sincerity towards the rich and powerful, which is so necessary to secure esteem. When the republican army was at Glasgow, in 1651, Cromwell came unexpectedly on a Sunday afternoon to the outer high church, where Mr Durham preached "graciously and well to the time, as could have been desired," according to principal Baillie; in plainer language, "he preached against the invasion to his face."<sup>6</sup> The story is thus concluded by his biographer:—"Next day, Cromwell sent for Mr Durham, and told him, that he always thought Mr Durham had been a more wise and prudent man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons. To which Mr Durham answered, that it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing. Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time, sundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Letter of Principal Baillie in M'Ure's History of Glasgow, ed. 1830, p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> Wodrow's Life of Dickson, MS. p. xix. In the Analecta of this historian [MS. Adv. Lib. v. 186,] occurs the following curious particulars: "—— tells me, he had this account from old Aikenhead, who had it from the gentlewoman. That Cromwell came in to Glasgow, with some of his officers, upon a Sabbath day, and came straight into the high church, where Mr Durham was preaching. The first seat that offered him was P[rovost] Porterfield's, where Miss Porterfield sat, and she, seeing him an English officer, she was almost not civil. However, he got in and sat with Miss Porterfield. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefore he asked. He said, 'because he perceived him to be a very great man, and in his opinion might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen him nor heard of him before. She enquired about him, and found it was O. Cromwell.'

<sup>7</sup> Life prefixed to Treatise concerning Scandal. Cromwell seems to have received "great plainness of speech" at the hands of the ministers of Glasgow. On a former occasion, Zachary Boyd had railed on him to his face in the high church: on the present, we are informed, that "on Sunday, before noon, he came unexpectedly to the high inner church, where he quietly heard Mr Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon, he came as unexpectedly to the high outer church, where he heard Mr John Carstairs lecture, and Mr James Durham preach graciously, and well to the time, as could have been desired. Generally, all who preached that day in the town, gave a *far enough testimony against the sectaries.*" — Baillie ut supra.



In the year 1650, when Mr Dickson became professor of divinity at Edinburgh college, the commissioners for visiting that of Glasgow, appointed by the general assembly, unanimously called Mr Durham to the vacant chair. But before he was admitted to this office, the assembly nominated him chaplain to the king's family; a situation in which, though trying, more especially to a young man, he conducted himself with great gravity and faithfulness. While he conciliated the affections of the courtiers, he at the same time kept them in awe; "and whenever," says his biographer, "he went about the duties of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightness and profanity." The disposition of Charles, however, was little suited to the simplicity and unostentatious nature of the presbyterian worship, and although Mr Durham may have obtained his respect, there is little reason to believe that he liked the check which his presence imposed.

Livingston mentions that Mr Durham offered to accompany the king when he went to Worcester,—an offer which, as may have been anticipated, was not accepted. The session of Glasgow, finding that he was again at liberty, wrote a letter to him at Stirling, in which they expressed the warmest feelings towards him. "We cannot tell," say they, "how much and how earnestly we long once more to see your face, and to hear a word from you, from whose mouth the Lord has often blessed the same, for our great refreshment. We do, therefore, with all earnestness request and beseech you, that you would, in the interim of your retirement from attendance upon that charge, (that of king's chaplain,) let the town and congregation, once and yet dear to you, who dare not quit their interest in you, nor look on that tie and relation betwixt you and them as dissolved and null, enjoy the comfort of your sometimes very comfortable fellowship and ministry." From the letter it would appear, that Mr Durham did not yet consider himself released from his appointment in the king's family; but with the battle of Worcester terminated all the fond hopes of the royalists. Finding the household thus broken up, there could be no objection to his returning to his former residence. He is mentioned as present in the session in April, and it was at this period that his interview with Cromwell took place, but for several months afterwards he seems to have withdrawn. In August, a vacancy in the inner high church arose from the death of Mr Robert Ramsay, and Mr Durham was earnestly requested to accept the charge. He accordingly entered upon it in the course of the same year (1651), having for his colleague Mr John Carstairs, his brother-in-law by his second marriage, and father of the afterwards celebrated principal of the university of Edinburgh. [See article CARSTAIRS.] In the divisions which took place between the resolutions and protesters, Mr Durham took neither side. When the two parties in the synod of Glasgow met separately, each elected him their moderator, but he refused to join them, until they should unite, and a junction fortunately took place. The habits of severe study in which he had indulged since his entry into the ministry, seem to have brought on a premature decay of his constitution. After several months of confinement, he died on the 25th of June, 1658, at the early age of thirty-six.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "Mr Durham was a person of the outmost composure and gravity, and it was much made him smile. In some great man's house, Mr William Guthry and he were together at dinner, and Mr Guthry was exceeding merry, and made Mr Durham smile, yea laugh, at his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary of the family to pray after dinner, and immediately after their mirth it was put upon Mr Guthry to pray, and, as he was wont, he fell immediately into the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment and moving of all present. When he rose from prayer, Mr Durham came to him, and embraced him, and said, 'O! Will, you are a happy man. If I had been soe daft as you have been, I could not have been serious, nor in any frame, for forty-eight hours.'"—*Wodrow's Ana.* iii. 133.

Mr Durham's first marriage has been noticed in the early part of this sketch. His second wife was the widow of the famous Zachary Boyd, and third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston, in Renfrewshire. This lady seems to have survived him many years, and to have been a zealous keeper of conventicles. Several of her sufferings on this account are noticed by Wodrow in his History.

It would be tiresome to the reader to enter into a detail of Mr Durham's different works, and their various editions. He has long been, and still continues one of the most popular religious writers in Scotland.<sup>6</sup>

## E

ELLIOT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, lord Heathfield, a distinguished military officer, was the ninth son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs in Roxburghshire, and born about the year 1718. He received his education, first at home under the charge of a family tutor, and afterwards at Leyden, where he acquired a perfect and colloquial knowledge of the French and German languages. Being destined for the army, he was placed at the military school of La Fere, in Picardy, which was the most celebrated in Europe, and conducted at that time by Vauban, the famous engineer. He afterwards served for some time as a volunteer in the Prussian army, which was then considered the best *practical* school of war. Returning in his seventeenth year, he was introduced by his father to lieutenant-colonel Peers of the 23d foot or royal Welsh Fusileers, which was then lying at Edinburgh. Sir Gilbert presented him as a youth anxious to bear arms for his king and country; and he accordingly entered the regiment as a volunteer. Having served for upwards of a twelvemonth, during which he displayed an uncommon zeal in his profession, he was removed to the engineer corps at Woolwich, and was making great progress in the studies requisite for that branch of service, when his uncle, colonel Elliot, introduced him as adjutant of the 2d troop of horse grenadiers. His exertions in this situation laid the foundation of a discipline, which afterwards rendered the two troops of horse grenadiers the finest corps of heavy cavalry in Europe. In the war, which ended in 1748, he served with his regiment in many actions—among the rest, the battle of Dettingen, in which he was wounded. After successively purchasing the captaincy, majority, and lieutenant colonelcy, of his regiment, he resigned his place in the engineer corps, notwithstanding that he had already studied gunnery and other matters connected with the service, to a degree which few have ever attained. He was now distinguished so highly for his zeal and acquirements, that George II. appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1759, he quitted the second regiment of horse grenadiers, having been selected to raise, form, and discipline the first regiment of light horse, called after him, Elliot's. This regiment was brought by him to such a pitch of activity and discipline, as to be held up as a pattern to all the other dragoon regiments raised for many years afterwards. Colonel Elliot, indeed, may be described as a perfect military enthusiast. His habits of life were as rigorous as those of a religious ascetic. His food was vegetables, his drink water. He neither indulged himself in animal food nor wine. He never slept more than four hours at a time, so that he was up later and earlier than most other men.

<sup>6</sup> Abridged from a Memoir of Durham prefixed to his Treatise concerning Scandal. Glas. 1740, 12mo.

It was his constant endeavour to make his men as abstemious, hardy, and vigilant as himself; and it is stated that habit at last rendered them so, without their feeling it to be a hardship. It might have been expected, from such a character, that he would also be a stern and unscrupulous soldier; but the reverse was the case. He was sincerely anxious, by acts of humanity, to soften the horrors of war. In the expedition to the coast of France, which took place near the close of the seven years' war, he had the command of the cavalry, with the rank of brigadier-general. In the memorable expedition against the Havannah, he was second in command. After a desperate siege of nearly two months, during which the British suffered dreadfully from the climate, the city, which was considered as the key to all the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, was taken by storm. The Spanish general, Lewis de Velasco, had displayed infinite firmness in his defence of this fortress, as well as the most devoted bravery at its conclusion, having fallen amidst heaps of slain, while vainly endeavouring to repel the final attack. Elliot appears to have been forcibly struck by the gallant conduct of Velasco, and to have resolved upon rendering it a model for his own conduct under similar circumstances. After the peace his regiment was reviewed by the king (George III.) in Hyde Park, when they presented to his majesty the standards taken from the enemy. The king, gratified with their high character, asked general Elliot what mark of his favour he could bestow on his regiment equal to their merits. He answered that his regiment would be proud, if his majesty should think that, by their services, they were entitled to the distinction of royals. It was accordingly made a royal regiment, with this flattering title—"The 15th or king's royal regiment of light dragoons." At the same time the king expressed a desire to confer a mark of his favour on the brave general; but he declared that the honour and satisfaction of his majesty's approbation were his best reward.

During the peace between 1763 and 1775, general Elliot served for a time as commander of the forces in Ireland. Being recalled from this difficult post on his own solicitation, he was, in an hour fortunate for his country, appointed to the command of Gibraltar. In the ensuing war, which finally involved both the French and Spaniards, the latter instituted a most determined siege round his fortress, which lasted for three years, and was only unsuccessful through the extraordinary exertions, and, it may be added, the extraordinary qualifications, of general Elliot. Both himself and his garrison, having been previously inured to every degree of abstinence and discipline, were fitted in a peculiar manner to endure the hardships of the siege, while at the same time his military and engineering movements were governed by such a clear judgment and skill, as to baffle the utmost efforts of the enemy. Collected within himself, he in no instance destroyed by premature attacks, the labours which would cost the enemy time, patience, and expense to complete; he deliberately observed their approaches, and, with the keenest perception, seized on the proper moment in which to make his attack with success. He never spent his ammunition in useless parade, or in unimportant attacks. He never relaxed from his discipline by the appearance of security, nor hazarded the lives of his garrison by wild experiments. By a cool and temperate demeanour, with a mere handful of men, he maintained his station for three years of constant investment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed. All the eyes of Europe were upon his conduct, and his final triumph was universally allowed to be among the most brilliant military transactions of modern times.

On his return to England, general Elliot received the thanks of parliament, and was honoured by his sovereign, June 14, 1787, with a peerage, under the



title of lord Heathfield and baron Gibraltar, besides being elected a knight of the Bath. His lordship died at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 6, 1790, of a second stroke of palsy, while endeavouring to reach Gibraltar, where he was anxious to close his life. He left, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Drake, a son who succeeded him in the peerage.

ELLIOT MURRAY KYNNYNMOND, GILBERT, first earl of Minto, a distinguished statesman, was born at Edinburgh, April 23, 1751. He was the eldest son of Gilbert Elliot, Esq., advocate, younger of Minto, by Mrs Agnes Murray Kynnymond, of Melgund and Kynnymond.

The earl of Minto was descended from a race of very eminent persons. His father, who became Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, baronet, was conspicuous as a parliamentary orator, and, in 1763, held the office of treasurer of the navy. He subsequently obtained the reversion of the office of keeper of the signet in Scotland. In the literary annals of his country, he is the well-known author of several excellent poetical compositions, particularly the popular song, "My sheep I neglected." He also carried on a philosophical correspondence with David Hume, which is quoted with marks of approbation by Mr Dugald Stewart, in his *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, and in his Dissertation prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Sir Gilbert was the eldest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, lord justice clerk, a respectable judge and most accomplished man, especially in music. Lord Minto, as he was called, is said to have been the first to introduce the German flute into Scotland, about the year 1725. In the history of Scotland, during the early part of the eighteenth century, he is distinguished by his zealous and useful exertions as a friend of the protestant succession, and also by his patriotic enthusiasm in every measure that tended to the improvement and advantage of his country.

The father of lord Minto was Gilbert Elliot, popularly called "Gibbie Elliot," at first a writer in Edinburgh, and in that capacity employed by the celebrated Mr Veitch to rescue him from the tyrannical government of Charles II. in Scotland; a duty in which he succeeded, though it led to his own denouncement by the Scottish privy council. Gilbert Elliot contrived to make his escape to Holland, but, nevertheless, was tried in his absence for high treason to king James VII., for which he was condemned and forfeited. After the revolution, he returned to his native country; and being recommended, both by his sufferings and his sagacity and expertness in business, was made clerk of the privy council. He subsequently entered at the Scottish bar, and rose to the rank of a civil and criminal judge. It is related, that when he came to Dumfries in the course of the judiciary circuit, he never failed to visit his old friend Veitch, who was there settled minister; and the following dialogue used to pass between them: "Ah, Willie, Willie," lord Minto would say, "if it had not been for me, the pyets [magpies] would have been pyking your pow on the Netherbow Port." "Ah, Gibbie, Gibbie," Veitch would reply, in reference to the first impulse which his persecutions had given to the fortunes of lord Minto, "if it had not been for me, you would have been writing papers yet, at a plack the page."

To return to the earl of Minto—his first education was of a private nature; and, as his father had prospects of advancement for him in England, he was subsequently placed at a school in that country. In 1768, he entered as a gentleman commoner at Christ church, Oxford: whence he was transferred to Lincoln's Inn, and in due time was called to the English bar. His health becoming delicate, he soon after commenced a tour of the continent, with the view of acquiring a knowledge of the general state of European life and policy. While at Paris, he frequented the society of Madame du Deffand, by whom he is justly



praised in her correspondence. She calls him "ce petit Elliot," either in endearment, or in allusion to his youth and delicate person. In 1777, Mr Elliot married Miss Amyand, daughter of Sir George Amyand, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Soon after this period, his father died, leaving him in possession of the baronetcy.

In 1774, Mr Elliot was elected member of parliament for Morpeth; and, though he never became a very frequent speaker, he gave proofs, on many occasions, of his talents both as a debater and a man of business. In the deliberations of parliament on the American contest, he warmly espoused the cause of ministers, until nearly the close of the war, when he joined the ranks of the opposition. Having attached himself to Mr Fox, he gave his support to the coalition ministry, and after the dismissal of that party, adhered to it throughout its misfortunes and disgrace. In the endeavours of the party of the coalition to humble that of the new aristocracy, which seemed to have arisen in what was called the *India interest*; in their attempts to win the people back to their side, by swerving, to a certain length, into democratical whiggism; in their hopes to strengthen themselves on the authority of the heir apparent to the crown; in their opposition to a war on behalf of Turkey, with the power of Russia and its allies; in their efforts to maintain what was really the constitutional right of the prince of Wales to the regency; and in all their other political measures, whether to serve their country, or to restore themselves to official power, Sir Gilbert Elliot bore no undistinguished part.

The estimation in which he was held by his party, is proved by the circumstance of his having been twice proposed as speaker; on one of which occasions he very nearly carried his election against the government. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he, like many others of his party, warmly adopted the views of the tories, and became a warm supporter of ministers. In 1793, the town of Toulon, and other parts of the south of France, had declared for Louis XVII., and seemed likely to become of great service to the British arms in operating against the new republic. Sir Gilbert Elliot was then associated in a commission with lord Hood and general O'Hara, respectively commanders of the naval and military force, to meet with the French royalists, and afford them all possible protection. On the re-capture of Toulon by the republicans, December 18, 1793, he procured for such of the Toulonese as escaped, a refuge in the island of Elba. The Corsicans having now also resolved to declare against the republic, Sir Gilbert was nominated to take them under the protection of Great Britain. Early in 1794, all the fortified places of the island were put into his hands; and the king having accepted the proffered sovereignty of the island, Sir Gilbert presided as viceroy in a general assembly of the Corsicans, June 19, 1794, when a code of laws was adopted for the political arrangement of society in the island, being in substance somewhat similar to the constitution of Great Britain. In a speech of great wisdom, dignity, and conciliation, Sir Gilbert recommended to the Corsicans to live quietly under this constitution, and to value aright the advantages they had gained by putting themselves under the protection of the same sovereign who was the executor of the laws, and the guardian of the liberties of Great Britain. Whatever could be done by prudence, moderation, energy, and vigilance, was done by Sir Gilbert in the government of this island; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French ultimately gained the ascendancy, and in October, 1796, the island was deserted by the British. George III. acknowledged his sense of Sir Gilbert's services by raising him to the peerage, under the title of lord or baron of Minto, in the shire of Roxburgh, with a special permission to adopt the arms of Corsica into the armorial bearings of his family.

Lord Minto's speech in the house of lords in support of the union with Ireland, a measure which met his sincere support, was one of considerable effect, and much admired even by those with whom he differed on that occasion. Early in 1799, his lordship was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, where he resided, and ably executed the duties of his very important office, till the end of the year 1801. On the accession of the whig administration in 1806, he filled, for a short time, the office of president of the board of controul; but having soon after been appointed to the situation of governor-general of India, he embarked for that distant region in February, 1807. As the company, board of controul, and ministers had differed about the filling of this office (vacant by the death of Marquis Cornwallis), the appointment of lord Minto must be considered as a testimony of the general confidence in his abilities and integrity, more especially as he was at the time quite ignorant of Indian affairs. The result fully justified all that had been anticipated. Under the care of lord Minto, the debts of the company rapidly diminished, the animosities of the native princes were subdued, and the jealousy of the government was diminished. In quelling the mutiny of the coast army, he evinced much prudence, temper, and firmness; but his administration was rendered more conspicuously brilliant by his well-concerted and triumphant expeditions against the isles of France and Bourbon in 1810, and that of Java in 1811. Although these enterprises were in conformity to the general instructions, yet the British ministers candidly allowed, in honour of lord Minto, that to him was due the whole merit of the plan, and also its successful termination. He himself accompanied the expedition against Java: and it is well known that his presence not only contributed materially to its early surrender, but also to the maintenance of harmony in all departments of the expedition, and tended materially to conciliate the inhabitants after the surrender. For these eminent services, lord Minto received the thanks of both houses of parliament; and in February, 1813, as a proof of his majesty's continued approbation, he was promoted to an earldom, with the additional title of viscount Melgund. His lordship returned to England in 1814, in apparent health; but after a short residence in London, alarming symptoms of decline began to show themselves, and he died June 21st, at Stevenage, on his way to Scotland. Lord Minto's general abilities are best seen in his acts. His manners were mild and pleasant, his conversation naturally playful—but he could make it serious and instructive. He displayed, both in speaking and writing, great purity of language, and an uncommon degree of perspicuity in his mode of expression and narration. He was an elegant scholar, a good linguist, and well versed both in ancient and modern history. With all these qualifications, he possessed one which gives a charm to all others—modesty. In short, it is rare that a person appears with such a perfect balance of good qualities as the earl of Minto.

ELPHINSTONE, JAMES, a miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, November 25th, O. S., 1721. He appears to have descended from a race of non-jurant episcopalians, and to have had some distinguished connections among that body. His father was the Rev. William Elphinstone, an episcopal minister. His mother was daughter to the Rev. Mr Honeyman, minister of Kineff, and niece to Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, a prelate very obnoxious to the presbyterian party in the reign of Charles II., and who died in consequence of a pistol-wound which he received while entering archbishop's Sharpe's coach, and which was intended for the primate. Mr Elphinstone was educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh; and before the age of seventeen, was deemed fit to act as tutor to the son of lord Blantyre. When about twenty-one years of age, he became acquainted at London with the Jacobite historian.

Thomas Carte, whom he accompanied on a tour through Holland, the Netherlands, and France. In Paris the two travellers spent a considerable time; and here Mr Elphinstone perfected his acquaintance with the French language. After the death of Carte, Mr Elphinstone returned to his native country, and became tutor in the family of Mr Moray of Abercainey, also a keen jacobite. In 1750, he is found resident at Edinburgh, where he superintended an edition of the *Rambler*. The law of copyright at that time permitted the Scottish and Irish booksellers to reprint whatever works appeared in England, without compensation; and this was taken advantage of in the case of Dr Johnson's celebrated paper, each number of which appeared at Edinburgh as soon as it could be obtained from London. To this reprint, the subject of the present memoir supplied English translations of the classical mottoes, and with these Dr Johnson was so much pleased, as to extend his friendship to their author, and to adopt them in all the subsequent editions of his work. In a letter to Mr Elphinstone, published in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, the author of the *Rambler* begs of his friend, to "write soon, to write often, and to write long letters;" a compliment of which any man existing at that time might well have been proud. During the progress of the *Rambler*, Mr Elphinstone lost his mother, of whose death he gave a very affecting account, in a letter to his sister, Mrs Strahan, wife of Mr William Strahan, the celebrated printer. This being shown to Dr Johnson, affected him so much, with a reflection upon his own mother, then in extreme old age, that he shed tears. He also sent a consolatory letter to Mr Elphinstone, which is printed by Boswell, and is full of warm and benignant feeling. The Scottish edition of the *Rambler* was ultimately completed, in eight duodecimo volumes, of most elegant appearance, and, as the impression was limited, it is now very scarce.

In 1751, Mr Elphinstone married Miss Gordon, daughter of a brother of general Gordon of Auchintool, and grand-daughter of lord Auchintool, one of the judges of the court of session before the revolution. Two years afterwards, he removed to London, and established a seminary upon an extensive scale, first at Brompton, and afterwards at Kensington. As a teacher, he was zealous and intelligent, and never failed to fix the affections and retain the friendship of his pupils. In 1753, he published a poetical version of the younger Racine's poem of "Religion," which, we are told, obtained the approbation of Dr Young, author of the "Night Thoughts." About the same time, finding no grammar of the English language which he altogether approved of, he composed one for the use of his pupils, and published it in two duodecimo volumes. This was the most useful, and also the most successful of all his works, though it is now antiquated; it received the warm approbation of Mr John Walker, author of the *Pronouncing Dictionary*. In 1763, Mr Elphinstone published a poem, entitled "Education," which met with no success.

In the year 1776, Mr Elphinstone retired from his school with a competency, and seemed destined to spend the remainder of a useful life in tranquillity and happiness. In consequence, however, of certain peculiarities of his own mind, his peace was greatly disturbed, and his name covered with a ridicule which would not otherwise have belonged to it. It was the impression of everybody but Mr Elphinstone himself, that he possessed no particular talent for poetry, but simply resembled many other men of good education, who possess the art of constructing verse, without the power of inspiring it with ideas. Tempted, perhaps, by the compliments he had received on account of his mottoes to the *Rambler*, he resolved to execute a poetical translation of Martial. As he had a most extensive acquaintance, his contemplated work was honoured with a large subscription-list; and the work appeared in 1782, in one volume quarto, but was



met on all hands with ridicule and contempt. "Elphinstone's Martial," says Dr Beattie, in a letter to Sir William Forbes, "is just come to hand. It is truly a *unique*. The specimens formerly published did very well to laugh at; but a whole quarto of nonsense and gibberish is too much. It is strange that a man not wholly illiterate should have lived so long in England without learning the language." The work, in fact, both in the poetry and the notes, displayed a total absence of judgment; and, accordingly, it has sunk into utter neglect.

In 1778, Elphinstone lost his wife, an event which is supposed to have somewhat unhinged his mind. To beguile his grief, he travelled into Scotland, where he was received with great civility by the most distinguished men of the day. It was even proposed to erect a new chair—one for English literature—in the university of Edinburgh, in order that he might fill it. Though this design misgave, he delivered a series of lectures on the English language, first at Edinburgh, and then in the public hall of the university of Glasgow. In the autumn of 1779, he returned to Edinburgh.

In his translation of Martial, Mr Elphinstone had given some specimens of a new plan of orthography, projected by himself, and of which the principal feature was the spelling of the words according to their sounds. In church and in state, he was a high tory; but he was the most determined jacobin in language. The whole system of derivation he set at defiance; analogy was his solvent; and he wished to create a complete revolution in favour of pronunciation. In 1786, he published a full explanation of his system, in two volumes quarto, under the extraordinary title of "Propriety ascertained in her Picture." Though the work produced not a single convert, he persisted in his desperate attempt, and followed up his first work by two others, entitled "English Orthography Epitomized," and "Propriety's Pocket Dictionary." In order, further, to give the world an example of an ordinary book printed according to his ideas, he published, in 1794, a selection of his letters to his friends, with their answers, entirely spelt in the new way; the appearance of which was so unnatural, and the reading so difficult and tiresome, that it never was sold to any extent, and produced a heavy loss to the editor. If Mr Elphinstone had applied his political principles to this subject, he would have soon convinced himself that there is more mischief, generally, in the change than good in the result. His pupil, Mr R. C. Dallas, thus accounts for his obstinacy in error. "He was," says this gentleman,<sup>1</sup> "a Quixote in whatever he judged right; in religion, in virtue, in benevolent interferences; the force of custom or a host of foes made no impression upon him; the only question with him was, *should it be, or should it not be?* Such a man might be foiled in an attempt, but was not likely to be diverted from one in which he thought *right* was to be supported against *wrong*. The worst that can be said of his perseverance in so hopeless a pursuit is, that it was a foible by which he injured no one but himself."

Having seriously impaired his fortune by these publications, the latter days of this worthy man would have probably been spent in poverty, if he had not been rescued from that state by his brother-in-law and sister, Mr and Mrs Strahan. The former of these individuals, at his death, in 1785, left him an annuity of a hundred a-year, a hundred pounds in ready money, and twenty pounds for mournings. Mrs Strahan, who only survived her husband a month, left him two hundred pounds a-year more, and thus secured his permanent comfort. In the same year, he married, for his second wife, Miss Falconer, a niece of bishop Falconer of the Scottish episcopal church, who proved to him a most faithful and attentive partner till the close of his life. Mr Elphinstone lived on his

<sup>1</sup> Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii. 33.



namble competency, in the enjoyment of good health, till October 8th, 1809, when he suddenly expired, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was buried at Kensington, where, upon the east wall of the church, there is a marble slab, with an inscription setting forth his virtues.

Though, as a follower of literature, Elphinstone did little to secure the approbation of mankind, he was, nevertheless, a man of considerable mental abilities; and it is even said that he possessed the power of writing with force and simplicity, if it had not been obscured by his eccentricities. "After all," says Mr Dallas, "it is as a man and a christian that he excelled; as a son, a brother, a husband, and a father to many, though he never had any children of his own, as a friend, an enlightened patriot, and a loyal subject. His manners were simple, his rectitude undeviating. His piety, though exemplary, was devoid of show; the sincerity of it was self-evident; but, though unobtrusive, it became impatient on the least attempt at profaneness; and an oath he could not endure. On such occasions he never failed boldly to correct the vice, whence-soever it proceeded. Mr Elphinstone was middle-sized, and slender in his person; he had a peculiar countenance, which, perhaps, would have been considered an ordinary one, but for the spirit and intellectual emanation which it possessed. He never complied with fashion in the alteration of his clothes. In a letter to a friend in 1782, he says: 'time has no more changed my heart than my dress;' and he might have said it again in 1809. The colour of his suit of clothes was invariably, except when in mourning, what is called a drab; his coat was made in the fashion that reigned when he returned from France, in the beginning of the last century, with flaps and buttons to the pockets and sleeves, and without a cape: he always wore a powdered bag-wig, with a high toupee, and walked with a cocked-hat and an amber-headed cane; his shoe-buckles had seldom been changed, and were always of the same size; and he never put on boots. It must be observed, that he latterly, more than once, offered to make any change Mrs Elphinstone might deem proper; but in her eyes his virtues and worth had so sanctified his appearance, that she would have thought the alteration a sacrilege."

ELPHINSTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated Scottish prelate, and founder of the university of Aberdeen, was born in the city of Glasgow in the year 1413. His father, William Elphinston, was a younger brother of the noble family of Elphinston, who took up his residence in Glasgow during the reign of James I., and was the first of its citizens who became eminent and acquired a fortune as a general merchant. His mother was Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the laird of Drumlanrick. His earliest youth was marked by a decided turn for the exercises of devotion, and he seems to have been by his parents, at a very early period of his life, devoted to the church, which was in these days the only road to preferment. In the seventh year of his age he was sent to the grammar school, and having gone through the prescribed course, afterwards studied philosophy in the university of his native city, then newly founded by bishop Turnbull, and obtained the degree of *Artium magister* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He then entered into holy orders, and was appointed priest of the church of St Michael's, situated in St Enoch's gate, now the Trongate, where he officiated for the space of four years. Being strongly attached to the study both of the civil and canon law, he was advised by his uncle, Lawrence Elphinston, to repair to the continent, where these branches of knowledge were taught in perfection. Accordingly, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he went over to France, where he applied himself to the study of law for the space of three years, at the end of which he was called to fill a professional chair in the university of Paris, and afterwards at Orleans, in both of which

places he taught the science of law with the highest applause. Having in this manner spent nine years abroad, he was, at the request of his friends, especially of Andrew Muirhead, his principal patron, (who, from being rector of Cadzow, had been promoted to the bishopric of Glasgow,) persuaded to return to his native country, where he was made parson of Glasgow, and official or commissary of the diocese. As a mark of respect, too, the university of Glasgow elected him lord rector the same year. On the death of bishop Muirhead, which took place only two years after his return, he was nominated by Schevez, bishop of St Andrews, official of Lothian; an office which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of all concerned, that James III., sent for him to parliament, and appointed him one of the lords of his privy council. It may be noticed here, as a curious fact, that at this period men of various degrees sat and deliberated and voted in parliament without any other authority than being summoned by his majesty as wise and good men, whose advice might be useful in the management of public affairs. So little, indeed, was the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament then understood, or desired, that neither the warrant of their fellow subjects, nor the call of the king, was sufficient to secure their attendance, and penalties for non-attendance had before that period been exacted. Elphinston was now in the way of preferment; and being a man both of talents and address, was ready to profit by every opportunity. Some differences having arisen between the French and Scottish courts, the latter, alarmed for the stability of the ancient alliance of the two countries, thought fit to send out an embassy for its preservation. This embassy consisted of the earl of Buchan, lord chamberlain Livingston, bishop of Dunkeld, and Elphinston, the subject of this memoir, who so managed matters as to have the success of the embassy wholly attributed to him. As the reward of such an important service, he was, on his return in 1479, made archdeacon of Argyle and as this was not considered as at all adequate to his merits, the bishopric of Ross was shortly after added. The election of the chapter of Ross being speedily confirmed by the king's letters patent under the great seal, Elphinston took his seat in parliament, under the title of *electus et confirmatus*, in the year 1482. It does not appear, however, that he was ever any thing more than bishop elect of Ross; and in the following year, 1483, Robert Blackadder, bishop of Aberdeen, being promoted to the see of Glasgow, Elphinston was removed to that of Aberdeen. He was next year nominated, along with Colin earl of Argyle, John lord Drummond, lord Oliphant, Robert lord Lyle, Archibald Whitelaw, archdeacon of London, and Duncan Dundas, lord lyon king at arms, to meet with commissioners from Richard III., of England, for settling all disputes between the two countries. The commissioners met at Nottingham on the 7th of September, 1484, and, after many conferences, concluded a peace betwixt the two nations for the space of three years, commencing at sunrise September 29th, 1484, and to end at sunset on the 29th of September, 1487. Anxious to secure himself from the enmity of James at any future period, Richard, in addition to this treaty, proposed to marry his niece, Anne de la Pool, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, to the eldest son of king James. This proposal met with the hearty approbation of James; and bishop Elphinston with several noblemen were despatched back again to Nottingham to conclude the affair. Circumstances, however, rendered all the articles that had been agreed upon to no purpose, and on the fatal field of Bosworth Richard shortly after closed his guilty career. The truce concluded with Richard for three years does not appear to have been very strictly observed, and on the accession of Henry VII., bishop Elphinston with Sir John Ramsay and others, went again into England, where they met with commissioners on the part of

that country, and on the 3d of July, 1486, more than a year of the former truce being still to run, concluded a peace, or rather a cessation of arms, which was to continue till the 3d of July, 1489. Several disputed points were by this treaty referred to the Scottish parliament, which it was agreed should assemble in the month of January following. A meeting of the two kings, it was also stipulated, should take place in the following summer, when they would, face to face, talk over all that related to their personal interests, and those of their realms. Owing to the confusion that speedily ensued, this meeting never took place. Bishop Elphinston, in the debates betwixt the king and his nobles, adhered steadfastly to the king, and exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile them, though without effect. Finding the nobles nowise disposed to listen to what he considered reason, the bishop made another journey to England, to solicit in behalf of his master the assistance of Henry. In this also he was unsuccessful; yet James was so well pleased with his conduct, that on his return, he constituted him lord high chancellor of Scotland, the principal state office in the country. This the bishop held till the death of the king, which happened a little more than three months after. On that event, the bishop retired to his diocese, and applied himself to the faithful discharge of his episcopal functions. He was particularly careful to reform such abuses as he found to exist among his clergy, and for their benefit composed a book of canons, taken from the canons of the primitive church. He was, however, called to attend the parliament held at Edinburgh, in the month of October, 1488, where he was present at the crowning of the young prince James, then in his sixteenth year. Scarcely any but the conspirators against the late king attended this parliament, and aware that the bishop might refuse to concur with them in the measures they meant to pursue, they contrived to send him on a mission to Germany, to the emperor Maximilian, to demand in marriage for the young king, his daughter Margaret. Before he could reach Vienna, the lady in question had been promised to the heir apparent of the king of Spain. Though he failed in the object for which he had been specially sent out, his journey was not unprofitable to his country; for, taking Holland in his way home, he concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the States, who had, to the great loss of Scotland, long been its enemies. The benefits of this treaty were so generally felt, that it was acknowledged by all to have been a much more important service than the accomplishment of the marriage, though all the expected advantages had followed it. On his return from this embassy in 1492, bishop Elphinston was made lord privy seal, in place of bishop Hepburn, removed. The same year, he was again appointed a commissioner, along with several others, for renewing the truce with England, which was done at Edinburgh, in the month of June, the truce being settled to last till the end of April, 1501.

Tranquillity being now restored, bishop Elphinston turned his attention to the state of learning and of morals among his countrymen. For the improvement of the latter, he compiled the lives of Scottish Saints, which he ordered to be read on solemn occasions among his clergy; and for the improvement of the former, he applied to pope Alexander VI. to grant him a bull for erecting a university in Aberdeen. This request pope Alexander, from the reputation of the bishop, readily complied with, and sent him a bull to that effect in the year 1494. The college, however, was not founded till the year 1506, when it was dedicated to St Mary; but the king, at the request of the bishop, having taken upon himself and his successors the protection of it, and contributed to its endowment, St Mary was compelled to give place to his more efficient patronage, and it has ever since been called King's college. By the bull of erection this university was endowed with privileges as ample as any in Europe,



and it was chiefly formed upon the excellent models of Paris and Bononia. The persons originally endowed, were a doctor of theology (principal), a doctor of the canon law, a doctor of the civil law, a doctor of phisic, a professor of humanity to teach grammar, a sub-principal to teach philosophy, a chaunter, a sacrist, six students of theology, three students of the laws, thirteen students of philosophy, an organist, and five singing boys, who were students of humanity. By the united efforts of the king and the bishop, ample provision was made for the subsistence of both teachers and taught, and to this day a regular education can be obtained at less expense in Aberdeen, than any where else in the united kingdoms of Great Britain. The bishop of Aberdeen for the time, was constituted chancellor of the university; but upon the abolition of that office at the reformation, the patronage became vested in the crown. Of this college the celebrated Hector Boece was the first principal. He was recalled from Paris, where he had a professional chair, for the express purpose of filling the office, which had a yearly salary of forty merks attached to it—two pounds three shillings and fourpence sterling. While the worthy bishop was thus laying a foundation for supplying the church and the state with a regular series of learned men, he was not inattentive to other duties belonging to his office. His magnificent cathedral, founded by bishop Kinnimonth in the year 1357, but not completed till the year 1447, he was at great pains and considerable expense to adorn. The great steeple, he furnished with bells, which were supposed to have peculiar efficacy in driving off evil spirits. He was also careful to add to the gold, the silver, and the jewels, with which the cathedral was liberally furnished, and particularly to the rich wardrobe for the officiating clergy. He also added largely to the library. While he was attending to the spiritual wants of his diocese, the worthy bishop was not forgetful of its temporal comforts; and especially, for the accommodation of the good town of Aberdeen, was at the expense of erecting an excellent stone bridge over the Dee, a structure which continued to be a public benefit for many ages.

In consequence of his profuse expenditure, James IV. had totally exhausted his treasury, when, by the advice of the subject of this memoir, he had recourse to the revival of an old law that was supposed to have become obsolete. Among the tenures of land used in Scotland, there was one by which the landlord held his estate on the terms, that if he died and left his son and heir under age, his tutelage belonged to the king or some other lord superior, who uplifted all the rents of the estate till the heir reached the years of majority, while he bestowed upon his ward only what he thought necessary. By the same species of holding, if the possessor sold more than the half of his estate without consent of his superior, the whole reverted to the superior. There were also lands held with clauses called *irritant*, of which some examples we believe may be found still, by which, if two terms of feu duty run unpaid into the third, the land reverts to the superior. From the troubled state of the country during the two former reigns, these laws had not been enforced; so that now, when inquiry began to be made, they had a wide operation, and many were under the necessity of compounding for their estates. Had the bishop been aware of the use the king was to make of the very seasonable supply, he would most probably have been the last man to have suggested it.

James now permitted himself to be cajoled by the French court, and especially by the French queen, who, aware of the romantic turn of his mind, addressed letters to him as her knight, expressing her hope, that as she had suffered much rebuke in France for defending his honour, so he would recompense her again with some of his kingly support in her necessity; that is to say, that he would raise her an army, and come three feet of space on English ground



for her sake. Pitscottie adds, that she sent him also fourteen thousand French crowns to pay his expenses, a circumstance that detracts in a considerable degree from the wildness of the enterprise, and brings the whole nearly to the level of a foolish bargain. James, thus prompted, called a parliament, where, contrary to the declared opinion of all the wiser members, the promises of La Motte the French ambassador, the subserviency of the clergy, who either enjoyed or expected Gallic pensions, and the eagerness of James, caused war to be determined on against England, and a day to be appointed for assembling the army. The army was raised accordingly, and James, crossing the borders, stormed the castles of Norham, Wark, and Ford, wasting without mercy all the adjoining country. In a short time, one of his female prisoners, the lady Heron of Ford, ensnared him in an amour, in consequence of which he neglected the care of his army, and suffered the troops to lie idle in a country that could not yield them subsistence for any length of time. His army, of course, soon began to disperse. The nobles, indeed, remained with their relations and immediate retainers; but even these were highly dissatisfied, and were anxious to return home, taking Berwick by the way, which they contended would yield them a richer reward for their labour than all the villages on the border. James, however, obstinate and intractable, would listen to no advice, and on the 9th day of September, 1513, came to an action with the English, under the earl of Surrey, who, by a skilful countermarch had placed himself between James and his own country. James, whether from ignorance or wilfulness, allowed his enemies quietly to take every advantage, and when they had done so, set fire to his tents, and descended from a strong position on the ridge of Flodden into the plain to meet them. The consequences were such as the temerity of his conduct merited; he was totally routed, being cut off himself, with almost the whole of the Scottish nobility, together with the archbishop of St Andrews, and many of the dignified clergy. The news of this most disastrous battle so deeply affected the gentle spirit of bishop Elphinston, that he never was seen to smile afterwards. He, however, attended in parliament to give his advice in the deplorable state to which the nation was reduced. The queen had been by the late king named as regent so long as she remained unmarried, and this, though contrary to the practice of the country, which had never hitherto admitted of a female exercising regal authority, was, from the scarcity of men qualified either by rank or talents for filling the situation, acquiesced in, especially by those who wished for peace, which they supposed, and justly, as the event proved, she might have some influence in procuring. It was but a few months, however, till she was married, and the question then came to be discussed anew, and with still greater violence.

Such a man as Elphinston was not to be spared to his country in this desperate crisis; for as he was on his journey to Edinburgh to attend a meeting of parliament, he was taken ill by the way, and died on the 25th of October, 1514; being in the eighty-third year of his age. He was, according to his own directions, buried in the collegiate church of Aberdeen.

Bishop Elphinston is one of those ornaments of the Catholic church, who sometimes appear in spite of the errors of that faith. He seems to have been a really good and amiable man. He wrote, as has been already remarked, the Lives of Scottish Saints, which are now lost. He composed also a history of Scotland, from the earliest period of her history, down to his own time, which is still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It is said to consist of eleven books, occupying three hundred and eighty-four pages in folio, written in a small hand, and full of contractions, and to be nearly the same as Fordun, so that we should suppose it scarcely worthy of the trouble it would take to

read it. Of all our Scottish bishops, however, no one has been by our historians more highly commended than bishop Elphinston. He has been celebrated as a great statesman, a learned and pious churchman, and one who gained the reverence and the love of all men. He certainly left behind him many noble instances of his piety and public spirit; and it is highly to his honour, that, notwithstanding his liberality in building and endowing his college, providing materials for a bridge over the Dee, the large alms that he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts, besides the help that he afforded to his own kindred, he used solely the rents of his own bishopric, having never held any place *in commendam*, as the general practice then was, and he left behind him at his death, ten thousand pounds in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the college, and to the finishing and repairing of his bridge over the Dee. As he was thus conspicuous, continues his biographer, for piety and charity, so he was no less so for his having composed several elaborate treatises that were destroyed at the reformation. This panegyrist goes on to say, "that there never was a man known to be of greater integrity of life and manners, it being observed of him, that after he entered into holy orders, he was never known to do or say an unseemly thing. But the respect and veneration that he was held in, may appear from what is related to have happened at the time of his burial, by the historians who lived near his time, for they write, that the day his corpse was brought forth to be interred, the pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by Alexander Lauder a priest, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling into the grave where the corpse was to be laid, and a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, GULIELME, Mitra sepelienda*—With thee the mitre and glory thereof is buried."

ERIGENA, JOHN, SCOTUS, an eminent scholar of the middle age, is supposed to have been born at Ayr, early in the ninth century, though neither the place nor the date of his birth is ascertained with any precision. According to some, his principal name, *Erigena*, signifies that he was *born at Ayr*; but others point to Ergene, on the borders of Wales, as the place of his nativity; while others, again, contend for Ireland, on the strength of his name *Scotus*, which, at that period, was used to indicate a native of the sister island. It would be a mere mockery to say, that any thing is known with certainty respecting the life of John Scotus Erigena. It is almost inconceivable, that a man should have been born among the rude people of Scotland in the ninth century, who afterwards distinguished himself in the eyes of Europe as a scholar. Assuming, nevertheless, the imperfect authorities which have handed down the name of this person, he seems to have, at an early period of his life, been entertained at the court of Charles the Bald, king of France, as a profound philosopher, and, what is strange, a witty and amusing companion. It is stated, as an instance of the latter qualification, that, being once asked by the king what was between a Scot and a sot, he answered, "Only the breadth of the table;" a proof, in fact, of the fabulous character of Erigena's history, since there could have been no such jingle between the words that must have been required to express those ideas in any language of the ninth century. The biographers of Erigena represent him as having been employed for a number of years in the court of king Charles, partly as a preceptor in knowledge, and partly as a state councillor. At the same time, he composed a number of works upon theological subjects, some of which were considered not orthodox. Having translated the works of Dionysius, or St Denis, the Greek philosopher, which were considered as particularly adverse to the true faith, he was obliged, by the persecution of pope Nicolas I., to retire from France. This work is remarkable as having been the means of introducing the Aristotelian or scholastic system of philosophy into the theolo-

gical learning of the western churches; an absurdity which retarded the progress of true science for many centuries, and was not finally put down till the days of Bacon. The subsequent life of this great scholar is doubly obscure. He is said to have been a professor of mathematics and astronomy at Oxford, about the time of Alfred the Great, or at least to have delivered lectures at that seminary of learning. But nothing is known with certainty respecting Oxford till a much later period. From Oxford he is said to have retired to the abbey of Malmesbury, where for some time he kept a school. Behaving, however, with great harshness and severity among his scholars, they were so irritated, that they are reported to have murdered him with the iron bodkins then used in writing. The time of his death is generally referred to 883.

A great multitude of works have been attributed to Erigena; but the following are all that have been printed:—1. "De Divisione Naturæ," Oxon. by Gale, folio, 1651.—2. "De Prædestinatione Dei, contra Goteschalcum," edited by Gilb. Maguin, in his *Vindiciæ Prædestinationis et Gratia*, vol. i. p. 103.—3. "Excerpta de Differentiis et Societatibus Græci Latinique Verbi," in Macrobius's works.—4. "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini," 1558, 1566, 1653; Lond. 1686, 8vo.—5. "Ambigua S. Maximi, seu Scholia ejus in Difficiles locos S. Gregorii Nazianzeni, Latine versa," along with the "Divisio Naturæ," Oxford, 1681, folio.—6. "Opera S. Dionysii quatuor, in Latinam linguam conversa," in the edition of Dionysius, Colon., 1536.

ERSKINE, DAVID, better known by his judicial designation of lord Dun, an eminent lawyer and moral writer, was born at Dun, in the county of Angus, in the year 1670. After receiving his education, partly at the university of St Andrews, and partly at that of Paris, he was, in 1696, called to the Scottish bar, where he soon distinguished himself as a pleader. Though the representative of the celebrated laird of Dun, whose efforts in behalf of the Reformation have endeared his name to the Scottish people, David Erskine was a zealous jacobite, and friend to the non-jurant episcopal clergy. As a member, moreover, of the last Scottish parliament, he gave all possible opposition to the union. In 1711, the tory ministry of queen Anne appointed him one of the judges of the court of session; and in 1713, through the same patronage, he became a commissioner of the court of judicary. These offices he held till 1750, when old age induced him to retire. In 1754, lord Dun published a volume of moral and political reflections, which was long known under the title of "Lord Dun's Advices," but is now almost forgotten. His lordship died in 1755, aged eighty-five. By his wife, Magdalen Riddel, of the family of Riddel of Haining, in Selkirkshire, he left a son, John, who succeeded him in his estate, and a daughter, Anne, who was first married to James, lord Ogilvy, son of David, third earl of Airly, and secondly to Sir James Maedonald of Sleat.

ERSKINE, DAVID STEWART, earl of Buchan, lord Cardross, was born on the 1st of June, 1742, O. S., and was the eldest surviving son of Henry David, the tenth earl, and Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, his majesty's solicitor-general for Scotland. He was educated, "in all manner of useful learning, and in the habits of rigid honour and virtue," under the care of James Buchanan, a relation of the poet and historian, and learned the elements of the mathematics, history, and politics from his father, who had been a scholar of the celebrated Colin Maclaurin. At the university of Glasgow he engaged ardently in "every ingenious and liberal study;" but what will be better remembered, was his connexion with the unfortunate academy of Foulis the printer, which he attended, and of his labours at which he has left us a specimen, in an etching of the abbey of Icolmkill, inserted in the first volume of the Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries.



On the completion of his education, lord Cardross entered the army, but never rose higher than the rank of lieutenant. Forsaking the military life, he went to London, to pursue the study of diplomacy under lord Chatham; and, while there, was elected a fellow of the royal and antiquarian societies. In the following year, 1766, his lordship was appointed secretary to the British embassy in Spain; but his father having died thirteen months afterwards, he returned to his native country, determined to devote the remainder of his life to the cultivation of literature and the encouragement of literary men.

The education of his younger brothers, Thomas, afterwards the illustrious lord-chancellor, and Henry, no less celebrated for his wit, seems to have occupied a large portion of lord Buchan's thoughts. To accomplish these objects, he for years submitted to considerable privations. The family-estate had been squandered by former lords, and it is no small credit to the earl that he paid off debts for which he was not legally responsible; a course of conduct which should lead us to overlook parsimonious habits acquired under very disadvantageous circumstances.

Lord Buchan's favourite study was the history, literature, and antiquities of his native country. It had long been regretted that no society had been formed in Scotland for the promotion of these pursuits; and with a view to supplying this desideratum, he called a meeting of the most eminent persons resident in Edinburgh, on the 14th of November, 1780. Fourteen assembled at his house in St Andrew square, and an essay, which will be found in Smellie's Account of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, p. 4—18, was read by his lordship. At a meeting, held at the same place, on the 28th, it was determined, that upon the 18th of December a society should be formed upon the proposed model; and, accordingly, on the day fixed, the earl of Bute was elected president, and the earl of Buchan first of five vice-presidents. In 1792 the first volume of their Transactions was published; and the following discourses, by the earl, appear in it:—"Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Stewart Denham;" "Account of the Parish of Uphall;" "Account of the Island of Icolmkill;" and a "Life of Mr James Short, optician." Besides these, he had printed, in conjunction with Dr Walter Minto, 1787, "An Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier of Mercheston."

In the same year his lordship retired from Edinburgh to reside at Dryburgh abbey on account of his health. Here he pursued his favourite studies. He instituted an annual festive commemoration of Thomson, at that poet's native place; and this occasion produced from the pen of Burns the beautiful Address to the shade of the bard of Ednam. The eulogy pronounced by the illustrious earl on the first of these meetings, in 1791, is remarkable. "I think myself happy to have this day the honour of endeavouring to do honour to the memory of Thomson, which has been profanely touched by the rude hand of Samuel Johnson, whose fame and reputation indicate the decline of taste in a country that, after having produced an Alfred, a Wallace, a Bacon, a Napier, a Newton, a Buchanan, a Milton, a Hampden, a Fletcher, and a Thomson, can submit to be bullied by an overbearing pedant!" In the following year his lordship published an "Essay on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the poet Thomson, Biographical, Critical, and Political; with some pieces of Thomson's never before published," 8vo.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Buchan had contributed to several periodical publications. In 1784 he communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine "Remarks on the Progress of

<sup>1</sup> Biographical Notice of the Earl of Buchan in the New Scots Magazine, vol. ii. p. 49. From this article most of the facts here mentioned are extracted.



the Roman Arms in Scotland during the sixth campaign of Agricola," afterwards printed, with plates and additions, by Dr Jamieson, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*. To Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* he gave a description of Dryburgh, with views, taken in 1787 and 1789. But his most frequent assistance was given to "The Bee," generally under fictitious signatures. The last work which he meditated was the collection of these anonymous communications. Accordingly, in 1812, "the Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the earl of Buchan, collected from various periodical works," appeared at Edinburgh in 12mo. It contains the following short preface: "The earl of Buchan, considering his advanced age, has thought proper to publish this volume, and meditate the publication of others, containing his anonymous writings, that no person may hereafter ascribe to him any others than are by him, in this manner, avowed, described, or enumerated." The volume is wholly filled with his contributions to "The Bee;" among which, in the department of Scottish history, are "Sketches of the Lives of Sir J. Stewart Denham, George Heriot, John earl of Marr (his ancestor), and Remarks on the Character and Writings of William Drummond of Hawthornden." The second volume did not appear.

His death did not, however, take place till seventeen years after this period; but he was for several years before it in a state of dotage. Few men have devoted themselves so long and so exclusively to literature; his correspondence, both with foreigners and his own countrymen, was very extensive, and comprehended a period of almost three generations. But his services were principally valuable, not as an author, but as a patron: his fortune did not warrant a very expensive exhibition of good offices; but in all cases where his own knowledge, which was by no means limited, or letters of recommendation, could avail, they were frankly and generously offered. One of the works proposed by him was, "a *Commercium Epistolarum* and *Literary History of Scotland*, during the period of last century," including the correspondence of "antiquaries, typographers, and bibliographers," in which he had the assistance of the late Dr Robert Anderson. It is exceedingly to be regretted that such a work, and referring to so remarkable a period, should not have been presented to the public. It might probably have had a considerable portion of the garrulity of age; but, from his lordship's very extensive acquaintance with the period, it cannot be doubted that it would have contained many facts, which are now irretrievably lost.

ERSKINE, REV. EBENEZER, a celebrated divine, and founder of the secession church in Scotland, was son to the Rev. Henry Erskine, who was settled minister at Cornhill, in Northumberland, about the year 1649; whence he was ejected by the Bartholomew act in the year 1662, and, after suffering many hardships for his attachment to the cause of presbytery, was, shortly after the revolution, 1688, settled pastor of the parish of Chirnside, Berwickshire, where he finished his course, in the month of August, 1696, in the seventy-second year of his age. The Rev. Henry Erskine was of the ancient family of Shielfield, in the Merse, descended from the noble family of Marr, and Ebenezer was one of his younger sons by his second wife, Margaret Halcro, a native of Orkney, the founder of whose family was Halcro, prince of Denmark, and whose great-grandmother was the lady Barbara Stuart, daughter to Robert earl of Orkney, son to James V. of Scotland; so that his parentage was, in every respect, what the world calls highly respectable. The place of his birth has been variously stated. One account says it was the village of Dryburgh, where the house occupied by his father is still pointed out, and has been carefully preserved, as a relic of the family; another says it was the Bass, where his father was at the time a pri-

soner for nonconformity. Be the place of his birth as it may, the date has been ascertained to have been the 22nd day of June, 1680; and the name Ebenezer, "a stone of assistance," was given him by his pious parents in testimony of their gratitude for that goodness and mercy with which, amidst all their persecutions, they had been unceasingly preserved. Of his early youth nothing particular has been recorded. The elements of literature he received at Chirnside, under the immediate superintendence of his father, after which he went through a regular course of study at the university of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> During the most part of the time that he was a student, he acted as tutor and chaplain to the earl of Rothes, at Leslie-house, within the presbytery of Kirkaldy, by which court he was taken upon trials, and licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1702.

The abilities and the excellent character of Mr Erskine soon brought him into notice; and in the month of May, 1703, he received a unanimous call to the parish of Portmoak, to the pastoral care of which he was ordained in the month of September following. In this pleasantly sequestered situation, devoting himself wholly to the duties of his office, he laid the foundation of that excellence for which, in his after-life, he was so remarkably distinguished. Anxious to attain accurate and extensive views of divine truth, he spent a great proportion of his time in the study of the scriptures, along with some of the most eminent expositors, Turretine, Witsius, Owen, &c.; embracing, besides, every opportunity of conversing on theological subjects with persons of intelligence and piety. By these means he soon came to great clearness both of conception and expression of the leading truths of the gospel, of which, at first, like many other pious ministers of the church of Scotland at that period, his views were clouded with no inconsiderable portion of legalism. During the year succeeding his settlement, he was united in marriage to Alison Turpie, a young woman of more than ordinary talents, and of undoubted piety. To the experience of this excellent woman he was accustomed to acknowledge to his friends, that he was indebted for much of that accuracy of view by which he was so greatly distinguished, and to which much of that success which attended his ministry is, doubtless, to be ascribed; and, more especially, he used to mention a confidential conversation, on the subject of their religious experiences, between her and his brother Ralph, which he accidentally overheard from the window of his study, which overlooked the bower in the garden, where they were sitting, and unconscious of any person overhearing them. Struck with the simplicity of their views, and the extent of their attainments, as so very superior to his own, he was led to a more close examination of the vital principle of Christianity, which issued in a measure of light and a degree of comfort to which he had previously been a stranger. In the discharge of his ministerial duties, he had always been most exemplary. Besides the usual services of the Sabbath, he had, as was a very general practice in the church of Scotland at that period, a weekly lecture on the Thursdays; but now his diligence seemed to be doubled, and his object much more pointedly to preach Christ in his person, offices, and grace, as at once wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to all who truly receive and rest upon him. Even in his external manners there appeared, from this time forward, a great and important improvement. In public speaking he had felt considerable embarrassment, and in venturing to change his attitude was in danger of losing his ideas; but now he was at once master of his mind, his voice, and his gestures, and by a manner most dignified and engaging, as well as by the weight and the importance of his matter, com-

<sup>1</sup> From the records of the town-council of Edinburgh it appears, that, in 1698, he was a bursar in the university, being presented by Pringle of Torwoodlee.

manded deep and reverential attention. At the same time that Mr Erskine was thus attentive to his public appearances, he was equally so to those duties of a more private kind, which are no less important for promoting the growth of piety and genuine holiness among a people, but which, having less of the pomp of external circumstance to recommend their exercise, are more apt to be sometimes overlooked. In the duties of public catechising and exhorting from house to house, as well as in visiting the sick, he was most indefatigable. In catechising he generally brought forward the subject of his discourses, that by the repetition of them he might make the more lasting impression on the manners and hearts of his people. For the purposes of necessary recreation he was accustomed to perambulate the whole bounds of his parish, making frequent calls at the houses of his parishioners, partaking of their humble meals, and talking over their every day affairs, without any thing like ceremony. By this means he became intimately acquainted with the tempers and the characters of all his hearers, and was able most effectively to administer the word of instruction, correction, encouragement, or reproof, as the circumstances of the case might require. Though Mr Erskine was thus free and familiar with his people on ordinary and every day occasions, he was perfectly aware of the necessity of maintaining true ministerial dignity and deportment; and when he appeared among them in the way of performing official duty, was careful to preserve that serious and commanding demeanour which a situation so important, and services so solemn, naturally tend to inspire. When visiting ministerially, it was his custom to enter every habitation with the same gravity with which he entered the pulpit, pronouncing the salutation, "Peace be to this house;" after which he examined all the members of the family, tendered to each such exhortations as their circumstances seemed to require, concluded with prayer, fervent, particular, and affectionate. In visiting the sick, he studied the same serious solemnity, and few had the gift of more effectually speaking to the comfort of the dejected christian, or of pointing out the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, to the sinner alarmed with a sense of guilt and the view of the approaching judgment.

We cannot forbear mentioning another part of his ministerial conduct, in which it were to be wished that he were more imitated. Not satisfied with addressing to the children of his charge frequent admonitions from the pulpit, and conversing with them in their fathers' houses, he regularly superintended their instruction in the parish school, where it was his practice to visit every Saturday to hear them repeat the catechism, to tender them suitable advice, and affectionately to pray with them. When such was his care of the children, the reader will scarcely need to be told that he was watchful over the conduct of their teachers; and for the preservation of order and good government in his parish, he took care to have in every corner of it a sufficient number of active and intelligent ruling elders, an order of men of divine appointment, and fitted for preserving and promoting the public morals beyond any other that have yet been thought upon, but in subsequent times, especially in the established church, till of late years, greatly neglected. The effect of all this diligence in the discharge of his pastoral duties, was a general attention to the interests of religion among his people, all of whom seemed to regard their pastor with the strongest degree of respect and confidence. Not only was the church crowded on Sabbaths, but even on the Thursdays, and his diets of examination drew together large audiences. Prayer meetings were also established in every part of his parish, for the management of which, he drew up a set of rules, and he encouraged them by his presence, visiting them in rotation as often as his other avocations would admit. Nor was it this external regard to the practice of piety alone that dis-



tinguished them, the triumphant deaths of many of them bore the still more decisive testimony to the good seed sown among them having been watered by the dews of Divine influence. It has been affirmed, that the parish of Portmoak was long after distinguished above all the parishes around it for the attainments of the people in religious knowledge, and for their marked attention to the rules of godliness and honesty.

But it was not to his parish alone that Mr Erskine's labours were made a blessing. Serious christians from all quarters of the country, attracted by the celebrity of his character, were eager to enjoy occasionally the benefits of his ministry, and on sacramental occasions he had frequently attendants from the distance of sixty or seventy miles. So great was the concourse of people on these occasions, that it was necessary to form two separate assemblies besides that which met in the church, for the proper business of the day; and so remarkable was the success attending the word, that many eminent christians on their death-beds spoke of Portmoak as a Bethel where they had enjoyed renewed manifestations of God's love, and the inviolability of his covenant. In the midst of his labours, on the death of his dear brother Mr Macgill of Kinross, an attempt was made to remove Mr Erskine from Portmoak to that burgh. Though the call, however, was unanimous and urgent, the affectionate efforts of the people of Portmoak were successful in preventing the desired translation. Shortly after this, Mr Erskine received an equally unanimous call to the parish of Kirkaldy, which he also refused, but a third minister being wanted at Stirling, the Rev. Mr Alexander Hamilton, with the whole population, gave him a pressing and unanimous call, of which, after having maturely deliberated on the circumstances attending it, he felt it his duty to accept. He was accordingly, with the concurrence of the courts, translated to Stirling, in the autumn of the year 1731, having discharged the pastoral office in Portmoak for twenty-eight years. The farewell sermon which he preached at Portmoak, from Acts xx. 22, "And now behold I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there," had in it something particularly ominous, and as such seems to have been received by the people. "This," says an eye and ear witness of the scene, "was a sorrowful day to both minister and people. The retrospect of twenty-eight years of great felicity which were for ever gone, and the uncertainty of what might follow, bathed their faces with tears, and awoke the voice of mourning throughout the congregation, for the loss of a pastor, the constant object of whose ministry was to recommend to their souls the exalted Redeemer in his person, offices, and grace, who had laboured to rouse the inconsiderate to repentance and serious concern, and who had not failed, when religious impressions took place, to preserve and promote them with unwearied diligence. So much was the minister himself affected, that it was with difficulty he could proceed till he reached the end of the doctrinal part of his discourse, when he was obliged to pause, and, overcome with grief, concluded with these words, "My friends, I find that neither you nor I can bear the application of this subject." So strong was the affection of the people of Portmoak to Mr Erskine, that several individuals removed to Stirling along with him, that they might still enjoy the benefit of his ministry; he was also in the habit of visiting them and preaching to them occasionally, till, through the melancholy state of matters in the church, the pulpits of all the parishes in Scotland were shut against him.

In the new and enlarged sphere of action which Mr Erskine now occupied, he seemed to exert even more than his usual ability. His labours here met with singular acceptance, and appeared to be as singularly blessed; when an attempt was made, certainly little anticipated by his friends, and perhaps as little



by himself, to paralyse his efforts, to narrow the sphere of his influence, and to circumscribe his expression of thought and feeling; an expression which had long been painful and was now thought to be dangerous to the party that had long been dominant in the Scottish church, and were charged with corrupting her doctrines and labouring to make a sacrifice of her liberties at the shrine of civil authority. That they were guilty of the first of these charges was alleged to be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, by their conduct towards the presbytery of Auchterarder, with regard to what has since been denominated the Auchterarder creed, so far back as the year 1717; by their conduct towards the twelve brethren, known by the name of "Marrow men," along with their acts against the doctrines of the book entitled, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in the years 1720 and 1721; and, more recently still, by the leniency of their dealings with professor John Simpson of Glasgow, who, though found to have, in his prelections to the divinity students, taught a system of Deism rather than christian theology, met with no higher censure than simple suspension. The students, it was insisted, could be equally well instructed from their tamely submitting to take the abjuration oath, and to the re-imposition of lay patronages,—contrary to the act of union, by which the Scottish church was solemnly guaranteed in all her liberties and immunities so long as that treaty should be in existence. That this grinding yoke had been imposed upon her in an illegal and despotic manner by the tory ministry of the latter years of queen Anne was not denied; but it was contended, that those powers which the church still possessed, and which she could still legally employ, had never been called into action, but that patrons had been encouraged to make their sacrilegious encroachments upon the rights of the christian people even beyond what they appeared of themselves willing to do,—while the cause of the people was by the church trampled upon, and their complaints totally disregarded. In the contests occasioned by these different questions, Mr Erskine had been early engaged. He had refused the oath of abjuration, and it was owing to a charge preferred against him by the Rev. Mr Anderson of St Andrews, before the commission of the general assembly, for having spoken against such as had taken it, that his first printed sermon, "God's little remnant keeping their garments clean," was, along with some others, given to the public in the year 1725, many years after it had been preached. In the defence of the doctrine of the Marrow of Modern Divinity, he had a principal hand in the representation and petition presented to the assembly on the subject, May the 11th, 1721; which, though originally composed by Mr Boston, was revised and perfected by him. He also drew up the original draught of the answers to the twelve queries that were put to the twelve brethren, which was afterwards perfected by Mr Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, one of the most luminous pieces of theology to be found in any language. Along with his brethren, for his share in this good work, he was by the general assembly solemnly rebuked and admonished, and was along with them reviled in many scurrilous publications of the day, as a man of wild antinomian principles, an innovator in religion, an impugner of the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, an enemy to Christian morality, a troubler of Israel, and puffed up with vanity in the pride and arrogancy of his heart, anxious to be exalted above his brethren. These charitable assumptions found their way even into the pulpits, and frequently figured in Synod sermons and other public discourses. Owing to the vehemence of Principal Haddow of St Andrews, who, from personal pique at Mr Hogg of Carnock, the original publisher of the Marrow in Scotland, took the lead in impugning the doctrines of that book, Mr Ebenezer Erskine and his four representing brethren in that quarter, James Hogg, James Bathgate, James Wardlaw, and Ralph Erskine, were treated with

marked severity. At several meetings of Synod they were openly accused and subjected to the most inquisitorial examinations. Attempts were also repeatedly made to compel them to sign anew the Confession of Faith, not as it was originally received by the church of Scotland in the year 1647, but as it was explained by the obnoxious act of 1722. These attempts however, had utterly failed, and the publication of so many of Mr Erskine's sermons had not only refuted the foolish calumnies that had been so industriously set afloat, but had prodigiously increased his reputation and his general usefulness. The same year in which Mr Erskine was removed to Stirling, a paper was given in to the general assembly, complaining of the violent settlements that were so generally taking place throughout the country, which was not so much as allowed a hearing. This induced upwards of fifty-two ministers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one, to draw up at large a representation of the almost innumerable evils under which the church of Scotland was groaning, and which threatened to subvert her very foundations. To prevent all objections on the formality of this representation, it was carefully signed and respectfully presented, according to the order pointed out in such cases; but neither could this obtain so much as a hearing. So far was the assembly from being in the least degree affected with the mournful state of the church, and listening to the groans of an afflicted but submissive people, that they sustained the settlement of Mr Stark at Kinross, one of the most palpable intrusions ever made upon a christian congregation, and they enjoined the presbytery who had refused to receive him as a brother, to enrol his name on their list, and to grant no church privileges to any individual of the parish of Kinross, but upon Mr Stark's letter of recommendation requiring or allowing them so to do, and this in the face of the presbytery's declaration, that Mr Stark had been imposed on the parish of Kinross, and upon them, by the simple fiat of the patron. Against this decision, protests and dissents were presented by many individuals, but by a previous law they had provided, that nothing of the kind should henceforth be entered upon the journals of the courts, whether supreme or subordinate, thus leaving no room for individuals to exonerate their own consciences, nor any legitimate record of the opposition that had been made to departures from established and fundamental laws, or innovations upon tacitly acknowledged rules of propriety and good order. This same assembly, as if anxious to extinguish the possibility of popular claims being at any future period revived, proceeded to enact into a standing law an overture of last assembly, for establishing a uniform method of planting vacant churches, when at any time the right of doing so should fall into the hands of presbyteries, *tanquam jure devoluto*, or by the consent of the parties interested in the settlement. This uniform method was simply the conferring the power of suffrage, in country parishes, on heritors being protestant, no matter though they were episcopalians, and elders, in burghs, on magistrates, town council,—and elders,—and in burghs with landward parishes joined, on magistrates, town council, heritors, and elders joined, and this to continue "till it should please God in his providence to relieve this church from the grievances arising from the act restoring patronages." This act was unquestionably planned by men to whom patronage presented no real grievances, and it was itself nothing but patronage modified very little for the better. But the authors of it had the art to pass it off upon many simple well-meaning men, as containing all that the constitution of the Scottish church had ever at any time allowed to the body of the people; and as so moderately worded that the government could not but be amply satisfied that no danger could arise from its exercise, and of course would give up its claims upon patronage without a murmur. In consequence of this, the act passed through the assembly with less opposition than even in the de-

cayed state of the church might have been expected. In fact it passed through the court at the expense of its very constitution. By the barrier act, it has been wisely provided, that no law shall be enacted by the assembly, till in the shape of an overture, it has been transmitted to every presbytery in the church, a majority of whose views in its favour must be obtained before it be made the subject of deliberation. In this case it had been transmitted; but eighteen presbyteries had not made the required return, eighteen approved of it with material alterations, and thirty-one were absolutely against it; so that the conduct of the party who pushed this act into law, was barefaced in the extreme. Nor was the attempt to persuade the people, that it contained the true meaning and spirit of the standards of the church less so. The first book of discipline compiled in the year 1560, and ratified by act of parliament in the year 1567, says expressly, "No man should enter in the ministry, without a lawful vocation: the lawful vocation standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by both." And as if the above were not plain enough, it is added, "No minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk, without their consent." The second book of discipline agreed upon in the general assembly, 1578, inserted in their registers, 1581, sworn to in the national covenant the same year revived, and ratified by the famous assembly at Glasgow, in the year 1638, and according to which the government of the church, was established first in the year 1592, and again in the year 1640, is equally explicit on this head. "Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way by the which qualified persons are promoted to spiritual office within the kirk of God. Without this lawful calling, it was never leisome to any to meddle with any function ecclesiastical." After speaking of vocation as extraordinary and ordinary, the compilers state "this ordinary and outward calling;" to consist of "two parts, election, and ordination. Election they state to be "the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership, [the presbytery], and consent of the congregation to which the person or persons shall be appointed. In the order of election is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any office of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership," not the eldership or session of the congregation to which the person is to be appointed, as has been often ignorantly assumed; but the eldership or presbytery in whose bounds the vacant congregation lies, and under whose charge it is necessarily placed in a peculiar manner, by its being vacant, or without a public teacher. In perfect unison with the above, when the articles to be reformed are enumerated in a following chapter, patronage is one of the most prominent, is declared to have "flowed from the pope and corruption of the canon law, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation; and, therefore, whosoever will embrace God's word, and desire the kingdom of his son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God and upright state of this kirk crave; otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same." Though the church had thus clearly delivered her opinion with regard to patronages, she had never been able to shake herself perfectly free from them, excepting for a few years previous to the restoration of Charles II., when they were restored in all their mischievous power and tendencies; and the revolution church being set down, not upon the attainments of the second, but upon the less clear and determinate



ones of the first reformation, patronage somewhat modified, with other evils, was entailed on the country. Something of the light and heat of the more recent, as well as more brilliant period still, however, remained; and in the settlement of the church made by the parliament in the year 1690, patronage in its direct form was set aside, not as an antichristian abomination, and incompatible with christian liberty, as it ought to have been, but as "inconvenient and subject to abuse." Though this act, however, was the act only of a civil court, it was less remote from scripture and common sense, than this act of the highest ecclesiastical court in the nation. By that act "upon a vacancy, the heritors, being protestants," (by a subsequent act it was provided, that they should be qualified protestants,) "and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved, or disapproved by them; and if they disapprove, the disapprovers to give in their reasons to the effect the affair may be cognosced by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded." By this act, which we by no means admire, the heritors it would appear might have proposed one candidate to the congregation, and the elders another; nor, whether there was but one candidate or two, had the election been completed till the congregation had given their voice. But by the assembly's act, the heritors and the elders elected as one body; the work was by them completed; and, however much the congregation might be dissatisfied, except they could prove the elected person immoral in conduct, or erroneous in doctrine, they had no resource but to submit quietly to the choice of their superiors, the heritors and the elders.

The act of 1690 was liable to great abuse; yet, by the prudent conduct of presbyteries, complaints were for many years comparatively few, and but for the restoration of patrons to their antichristian power, might have continued to be so long enough. For ten or twelve years previous to this period, 1732, patrons had been gaining ground every year, and this act was unquestionably intended to accommodate any little appearance of liberty which remained in the Scottish church to the genius of patronage, which was now by the leaders of the dominant party declared the only sure if not legitimate door of entrance to the benefice, whatever it might be to the affections and the spiritual edification of the people. The measure, however, was incautious and premature. There was a spirit abroad which the ruling faction wanted the means to break, and which their frequent attempts to bend ought to have taught them was already far beyond their strength. As an overture and an interim act, it had been almost universally condemned; and, now that it was made a standing law, without having gone through the usual forms, and neither protest, dissent, nor remonstrance allowed to be entered against it, nothing remained for its opponents but, as occasion offered, to testify against it from the pulpit or the press, which many embraced the earliest opportunity of doing. Scarcely, indeed, had the members of assembly reached their respective homes with the report of their proceedings, when, in the evening of the Sabbath, June 4th, in a sermon from Isaiah ix. 6, the subject of this memoir attacked the obnoxious act with such force of argument as was highly gratifying to its opponents, but peculiarly galling to its abettors, who were everywhere, in the course of a few days, by the loud voice of general report, informed of the circumstance, with manifold exaggerations. Public, however, as this condemnation of the act of assembly was, Mr Erskine did not think it enough. Having occasion, as late moderator, to open the synod of Perth on the 10th day of October, the same year, taking for his text, Psalm cxviii. 22, "The Stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the Head Stone of the Cor-



ner," he delivered himself, on the disputed points, more at large, and with still greater freedom. In this sermon, Mr Erskine asserted, in its full breadth, the doctrine which we have above proved, from her standards, to have all along been the doctrine of the church of Scotland—that the election of a minister belonged to the whole body of the people. "The promise," said he, keeping up the figure in the text, "of conduct and counsel in the choice of men that are to build, is not made to patrons and heritors, or any other set of men, but to the church, the body of Christ, to whom apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given. As it is a natural privilege of every house or society of men, to have the choice of their own servants or officer; so it is the privilege of the house of God in a particular manner. What a miserable bondage would it be reckoned, for any family to have stewards, or servants, imposed on them by strangers, who might give the children a stone for bread, or a scorpion instead of a fish, poison instead of medicine; and shall we suppose that our God granted a power to any set of men, patrons, heritors, or whatever they be, a power to impose servants on his family, they being the purest society in the world?" This very plain and homely passage, which, for the truth it contains, and the noble spirit of liberty which it breathes, deserves to be written with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever, gave great offence to many members of synod, and particularly to Mr Mercer of Aberdalgie, who moved that Mr Erskine should be rebuked for his freedom of speech, and admonished to be more circumspect for the future. This produced the appointment of a committee, to draw out the passages complained of; which being done, and Mr Erskine refusing to retract any thing he had said, the whole was laid before the synod. The synod, after a debate of three days, found, by a plurality of six voices, Mr Erskine censurable, and ordered him to be rebuked and admonished at their bar accordingly. The presbytery of Stirling was also instructed to notice his behaviour in time coming, at their privy censures, and report to the next meeting of synod. Against this sentence Mr Erskine entered his protest, and appealed to the general assembly. Mr Alexander Moncrief of Abernethy also protested against this sentence, in which he was joined by a number of his brethren, only two of whom, Mr William Wilson of Perth, and Mr Fisher of Kinclaven, Mr Erskine's son-in-law, became eventually seceders. Firm to their purpose, the synod, on the last sederunt of their meeting, called Mr Erskine up to be rebuked; and he not appearing, it was resolved that he should be rebuked at their next meeting in April. Personal pique against Mr Erskine, and envy of his extensive popularity, were unfortunately at the bottom of this procedure, which, as it increased that popularity in a tenfold degree, heightened proportionally the angry feelings of his opponents, and rendered them incapable of improving the few months that elapsed between the meetings of synod, for taking a more cool and dispassionate view of the subject. The synod met in April, under the same excitation of feeling; and though the presbytery and the kirk session of Stirling exerted themselves to the utmost in order to bring about an accommodation, it was in vain: the representations of the first were disregarded, and the petition of the other was not so much as read. Mr Erskine being called, and comparing, simply told them that he adhered to his appeal. There cannot be a doubt but that the synod was encouraged to persevere in its wayward course by the leaders of the assembly, who were now resolved to lay prostrate every shadow of opposition to their measures. Accordingly, when the assembly met, in the month of May following, 1733, they commenced proceedings by taking up the case of Mr Stark, the intruder into the parish of Kinross, and the presbytery of Dunfermline, which they finished in the highest style of authority; probably, in part, for the very purpose of intimidating such as might be dis-

posed to befriend Mr Erskine on this momentous occasion. Multitudes, it was well known, approved of every word Mr Erskine had said; but when it was made apparent with what a high hand they were to be treated, if they took any part in the matter, even those who wished him a safe deliverance might be afraid to take his part. Probably he himself was not without painful misgivings when he beheld the tide of authority thus rolling resistlessly along; but he had committed himself, and neither honour nor conscience would allow him to desert the prominence on which, in the exercise of his duty, he had come to be placed, though, for the time, it was covered with darkness, and seemed to be surrounded with danger. His appeal to the assembly he supported by reasons alike admirable, whether we consider their pointed bearing on the subject, the piety that runs through them, or the noble spirit of independence which they breathe. The reasons of his appeal were five, of which we can only give a feeble outline. 1st, The embittered spirit of the greater part of the synod, by which they were evidently incapable of giving an impartial judgment. 2nd, The tendency of such procedure to gag the mouths of those, who, by their commission, must use all boldness and freedom in dealing with the consciences of men. 3d, Because, though the synod had found him censurable, they had condescended on no one part of the truth of God's word, or the standards of this church, from which he had receded. 4th, The censured expressions, viewed abstractly from the committee's remarks, which the synod disowned, are not only inoffensive but either scriptural or natively founded on scripture. The fifth reason regarded the obnoxious act of assembly, against which he could not retract his testimony, and which the synod, by their procedure, had made a term of ministerial communion, which, for various reasons, he showed could not be so to him. On all these accounts, he claimed, "from the equity of the venerable assembly," a reversal of the sentence of the synod. To Mr Erskine's appeal Mr James Fisher gave in his name as adhering. Reasons of protest were also given in by Mr Alexander Moncrief and a number of ministers and elders adhering to him, fraught with the most cogent arguments, though couched in the modest form of supplication rather than assertion. But they had all one fate, viz. were considered great aggravations of Mr Erskine's original offence. The sentence of the synod was confirmed, and, to terminate the process, Mr Erskine appointed to be rebuked and admonished by the moderator, at the bar of the assembly; which was done accordingly. Mr Erskine, however, declared that he could not submit to the rebuke and admonition, and gave in a protest for himself, Mr Wilson, Mr Moncrief, and Mr Fisher, each of whom demanded to be heard on their reasons of appeal, but were refused,—Mr Moncrief and Mr Wilson, immediately by the assembly, and Mr Fisher, by the committee of bills refusing to transmit his reasons, which were, in consequence, left upon the table of the house. The paper was titled, "Protest by Mr Ebenezer Erskine and others, given in to the assembly, 1733." "Although I have a very great and dutiful regard to the judicatures of this church, to whom I own subjection in the Lord, yet, in respect the assembly has found me censurable, and have tendered a rebuke and admonition to me for things I conceive agreeable to the word of God and our approved standards, I find myself obliged to protest against the foresaid censure, as importing that I have, in my doctrine, at the opening of the synod of Perth, in October last, departed from the word of God, and the foresaid standards, and that I shall be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of this church upon all proper occasions. And I do hereby adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly, 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodi-

cal sermon, craving this my protest and declaration be inserted in the records of assembly, and that I be allowed extracts thereof: Ebenezer Erskine." "We, undersigned subscribers, dissenters from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, do hereby adhere to the above protestation and declaration, containing a testimony against the act of assembly 1732, and asserting our privilege and duty to testify publicly against the same or like defections upon all proper occasions: William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief." "I Mr James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, appellant against the synod of Perth in this question, although the committee of bills did not think fit to transmit my reasons of appeal, find myself obliged to adhere unto the foresaid protestation and declaration: James Fisher." This paper being referred to a committee, that committee returned it with the following overture, which by a great majority of the assembly, was instantly turned into an act:—"The general assembly ordains, that the four brethren aforesaid, appear before the commission in August next, and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehaviour in offering to protest, and in giving in to this assembly the paper by them subscribed, and that they then retract the same. And in case they do not appear before the said commission in August, and then show their sorrow, and retract as said is, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed to suspend the said brethren, or such of them as shall not obey, from the exercise of their ministry. And farther, in case the said brethren shall be suspended by the said commission, and that they shall act contrary to the said sentence of suspension, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed, at their meeting in November, or any subsequent meeting, to proceed to a higher censure against the said four brethren, or such of them as shall continue to offend by transgressing this act. And the general assembly do appoint the several presbyteries of which the said brethren are members, to report to the commission in August and subsequent meetings of it, their conduct and behaviour with respect to this act." The four brethren, on this sentence being intimated to them, offered to read the following as their joint speech:—"In regard the venerable assembly have come to a positive sentence without hearing our defence, and have appointed the commission to execute the sentence in August, in case we do not retract what we have done, we cannot but complain of this uncommon procedure, and declare that we are not at liberty to take this affair into *avisandum*." The assembly, however, would not hear them, and they left their paper on the table, under form of instrument.

This sentence excited a deep sensation in every corner of the country, and when the four brethren, as they were now called, appeared before the commission in the month of August, numerous representations were presented in their behalf, stating the evils that were likely to result from persevering in the measures that had been adopted towards them, and recommending caution and delay as the only means whereby matters might be accommodated, and the peace of the church preserved. On Mr Erskine's behalf, especially, the petitions were urgent, and the testimonials to his character strong. "Mr Erskine's character," say the presbytery of Stirling in their representation to the commission, "is so established amongst the body of professors of this part of the church, that we believe even the authority of an assembly condemning him cannot lessen it, yea, the condemnation itself, in the present case will tend to heighten it, and in his case, should the sentence be executed, most lamentable consequences would ensue, and most melancholy divisions will be increased; the success of the gospel in our bounds hindered; reproach, clamour, and noise will take place; our congregations be torn in pieces; ministers of Christ will be deserted and misrepresented; and our enemies will rejoice over us. The



same evils were apprehended by the kirk session of Stirling, and the observations of both presbytery and session were confirmed by the town council.—“We beg leave,” say they, “briefly to represent that Mr Erskine was settled as an ordained minister amongst us for the greater edification of the place, and that with no small trouble and expense—that we have always lived in good friendship with him, after now two full years’ acquaintance—that we find him to be of a peaceable disposition of mind, and of a religious walk and conversation, and to be every way fitted and qualified for discharging the office of the ministry amongst us, and that he has accordingly discharged the same to our great satisfaction—that, therefore, our being deprived of his ministerial performances must undoubtedly be very moving and afflictive to us, and that the putting the foresaid act (the act of suspension) into execution, we are afraid, will in all likelihood be attended with very lamentable circumstances, confusions, and disorders, too numerous and tedious to be here rehearsed, and that not only in this place in particular, but also in the church in general.” The kirk session and town council of Perth presented each a representation in favour of Mr Wilson, as did the presbyteries of Dunblane and Ellon, praying the commission to wait at least for the instructions of another assembly. Full of the spirit of the assembly which had appointed it, however, the commission was deaf to all admonitions, refusing to read, or even to allow any of these representations to be read, with the exception of a small portion of that from the presbytery of Stirling, which might be done as a mark of respect to Mr Erskine’s character, or it might be intended to awaken the envy and rage of his enemies. Mr Erskine prepared himself a pretty full representation, as an appellant from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, as did also Mr James Fisher. Messrs Wilson and Moncrief, as protesters against that sentence, gave in papers, under form of instrument, insisting upon it as their right to choose their own mode of defence, which was by writing. Mr Erskine was allowed, with some difficulty, to read his paper, but none of the others could obtain the like indulgence, so they delivered the substance of them in speeches at the bar. They did not differ in substance from those formerly given in, and of which we have already given the reader as liberal specimens as our limits will permit. “In regard they were not convicted of departing from any of the received principles of the church of Scotland, or of counteracting their ordination vows and engagements; they protested that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise their ministry as heretofore they had done; and that they should not be chargeable with any of the lamentable effects that might follow upon the course taken with them.” The commission, without any hesitation, suspended them from the exercise of the ministerial function in all its parts. Against this sentence they renewed their protestations, and paid no regard to it, as all of them confessed when brought before the commission in the month of November. Applications in their behalf were more numerous, at the meeting of the commission, in November, than they had been in August, and they had the advantage of those of August, in that they were read. The prayer of them all was delay; and it carried in the commission, to proceed to a higher censure only by the casting vote of Mr Goldie, (or Gowdie,) the moderator. The sentence was pronounced on the 16th day of November, 1733, to the following effect:—“The commission of the general assembly did, and hereby do, loose the pastoral relation of Mr Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, Mr William Wilson, minister at Perth, Mr Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, and Mr James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, to their said respective charges; and do declare them no longer ministers of this church. And do hereby prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them, or any of them, in any ministerial function. And the commis-



sion do declare the churches of the said Messrs Erskine, Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, vacant from and after the date of this sentence." Extracts were also, by the sentence, ordered to be sent with letters to the several presbyteries in whose bounds the said ministers had their charges, ordering intimation of the sentence to be made in the several vacant churches. Letters, intimating the sentence, were also ordered to the magistrates of Perth and Stirling, to the sheriff principal of Perth, and baillie of the regality of Abernethy. Against this sentence, Mr Erskine and his brethren took the following protestation, which may be considered as the basis, or constitution, of the secession church. "We hereby adhere to the protestation formerly entered before this court, both at their last meeting in August, and when we appeared before this meeting. And, farther, we do protest, in our own name, and in the name of all and every one in our respective congregations adhering to us, that, notwithstanding of this sentence passed against us, our pastoral relation shall be held and reputed firm and valid. And, likewise, we protest, that, notwithstanding of our being cast out from ministerial communion with the established church of Scotland, we still hold communion with all and every one who desire, with us, to adhere to the principles of the true presbyterian church of Scotland, in her doctrine, worship, government, and discipline, and particularly with all who are groaning under the evils, and who are afflicted with the grievances we have been complaining of, and who are, in their several spheres, wrestling against the same. But in regard the prevailing party in this established church, who have now cast us out from ministerial communion with them, are carrying on a course of defection from our reformed and covenanted principles, and particularly are suppressing ministerial freedom and faithfulness in testifying against the present backslidings, and inflicting censures upon ministers for witnessing, by protestations and otherwise, against the same. Therefore we do, for these and many other weighty reasons, to be laid open in due time, protest that we are obliged to make a secession from them, and that we can hold no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them; and in like manner, we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and confession of faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanted church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us; upon all which we take instruments. And we do hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming general assembly of the church of Scotland." Mr Gabriel Wilson, of Maxton, one of the eleven brethren who, thirteen years before this, had been joined with Mr Erskine in the defence of the Marrow, took a protest against the sentence at the same time, which was adhered to by Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; Thomas Muir, Orwell; John Maclaurin, Edinburgh; John Currie, Kinglassie, afterwards the most bitter enemy of the secession; James Wardlaw, Dunfermline, and Thomas Nairn, Abbotshall; the greater part of whom lived to advance the interests of the secession.

In this violent struggle for the church's and the people's liberties, Mr Erskine was ably supported by his three brethren, Messrs Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, and his popularity was extended beyond what might be supposed reasonable limits. His congregation clung to him with increasing fondness, and his worthy colleague, Mr Alexander Hamilton, during the short time he lived after the rise of the secession, ceased not to show him the warmest regard by praying publicly, both for him and the associate presbytery. This presbytery was constituted with solemn prayer, by Mr Ebenezer Erskine at Gairny Bridge, near Kinross, on the 6th day of December, 1733, the greater part of that, and the whole of the preceding day having been spent in prayer. The associate presbytery

consisted at first only of the four brethren; for though Messrs Ralph Erskine and Thomas Muir were both present at its constituting, they were only spectators. Though they had thus put themselves in a posture to work, they did not proceed for some years to any judicative acts, further than publishing papers relating to the public cause in which they were engaged; these were a review of the narrative and state of the proceedings against them, issued by a committee of the commission of the general assembly, published in March, 1734; and a testimony to the doctrine, worship, and government of the church of Scotland, or reasons for their protestation entered before the commission of the general assembly, in November, 1733, &c. This has been since known by the name of the extrajudicial testimony. In these papers Mr Erskine had his full share, and they had an effect upon the public mind, which alarmed the ruling faction in the church not a little, and drove them upon measures which could hardly have been anticipated. The friends of the seceders indeed made an extraordinary bustle, many of them from no sincere motives, some of them anxious to heal the breach, and others of them only anxious for a pretext to stand by and do nothing in the matter. The leaders of the assembly, too, fearful of the consequences of a system that was untried, were willing to concede something at the present time, to outraged orthodoxy, knowing well that though they could not recall the past, they might yet, by a semblance of moderation, preserve on their side a number of the more timid of the friends of the seceders who had not yet declared themselves, by which the schism, though not totally healed, might be greatly circumscribed. Accordingly, the next assembly when it met in the month of May, 1734, was found to be of a somewhat different complexion from a number that had preceded it. There was still, however, as one of its members and its great admirer has remarked, "the mighty opposition of great men, ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," and who took effectual care, that nothing should be done in the way of reformation, further than might be justified by a calculating worldly policy. In passing the commission book, sundry reservations were made of a rather novel kind, and among others, the sentence passed against Mr Erskine and his three brethren. The act of 1730, forbidding the registering of dissents, and the act of 1732, concerning the planting of vacant churches, were both declared to be no longer binding rules in the church. The synod of Perth and Stirling were also empowered to take up the case of Mr Erskine, and without inquiring into the legality or justice of any of the steps that had been taken on either side, restore the harmony and peace of the church, and for this purpose they were to meet on the first Tuesday of July next. Never had any synod before this such a task enjoined them. The preceding assembly had enjoined its commission to do all that had been done toward Mr Erskine and his friends. This assembly enjoins the synod to reverse all that had been done by the commission, but with the express promise, that they shall not take it upon them to judge either of the legality or the formality of the proceedings they were thus ordered to reverse. Upon what principle was the synod to proceed? If the sentence of the commission was pronounced on proper grounds, and the subjects of it had given no signs of repentance, the assembly itself could not warrantably nor consistently take it off. This, "the great men, the ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them, were perfectly aware of; but there were a few men, such as Willison, Currie, and Macintosh, who they knew had a hankering after the seceders, and whom they wished to secure upon their own side, and they served them by an act more absurd than any of those that had occasioned the secession; an act requiring a synod to reverse a sentence, that either was or ought to have been pronounced in the name of the Lord Jesus

Christ, without inquiring into its validity, or presuming to give an opinion respecting it? The synod, however, hastened to perform the duty assigned them, and on the second of July, 1734, met at Perth, when, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, they took off the sentences from all the four brethren, restoring them to their standing in the church, ordered their names to be placed upon the presbytery and synod rolls, as if there had never been act, sentence, or impediment in their way. The seceders had too much penetration to be gulled by this invention, and too much honesty to accept of the seeming boon; but it answered the main purpose that it was intended to serve, it afforded a handle for reviving a popular clamour against them, and proved an excellent excuse for their summer friends to desert them. The reforming fit was past in the meeting of next assembly in 1736, which was as violent in its proceedings as any that had preceded it. Mr Erskine and his friends now despairing of any speedy reformations in the judicatories, published their reasons for not acceding to these judications, and proceeded to prepare the judicial act and testimony, which, after many diets of fasting and prayer, was enacted at their twenty-fourth presbyterial meeting, in the month of December, 1736. Mr Erskine continued all this time to occupy his own parish church, and was attended with the same respectful attention as ever. In the year 1738, the assembly began to persecute Mr Erskine and his friends, who were now considerably increased. In the year 1739, he, along with his brethren, was served with a libel to appear before the general assembly, where they appeared as a constituted presbytery, and by their moderator gave in a paper, declining the authority of the court. The assembly, however, delayed giving sentence against them till next year, 1740, when they were all deposed, and ordered to be ejected from their churches. On the sabbath after this, Mr Erskine retired with his congregation to a convenient place in the fields, where he continued to preach till a spacious meeting-house was prepared by his people, all of whom adhered to him, and in this house he continued to officiate when ability served till the day of his death. In the year 1742, Mr Erskine was employed, along with Mr Alexander Moncrief, to enlarge the secession testimony, which they did by that most excellent and well known little work, entitled an act anent the doctrine of grace. About this period he had also some correspondence with Mr George Whitefield, which terminated in a way that could not be pleasing to either party. Along with the doctrines of grace, the associate presbytery took into consideration the propriety of renewing the national covenants. An overture to this purpose was approved of by the presbytery on the twenty-first of October, 1742, the same day that they passed the act anent the doctrine of grace. That a work of so much solemnity might be gone about with all due deliberation, the presbytery agreed that there should be room left for all the members to state freely whatever difficulties they might have upon the subject, and it accordingly lay over till the twenty-third of December, 1743, when the overture, with sundry amendments and enlargements, was unanimously approved of and enacted. A solemn acknowledgment of sins being prepared for the occasion, and a solemn engagement to duties, on the twenty-eighth of December, Mr Erskine preached a sermon at Stirling, the day being observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, after which the confession of sins was read, and the engagement to duties sworn to and subscribed by fifteen ministers, of whom Ebenezer Erskine was the first that subscribed. Shortly after, the same thing was done at Falkirk, where five ministers more subscribed. In this work no man of the body was more hearty than Mr Ebenezer Erskine; and it went through a number of congregations, till a stop was put to it by the question that arose respecting the religious clause of some burgh oaths, which it was alleged were utterly incon-



sistent with the oath of the covenants, and with the secession testimony. The associate presbytery had already determined the oaths of abjuration and allegiance to be sinful, as embracing the complex constitution, and was of course incompatible with the testimony which they had emitted against that complex constitution. At the last meeting of the associate presbytery, Mr Alexander Moncrief gave in a paper, stating his scruples with regard to the religious clause of some burges oaths, which he apprehended, would be found when examined, to be equally sinful with those they had already condemned. The dissolution of the associate presbytery being determined on, the question was reserved for a first essay of the associate synod. Accordingly, when the synod met in the month of March, 1745, it was among the first motions that came before them; and after much discussion, the synod, in the month of April, 1746, found "that the swearing the religious clause in some burges oaths,— 'Here I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow within my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Romish religion, called papistry,'—by any under their inspection, as the said clause comes necessarily in this period to be used and applied in a way that does not agree unto the present state and circumstances of the testimony for religion and reformation which this synod, with those under their inspection, are maintaining; particularly, that it does not agree unto nor consist with an entering into the bond for renewing our solemn covenants, and that, therefore, those seceding cannot farther, with safety of conscience and without sin, swear any burges oath with the said religious clause, while matters, with reference to the profession and settlement of religion, continue in such circumstances as at present," &c. When this subject was first stated, it did not appear to be attended either with difficulty or danger. Questions of much more intricacy had been discussed at great length, and harmoniously disposed of by the associate presbytery; and the above decision, we are persuaded every unbiassed reader, when he reflects that it was intended to bind only those who had already acceded to the sederunt act and testimony, will think that it should have given entire satisfaction. This, however, was far from being the case. Some personal pique seems to have subsisted between two of the members of court, Mr Moncrief and Mr Fisher; in consequence of which, the latter regarded the conduct of the former with some suspicion. Being son-in-law to Mr Ebenezer Erskine, the latter, too, was supported by both the Erskines, who were the idols of the body, and on this occasion gave most humiliating evidence of the power of prejudice to darken the clearest intellects, and to pervert the purest and the warmest hearts. The question was simple—What was meant by those who framed and now imposed the oath? Was it the true religion abstractly considered, that was to be acknowledged by the swearer? or was it not rather the true religion embodied in a particular form, and guaranteed by particular laws, to insure the integrity of which, the oath was principally intended? Either this was the case, or the oath was superfluous and unmeaning, and of course could not be lawfully sworn by any one, whatever might be his opinions, as in that case it would have been a taking of the name of God in vain. True, however, it is, that volumes were written, of which no small portion came from the pens of the venerable Ralph Erskine and the worthy Mr James Fisher, to prove that nothing was sworn to in the oath but the true religion, abstracting from all the accompanying and qualifying clauses thereof. A protest against the above decision of synod was taken by Messrs Ralph Erskine, James Fisher, William Hutton, Henry Erskine, and John M'Cara, in which they were joined by two elders, and by the time of next meeting of synod, the whole body was



in a flame, every individual having committed himself on the one side or the other.

When the synod met on the 7th of April, 1747, the subject was resumed with a warmth that indicated not ardour, but absolute frenzy. The protesters against the former decision of the question, instead of bringing up their reasons of protest, as order and decency required, began by renewing the original question, Whether the act of synod was to be made a term of communion before it should be sent round in the form of an overture, to sessions and presbyteries for their judgment there-ant; the members of synod in the meantime praying and conferring with one another for light upon the subject. To this it was opposed as a previous question—Call for the reasons of protest, and the answers thereunto, that they may be read and considered. The question being put, which of the two questions should be voted, it carried for the first; from this Mr W. Campbell entered his dissent, to which Mr Thomas Moir and Mr Moncrief adhered. Next morning the protesters resumed the question with renewed ardour, or rather rage, Mr Moir again entered his protest, followed by eleven ministers, and ten elders. The protesters still insisting for their question, the whole day was wasted in shameful discussions; Mr Gibb protesting against the proposal of the protesters, in a new and somewhat startling form. Having adjourned one hour, the synod met again at eight, or between eight and nine o'clock, p. m., when the war of words was renewed for several hours, the protesters still insisting upon having the vote put; a protest against it was again entered by Mr Moncrief, which was adhered to by twelve ministers and ten elders. The moderator of course refused to put the vote, as did the clerk *pro tempore*; one of the party then called the roll, another marked the votes, the sum total of which, was nine ministers and eleven elders, and of these, six ministers and one elder were protesters, and of course, parties in the cause that had not the smallest right to vote on the subject. In this way, twenty voters, and of these twenty only thirteen legal voters, carried a deed against twenty-three, standing before them in solemn opposition under cover of all legal forms that, in the circumstances in which they stood, it was possible for them to employ. In this most extraordinary crisis, Mr Moir, the moderator of the former meeting of synod, considering the present moderator as having ceased to act, claimed that place for himself, and the powers of the associate synod for those who had stood firm under their protest against such disorderly procedure, whom he requested to meet in Mr Gibb's house to-morrow, to transact the business of the associate synod. They did so, and thus one part of the associate synod was reconstituted. The other part met next day in the usual place, having the moderator, though he had deserted them the night before, along with them, and the clerk *pro tempore*; on which they returned themselves as being the true associate synod. Whatever superiority in point of order was between them, entirely belonged to the party that met in Mr Gibb's house, and have since been known by the name of antiburghers; and they showed some sense of shame by making open confession of the sad display which they had made of their own corruptions, in managing what they then and still considered to be the cause of God. The other party were certainly even in this respect the more culpable; but having the unfettered possession of their beloved oath, they seem to have been more at ease with themselves, than their brethren. A more deplorable circumstance certainly never took place in any regularly constituted church, nor one that more completely demonstrated how little the wisest and the best of men are to be depended on when they are left to the influence of their own spirits. The very individual persons who, in a long and painful dispute with the established judicature, upon points of the highest im-

portance, had conducted themselves with singular judgment, prudence, and propriety, here, upon a very trifling question, and of easy solution, behaved in a manner not only disgraceful to the christian but to the human character; violating in their case, to carry a point of very little moment, the first principles of order, without preserving which it is impossible to carry on rationally the affairs of ordinary society. In all this unhappy business we blush to be obliged to acknowledge that Ebenezer Erskine had an active hand; he stood in front of the list of the burgher presbytery, and, if we may believe the report of some who boast of being his admirers, abated considerably after this of his zeal for the principles of the reformation. He certainly lost much of his respectability by the share he had in augmenting the storm which his age and his experience should have been employed to moderate, and it must have been but an unpleasant subject for his after meditations. He was after this engaged in nothing of public importance. He lived indeed only seven years after this, and the better half of them under considerable infirmity. He died on the twenty-second of June, 1756, aged seventy-four years, saving one month. He was buried by his own desire, in the middle of his meeting-house, where a large stone with a Latin inscription, recording the date of his death, his age, and the periods of his ministry at Portmoak and Stirling, still marks out the spot. Mr Erskine was twice married; first, as we have already mentioned, to that excellent woman, Alison Terpie, who died sometime in the year 1720. He married three years afterwards a daughter of the Rev. James Webster, Edinburgh, who also died before him. He left behind him several children, one of whom, a daughter, died so late as the year 1814. Of his character we have scarcely left ourselves room to speak. As a writer of sermons he is sound, savoury, and practical, abounding in clear views of the gospel, with its uses and influence in promoting holiness of life. As a preacher, he was distinguished among the greatest men of his day. In learning, and in compass of mind, he was inferior to the author of "The Trust," and, for keen and penetrating genius, to the author of "The Defence of the reformation principles of the church of Scotland;" but for straight forward good sense, incorruptible integrity, and dauntless intrepidity, he was equal to any man of the age in which he lived.

ERSKINE, HENRY, third lord Cardross, one of the most distinguished patriots of the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of the second lord Cardross, who, in his turn, was grandson to John, seventh earl of Marr, the eminent and faithful counsellor of King James VI. By his mother, Anne Hope, the subject of our memoir was grandson to Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, the chief legal counsellor of the covenanters in the early years of the civil war. It may also be mentioned, that colonel Erskine of Carnock, father to the author of "the Institutes," was a half-brother of lord Cardross.

The father of this eminent patriot, was one of the seven Scottish lords who protested against the reddition of Charles I. to the English army, and he educated his son in the same principles of honour and fidelity to the laws, and to personal engagements, which inspired himself. Lord Henry was born about 1650, and succeeded his father in 1671. Having also succeeded to all the liberal principles of the family, he at once joined himself, on entering life, to the opposers of the Lauderdale administration. This soon exposed him to persecution, and in 1674 he was fined in £5000, because his lady had heard worship performed in his own house by a non-conforming chaplain. His lordship paid £1,000 of this fine, and after attending the court for six months, in the vain endeavour to procure a remission for the rest, was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, where he continued for four years. While he was thus suffering captivity, a party of soldiers visited his house, and, after treating his lady with the

greatest incivility, and breaking up the closet in which he kept his papers, established a garrison, which continued there for eight years. Two years afterwards, while he was still in prison, his lady having been delivered of a child, whom she caused to be baptized (without his knowledge), by a non-conforming clergyman, another fine of £3,000 was imposed upon him, being purposely thus severe, in order that he might be retained in prison, through inability to pay it. So meanly revengeful was the feeling of the government, that, when the royal forces were on their march to Bothwell bridge, in June 1679, they were taken two miles out of their proper line of march, in order that they might quarter upon his lordship's estates of Kirkhill and Uphall, and do them all the mischief possible.

In July 1679, lord Cardross was released, on giving bond for the amount of his fine. He went to court, to give an account of his sufferings, and solicit some redress. But the infamous privy council of Scotland counteracted all his efforts. Finding no hope of further comfort in his own country, and that there was little probability of the British nation contriving to throw off the odious bondage in which it was kept, he resolved to seek refuge and freedom in a distant land. He perhaps acted upon the philosophical maxim, thus laid down by Plato, "If any one shall observe a great company run out into the rain every day, and delight to be wet in it, and if he judges, that it will be to little purpose for him to go and persuade them to come into their houses and avoid the rain, so that all that can be expected from his going to speak to them, will be, that he will be wet with them; would it not be much better for him to keep within doors, and preserve himself, since he cannot correct the folly of others?" Lord Cardross engaged with those who settled on Charlestown Neck, in South Carolina, where he established a plantation. From thence, a few years afterwards, he and his people were driven by the Spaniards, many of the colonists being killed, and almost all their effects destroyed. Dispirited, but not broken by his misfortunes, the Scottish patriot returned to Europe, and took up his abode at the Hague, where many others of his persecuted countrymen now found shelter. Entering into the service of Holland, he accompanied the prince of Orange on his expedition to England, his son David commanding a company in the same army. He was of great service in Scotland, under general Mackay, in promoting the revolution settlement, which at length put an end to the miseries endured for many years by himself, and by his country at large. He was now restored to his estates, sworn a privy counsellor, and honoured with much of the friendship and confidence of king William. His health, however, previously much impaired by his imprisonment, and the fatigue of his American plantation, sunk under his latter exertions, and he died at Edinburgh, May 21st, 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The late venerable earl of Buchan, and his two brothers, Henry and Thomas Erskine, were the great-grandchildren of lord Cardross.

ERSKINE, (HONOURABLE) HENRY, an eminent pleader, was the third son of Henry David, tenth earl of Buchan, by Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, Baronet. He was born at Edinburgh, on the 1st of November, 1746, O.S. His fame has been eclipsed by that of his younger and more illustrious brother, Thomas lord Erskine, who rose to the dignity of lord high chancellor of Great Britain; but his name, nevertheless, holds a distinguished place in the annals of the Scottish bar, to which he was called in the year 1768, and of which he was long the brightest ornament.

Mr Erskine's education was begun under the paternal roof. He was afterwards sent, with his two brothers, to the college of St Andrews; whence they were subsequently transferred to the university of Edinburgh, and latterly to



that of Glasgow. As his patrimony was small, Henry was taught to look forward to a profession, as the only avenue to fortune; and he early decided on that of the bar, while his younger brother resolved to push his fortune in the army.

It was in the Forum, a promiscuous debating society established in Edinburgh, that young Erskine's oratorical powers first began to attract notice. While prosecuting his legal studies, and qualifying himself for the arduous duties of his profession, he found leisure to attend the Forum, and take an active part in its debates. It was in this school that he laid the foundation of those powers of extemporaneous speaking, by which in after years he wielded at will the feelings of his auditors, and raised forensic practice, if not to the models of ancient oratory, at least to something immeasurably above the dull, cold, circumlocutory forms of speech in which the lords of council and session were then wont to be addressed. Another arena upon which Henry Erskine trained himself to exhibitions of higher oratory than had yet been dreamt of by his professional brethren, was the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, of which it was then said with greater truth than it would be now, that it afforded the best theatre for deliberative eloquence to be found in Scotland. Here his lineage, talents, and orthodox sentiments commanded respect; and accordingly he was always listened to by that venerable body with the greatest deference and attention.

Mr Erskine was equalled, perhaps surpassed in depth of legal knowledge, by one or two of his fellows at the bar; but none could boast of equal variety and extent of accomplishments; none surpassed him in knowledge of human character; and none equalled him in quickness of perception, playfulness of fancy, and professional tact. He was the Horace of the profession; and his "*seria commixta jocis*" are still remembered with pleasure by his surviving contemporaries. Yet, while by the unanimous suffrages of the public, Mr Erskine found himself placed without a rival at the head of a commanding profession, his general deportment was characterized by the most unaffected modesty and easy affability, and his talents were not less at the service of indigent but deserving clients, than they were to be commanded by those whose wealth or influence enabled them most liberally to remunerate his exertions. Indeed his talents were never more conspicuous than when they were employed in protecting innocence from oppression, in vindicating the cause of the oppressed, or exposing the injustice of the oppressor. Henry Erskine was in an eminent sense the advocate of the people, throughout the long course of his professional career; he was never known to turn his back upon the poor man; or to proportion his services to the ability of his employers to reward them. It is said that a poor man, in a remote district of Scotland, thus answered an acquaintance who wished to dissuade him from engaging in a law-suit with a wealthy neighbour, by representing the hopelessness of his being able to meet the expense of litigation: "Ye dinna ken what ye're saying, maister; there's no a pair man in a' Scotland need to want a friend or fear an enemy sae lang as Harry Erskine lives!"

When Mr Erskine deemed his independence secured, he married Christina, the only daughter of George Fullarton, Esq., collector of the customs at Leith. This lady brought him a handsome fortune; but, with the prospect of a pretty numerous family before him, Mr Erskine continued assiduously to practise his profession. By this lady he had three daughters: Elizabeth Frances, who died young; Elizabeth Crompton, afterwards Mrs Callendar; and Henrietta, now Mrs Smith, together with two sons, Henry and George, the former of whom married the eldest daughter of the late Sir Charles Shipley in 1811, and is now earl of Buchan.



Mr Erskine, like his elder brother, had early embraced the principles of whiggism; and this distinguished family, during the progress of the American war, openly expressed their decided disapprobation of the course which ministers were pursuing in that unfortunate contest. Opposition was a more serious thing in these times, than it has since become; to oppose ministers was considered tantamount to disaffection to the constitution, and often exposed a man to serious loss and inconvenience. Mr Erskine's abilities, indeed, were beyond the reach of detraction; and his practice at the bar was founded upon a reputation too extensive to be easily shaken; but it cannot be doubted that, in espousing the liberal side of politics, he was sacrificing to no small amount his prospects of preferment. At the conclusion, therefore, of the American war, and the accession of the Rockingham administration, Mr Erskine's merits pointed him out as the fittest member of faculty, for the important office of lord advocate of Scotland, to which he was immediately appointed. But his opportunities to support the new administration were few, on account of its ephemeral existence; and on its retirement, he was immediately stripped of his official dignity, and even some years afterwards deprived, by the vote of his brethren, on account of his obnoxious political sentiments, of the honourable office of dean of faculty. On the return of the liberal party to office in 1806, Henry Erskine once more became lord advocate, and was returned member for the Dumfries district of burghs, in the room of major general Dalrymple. This, however, like the former whig administration, was not suffered to continue long in power, and with its dissolution, Mr Erskine again lost his office and seat in parliament. Amid these disappointments, Mr Erskine remained not less distinguished by inflexible steadiness to his principles, than by invariable gentleness and urbanity in his manner of asserting them. "Such, indeed," says one of his most distinguished contemporaries, "was the habitual sweetness of his temper, and the fascination of his manners, that, though placed by his rank and talent in the obnoxious station of a leader of opposition, at a period when political animosities were carried to a lamentable height, no individual, it is believed, was ever known to speak or to think of him, with any thing approaching to personal hostility. In return it may be said, with equal correctness, that though baffled in some of his pursuits, and not quite handsomely disappointed of some of the honours to which his claim was universally admitted, he never allowed the slightest shade of discontent to rest upon his mind, nor the least drop of bitterness to mingle with his blood. He was so utterly incapable of rancour, that even the rancorous felt that he ought not to be made its victim."

Mr Erskine's constitution began to give way under the pressure of disease, about the year 1812; and he, thereupon, retired from professional life, to his beautiful villa of Ammondell in West Lothian, which originally formed part of the patrimonial estate, but was transferred to the subject of our memoir by his elder brother about the year 1795, to serve as a retreat from the fatigues of business during the vacation. "Passing thus," says the eloquent writer already quoted, "at once from all the bustle and excitement of a public life, to a scene of comparative inactivity, he never felt a moment of ennui or dejection; but retained unimpaired, till within a day or two of his death, not only all his intellectual activity and social affections, but, when not under the immediate affliction of a painful and incurable disease, all that gayety of spirit, and all that playful and kindly sympathy with innocent enjoyment, which made him the idol of the young, and the object of cordial attachment and unenvying admiration to his friends of all ages." The five remaining years of his life were consumed by a complication of maladies; and he expired at his country-seat on the 8th of October, 1817, when he had nearly completed the 71st year of his age.

In person, Mr Henry Erskine was above the middle size; he was taller than either of his brothers, and well-proportioned, but slender; and in the bloom of manhood, was considered handsome in no common degree. In early life, his carriage was remarkably graceful; and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination, to fix and enchain it. His features were all character,—his voice was powerful and melodious,—his enunciation uncommonly accurate, and distinct,—and there was a peculiar grace in his utterance, which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of his eloquence indelibly on the minds of his hearers. His habits were domestic in an eminent degree. It has been said of men of wit in general, that they delight and fascinate every where but at home; this observation, however, though too generally true, could not be applied to him, for no man delighted more in the enjoyment of home, or felt more truly happy in the bosom of his family, while at the same time none were more capable of entering into the gayeties of polished society, or more courted for the brilliancy of his wit, and the ease and polish of his manners.

“The character of Mr Erskine’s eloquence,” says another friend, well capable of estimating his merits, “bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother; but being much less diffuse, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression. He had the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers master of the view he took of his subject, which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands; for to professional knowledge of the highest order, he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science, and a thorough conversancy with human life.” His oratory was of that comprehensive species which can address itself to every audience, and to every circumstance, and touch every chord of human emotion. Fervid and affecting in the extreme degree, when the occasion called for it: it was no less powerful, in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit and the irresistible force of comic humour, which he could make use of at all times, and in perfect subordination to his judgment. “In his profession, indeed, all his art was argument, and each of his delightful illustrations a material step in his reasoning. To himself it seemed always as if they were recommended rather for their use than their beauty; and unquestionably they often enabled him to state a fine argument, or a nice distinction, not only in a more striking and pleasing way, but actually with greater precision than could have been obtained by the severer forms of reasoning. In this extraordinary talent, as well as in the charming facility of his eloquence, and the constant radiance of good humour and gayety which encircled his manners in debate, he had no rival in his own times, and as yet has no successor. That part of eloquence is now mute, that honour in abeyance.”

There exists a bust of Mr Erskine, from the chisel of Turnerelli. We are not aware that any good portrait of him was ever taken.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the above account of Mr Erskine was written, we happened to read a very pleasing account of him in his latter days, which was drawn up by his relation, Henry David Inglis, Esq., and inserted in the Edinburgh Literary Journal. This sketch we subjoin:

“My youthful visits to Ammondell live very greenly in my memory: these had greater charms for me than either Horace or Virgil, and, I suspect, charms quite as rational. None of my holidays were anticipated with longings more eager than those that were to be spent at Ammondell. I had my fishing tackle to arrange, which, to one fond of angling, is a pleasure secondary only to that of using it. I had to prepare myself in the classics, which, though a less agreeable occupation than the other, was as necessary—certain, as I was, that I should be examined as to my proficiency. Sometimes, also, I ventured upon a verse or two of English poetry, to show to my indulgent relative.

“It was soon after Mr Erskine retired from the bar and from political life, that my visit

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Dun, knight, and the second in importance of the lay supporters of the Scottish Reformation, is said to have been born about the year 1508, at the family seat of Dun, in the county of Forfar. His family was descended from that which afterwards acceded to the title of Marr, while his

to Ammondell were the most frequent; and it is at this period that my recollections of him are the most vivid. Some say, he retired from public life disgusted: all admit, that he retired neglected—but no one will add, forgotten. Sure I am, that if impressions made upon the mind of a boy be entitled to any regard, I may say truly, that disappointment, if felt at all, had been unable in him to sour the milk of human kindness: and that, when I saw that fine grey-headed man—the most eloquent, the wittiest of his day—walking in his garden, with the hoe in his hand, I never questioned his sincerity in the following charming and characteristic lines, which he once read to me from his scrap-book, and which, not very long before his death, he kindly permitted me to copy. They have never before been published:

‘ Let sparks and topers o’er their bottle sit,  
Toss bumpers down, and fancy laughter wit;  
Let cautious plodders o’er the ledger pore,  
Note down each farthing gain’d, and wish it more:  
Let lawyers dream of wigs,—poets, of fame,—  
Scholars look learned, and senators declaim:  
Let soldiers stand like targets in the fray,  
Their lives worth just their thirteen pence a-day;—  
Give me a nook in some secluded spot  
Which business shuns, and din approaches not,—  
Some quiet retreat, where I may never know  
What monarch reigns, what ministers bestow:  
A book—my slippers—and a field to stroll in—  
My garden-seat—an elbow-chair to loil in:  
Sunshine when wanted,—shade, when shade invites;  
With pleasant country sounds, and smells, and sights;  
And, now and then, a glass of generous wine,  
Shared with a chatty friend of “auld lang syne;”  
And one companion more, for ever nigh,  
To sympathize in all that passes by—  
To journey with me on the path of life,  
And share its pleasures, and divide its strife.  
These simple joys, Eugenius, let me find,  
And I’ll ne’er cast a lingering look behind.’

‘These lines were written after Mr Erskine’s second marriage, and refer, no doubt, in the latter part, to his second wife, who proved a most valuable companion and a tender nurse in his declining years. What degree of happiness his first connexion yielded in his early days, I have no access to know; but the extreme nervous irritability, and somewhat eccentric ways of the first Mrs Erskine, did not contribute greatly to his happiness in her later years. One of her peculiarities consisted in not retiring to rest at the usual hours. She would frequently employ half the night in examining the wardrobe of the family, to see that nothing was missing, and that every thing was in its proper place. I recollect being told this, among other proofs of her oddities, that one morning, about two or three o’clock, having been unsuccessful in a search, she awoke Mr Erskine by putting to him this important interrogatory, ‘Harry, lovie, where’s your white waistcoat?’

“The mail coach used to set me down at Ammondell gate, which is about three quarters of a mile from the house; and yet I see, as vividly as I at this moment see the landscape from the window at which I am now writing, the features of that beautiful and secluded domain,—the antique stone bridge,—the rushing stream, the wooded banks,—and, above all, the owner, coming towards me with his own benevolent smile and sparkling eyes. I recollect the very grey hat he used to wear, with a bit of the rim torn, and the pepper-and-salt short coat, and the white neckcloth sprinkled with snuff.

“No one could, or ever did, tire in Mr Erskine’s company—he was society equally for the child and for the grown man. He would first take me to see his garden, where, being one day surprised by a friend while digging potatoes, he made the now well-known remark, that he was enjoying *otium cum diggins a tautie*.\* He would then take me to his melon bed, which we never left without a promise of having one after dinner; and then he would carry me to see the pony, and the great dog upon which his grandson used to ride.

“Like most men of elegant and cultivated minds, Mr Erskine was an amateur in music, and himself no indifferent performer upon the violin. I think I scarcely ever entered the hall along with him that he did not take down his Cremona—a real one, I believe—which hung on the wall, and, seating himself in one of the wooden chairs, play some snatches of

\* The Scottish word for potatoe.



mother was a daughter of William, first lord Ruthven. In early life, he travelled for some time upon the continent, from which he returned in 1534, bringing with him a Frenchman, capable of teaching the Greek language, whom he established in the town of Montrose. Hitherto, this noble tongue was almost unknown in Scotland, and an acquaintance with it was deemed to imply a tendency to heresy. Erskine of Dun was the first man who made a decided attempt to overcome this prejudice, thereby foretelling his own fitness to burst through moral clouds of still greater density, and far more pernicious. Previous to 1540, he was one of the limited number of persons who, notwithstanding the persecuting disposition of James V., had embraced the protestant religion: in doing so, far from being led by mercenary motives, as many afterwards were, he and his friends were inspired solely with a love of what they considered the truth, and, for that sake, encountered very great dangers. His house of Dun, near Montrose, was constantly open to the itinerant preachers of the reformed doctrines, who, though liable to persecution in other places, seem to have always enjoyed, through the respectability of his personal character, as well as his wealth and baronial influence, an immunity for the time during which they resided with him. Though he must have been unfavourable to the war with England, commenced by the catholic party, in 1547, he appears to have been too much of a patriot to endure the devastations committed upon his native country by the enemy. His biographers dwell with pride on a very successful attack which he made, with a small party, upon a band of English, who had landed near Montrose for the purpose of laying waste the country. On this occasion, out of eighty invaders, hardly a third of them got back to their ships. When John Knox returned to Scotland in 1555, Erskine of Dun was among those who repaired to hear his private ministrations in the house of a citizen of Edinburgh. The reformer soon after followed him to Dun, where he preached daily for a month to the people of the neighbourhood; next year he renewed his visit, and succeeded in converting nearly all the gentry of the district.

In 1557, Erskine was one of the few influential persons who signed the first covenant, and established what was called the Congregation. In the succeeding year, he was one of the commissioners sent by the queen regent, Mary of Lorraine, to witness the marriage of her daughter Mary to the dauphin. While

old English or Scottish airs;—sometimes, ‘Let’s have a dance upon the heath,’ an air from the music in Macbeth, which he used to say was by Purcell, and not by Locke, to whom it has usually been ascribed—sometimes, ‘The flowers of the forest,’ or ‘Auld Robin Gray’—and sometimes the beautiful Pastorale from the eighth concerto of Corelli, for whose music he had an enthusiastic admiration. But the greatest treat to me was when, after dinner, he took down from the top of his bookcase, where it lay behind a bust, I think, of Mr Fox, his manuscript book, full of *jeux d’esprit*, charades, *bon mots*, &c., all his own composition. I was then too young, and, I trust, too modest, to venture any opinion upon their merits; but I well recollect the delight with which I listened, and Mr Erskine was not above being gratified by the silent homage of a youthful mind.

“Few men have ever enjoyed a wider reputation for wit than the Honourable Henry Erskine; the epithet then, and even now, applied to him, *par excellence*, is that of the witty Harry Erskine; and I do believe, that all the puns and *bon mots* which have been put into his mouth—some of them, no doubt, having originally come out of it—would eke out a handsome duodecimo. I well recollect, that nothing used to distress me so much as not perceiving at once the point of any of Mr Erskine’s witticisms. Sometimes, half an hour after the witticism had been spoken, I would begin to giggle, having only then discovered the gist of the saying. In this, however, I was not singular. While Mr Erskine practised at the bar, it was his frequent custom to walk, after the rising of the courts, in the Meadows; and he was often accompanied by Lord Balmuto—one of the judges, a very good kind of man, but not particularly quick in his perception of the ludicrous. His lordship never could discover at first the point of Mr Erskine’s wit; and, after walking a mile or two perhaps, and long after Mr Erskine had forgotten the saying, Lord Balmuto would suddenly cry out, ‘I have you now, Harry—I have you now, Harry!’—stopping, and bursting into an immoderate fit of laughter.”



he was absent, the cause of the reformation received a great impulse from the execution of Walter Mill, an aged priest, who was dragged to the stake to expiate his attachment to the new doctrines. The people were inflamed with resentment at this outrage, and now longed for more decisive measures being taken on the subject of religion. To counteract this enthusiasm, the queen regent summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, and undergo trial for their heretical doctrines. The protestant gentry, having resolved to protect them, met at Perth, and Erskine of Dun was employed to go to Stirling, to seek an accommodation with the queen. It is well known that he succeeded in obtaining a respite for the ministers, though not of long continuance. In the sterner measures which were afterwards taken to protect the reformed religion, he bore an equally distinguished part.

On the establishment of protestantism in 1560, Erskine of Dun resolved to assume the clerical office, for which he was fitted in a peculiar manner, by his mild and benignant character. He was accordingly appointed by the Estates of the Kingdom, to be one of the five superintendants of the church—an office somewhat akin to that of bishop, though subject to the control of the principal church court. Erskine became superintendant of the counties of Angus and Mearns, which he had already been the principal means of converting to the new faith. He was installed, in 1562, by John Knox, and it would appear, that he not only superintended the proceedings of the inferior clergy, but performed himself the usual duties of a clergyman. In every thing that he did, his amiable character was discernible: far from being inspired with those fierce and uncompromising sentiments, which were perhaps necessary in some of his brethren for the hard work they had to perform, he was always the counsellor of moderate and conciliatory measures, and thus, even the opponents of the reformed doctrines could not help according him their esteem. When Knox had his celebrated interview with queen Mary respecting her intended marriage with Darnley, and brought tears into her eyes by the freedom of his speech, Erskine, who was present, endeavoured with his characteristic gentleness, to sooth those feelings which the severity of his friend had irritated. Knox stood silent and unrelenting, while the superintendant was engaged in this courteous office. Erskine appears to have thus made a very favourable impression upon the mind of the youthful queen. When she deemed it necessary to show some respect to the protestant doctrines, in order to facilitate her marriage, she sent for the superintendants of Fife, Glasgow, and Lothian, to whom she said that she was not yet persuaded of the truth of their religion, but she was willing to hear conference upon the subject, and would gladly listen to some of their sermons. Above all others, she said she would gladly hear the superintendant of Angus, “for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness.”

For many years after this period, the superintendant discharged his various duties in an irreproachable manner, being elected no fewer than five times to be moderator of the general assembly. Some encroachments, made on the liberties of the church in 1571, drew from him two letters addressed to his chief, the regent Marr, which, according to Dr M'Crie, “are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the church of Scotland on this subject.” Some years afterwards, he was engaged with some other distinguished ornaments of the church, in compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. At length, after a long and useful life, he died, March 12, 1591, leaving behind him a character which has been thus depicted by archbishop Spottiswoode: “He was a man famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to

be remembered for his travails in the church, which, out of the zeal he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for diverse resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ERSKINE, JOHN, eighteenth lord Erskine, and eleventh earl of Marr, was the son of Charles, tenth earl of Marr, and lady Mary Maule, daughter of the earl of Panmure. He was born at Alloa, in the month of February, 1675. Having lost his father ere he had reached his fourteenth year, and his estates being greatly embarrassed, he devoted himself to civil affairs; and as soon as he came of age, entered upon public life under the patronage of the duke of Queensberry, whose interest and whose measures he seems to have uniformly supported till his grace's death, which happened in 1711. In 1702, queen Anne, then just raised to the throne, appointed the earl of Marr one of her privy councillors for Scotland, and gave him the command of a regiment of foot, and a riband of the most noble order of St Andrews.

Marr had been carefully educated in revolution principles, and from his first entrance upon public life, had been understood to be zealously affected to the new order of things; but in 1704, his patron Queensberry being dismissed from office, he headed the friends of that nobleman in opposition to the marquis of Tweeddale and the Squadron, who had succeeded to the administration of Scottish affairs, and this opposition he managed with so much dexterity as to gain over to his views almost all the tories, "who now," in the significant language of Lockhart, "believed him to be an honest man, and well inclined to the royal family." The Squadron, however, unable to carry on the affairs of the nation in the face of so much opposition, were compelled to resign; Queensberry again came into place, and Marr, according to Lockhart, "returned like the dog to his vomit, and promoted all the court of England's measures with the greatest zeal imaginable." In the business of the union he was certainly very active. He brought forward the draught of an act for appointing commissioners to carry it into effect, and was not only on all occasions at his post, publicly to support it, but was supposed to have secretly managed some of the bitterest of its enemies, particularly the duke of Hamilton, so as to render their opposition wavering, feeble, and in the end ineffective. For his signal services during this session of parliament, he was advanced to be secretary of state in room of the marquis of Annandale, who was dismissed on suspicion of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Squadron.

When the commissioners for treating of the union came to be named, which, principally through the influence of Marr and Argyle upon the duke of Hamilton, was left wholly to the queen, he was named third upon the list; and in all the public conferences with the English commissioners upon the articles to which they had separately agreed on the part of the Scots, Seafield, the chancellor, and Marr, the secretary, were alone employed. In the struggle that ensued in carrying the treaty through the Scottish parliament, Marr exerted all his oratory and all his influence in its behalf, which was the more honourable, that he had not a farthing of the money that was issued from the English treasury and divided among the Scottish nobility and gentry on that memorable occasion. From the whole history of Marr's life, however, it would be altogether ridiculous to ascribe his conduct to any thing like enlightened views of policy or even such patriotism as was common in those turbulent times. His motive was unquestionably of the most selfish character, most probably the preserving the good opinion of the queen, through whose favour he hoped to have his ambition gratified with the sole administration of the affairs of Scotland. With this view he attached himself in the outset of his career to the duke of Queensberry,

to whom he adhered so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the queen, which was as long as he lived; and, with this view, when her majesty had thrown herself into the arms of the tories, he had taken his measures so accurately that he was by them considered of first rate importance, employed upon the most important affairs and intrusted with the secret of their most dangerous and unmanageable speculations. In consequence of this address on his part, though he had been from the first active on the side of the whigs, he found himself in a situation to demand the secretaryship of Scotland from the tories on the death of Queensberry; and though Argyle, whom they were exceedingly willing to oblige and to confirm in his lately taken up attachment to their cause, applying for it for his brother Hay at the same time, prevented an immediate compliance with his wishes, they durst not openly refuse him, but, for fear of offending Argyle, declined to make for a time any appointment on the subject. It is not a little amusing to contrast the character and conduct of these rivals for power, Marr and Argyle, at this period. Both were ambitious, and both were in a high degree selfish; but the selfishness of the latter was softened by something like a principle of honour and consistency; that of the former was unmitigated and unbroken by any higher conflicting principle. Accordingly, knowing it was gratifying to the queen, Marr stood up openly for Sacheverel, defended his absurdities, and along with the notorious Jacobites, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Wemyss, and Northeske, voted for his acquittal. Argyle condemned his absurdities, but made an atonement by voting for a lenient punishment. Argyle, to recommend himself to the queen and her peace-pursuing ministry, depreciated the services and undervalued the talents of the duke of Marlborough, hoping that some of the honours and a few of the places which that great man enjoyed, might be in the issue conferred upon himself. Marr, knowing how much her majesty was set upon obtaining peace, and that nothing was more pleasing to her ears than the assertion of her lineal descent from an ancient race of kings, and the praise of prerogative, procured from the Jacobite clans a loyal address, embracing these topics, and enlarging upon them in a higher strain than the boldest time-server at court had hitherto presumed to adopt. The peace was not yet made, but the "patriots, the faithful advisers of this great transaction," were largely applauded. The insolence of the press, which her majesty had recommended to the notice of the late parliament, was duly reprobated, and a hope expressed, that the ensuing one would work out a thorough reformation, that they might be no more scandalized, nor the blessed Son of God blasphemed, nor the sacred race of the Stuarts inhumanly traduced with equal malice and impiety. And they concluded with a hope, that "to complete their happiness and put an end to intestine division after the queen's late demise, the hereditary right and parliamentary sanction would meet in a lineal successor." The commissioners sent up to Marr with this address, were introduced to the queen, who commended the warmth of their loyalty, and most graciously rewarded them with pensions. After this, no one will wonder that the influence of Marr became among the Tories evidently paramount. Argyle, though he joined with him in an attempt to have the treaty of union dissolved, shrunk from the contest for superiority; and, apparently in disgust, dropped back into the ranks of the whigs. Marr, having now no competitor for power among his countrymen, succeeded, most unfortunately for himself, in his darling wish. The secretaryship for Scotland, which had lain in abeyance for two years, he now received; so that he and his brother, lord Grange, who was lord justice clerk, became the most influential men in Scotland. He was also, along with Bolingbroke and Harley, regarded by the Jacobites, especially those of Scotland, as holding the destiny of the exiled



family entirely in his own power, which no one among them doubted to be fully equal to the warmest wishes of his own heart. Nor for a considerable time does it appear that any of these gentlemen doubted of their own power. All the steps towards the unfortunate peace, which they were in so much haste to conclude, seems to have been taken with the fullest confidence, that it would infallibly lead to the restoration of James, and they seem to have been perfectly confounded to find, that after it was made, and the honour and the interests of the nation thrown away, they were just as near their object as when they began, few of the external difficulties being removed, while those of an internal or domestic kind were multiplied at least seven fold. It was the increase and the insurmountable nature of these difficulties, not at all foreseen when the attempt was first thought on, that produced so much ill will and disunion among the parties, disgusted Oxford, terrified the queen herself, and while they distracted the last miserable and melancholy years of her reign, brought her in the end prematurely to the grave. Their difficulties, indeed, from the beginning were prodigiously augmented. Scarcely had the arrangements for bringing in the friends of James been begun, than two of the firmest and most powerful of them, the earl of Anglesey and the earl of Jersey, were removed by death. The earl of Rochester died soon after, who was the Athithophel of the party. The duke of Hamilton followed, and the sudden death of the queen herself completed the ruin of the project. The regency upon whom the supreme authority devolved in the interim between the death of the queen and the arrival of the new king, both those that had been appointed by act of parliament, and those who in virtue of that act had been named by himself, were whigs, and in common with all of their party, zealous for the protestant succession; of course the late ministers had neither countenance nor protection from them, and it was among the first of his majesty's regal acts to dismiss them to a man from all their offices, places, and powers. The resolution of parliament on its being convened, to prosecute the leading men among them, completed their misery. Oxford was sent to the Tower, where he was confined for years. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent, and, to confirm all that had been previously surmised against them, joined themselves to the few malecontents, who, with James, formed the miserable court of St Germain's.

Oxford had, at an early stage of the business, discovered that it could scarcely be effected, and during the latter part of his administration, seems to have laboured to shake himself free of it, as well for his own honour and interest as to calm the terrors of his royal mistress. But he was beset on all hands. The wretched peace which he had concluded, and the enmity of the whigs, begirt him in perpetual alarm, against which the friendly aid of the Tories was his only resource. In the end, however, the impatience of the Tories, and their reckless contempt of consequences, became equally troublesome and dangerous, and his great aim seems to have been by breaking their measures to recommend himself to the elector of Hanover, through whose patronage he probably hoped to be able either to conciliate the whigs or to brave their resentment. The subject of this memoir was not by any means so sharp-sighted as Oxford, but he was equally selfish, and far more regardless of the interests of others; and he no sooner saw the scheme of the Jacobites broken by the death of the queen, than he took measures to ingratiate himself with the new dynasty. For this purpose he wrote a letter to his majesty George I., when he was on his way through Holland, to take possession of his new dominions; soliciting his particular notice, and promising the most dutiful obedience and faithful service in whatever his majesty might be pleased to employ him. In this letter, it is not unworthy of remark, that he appeals to the part he acted



in bringing about the union, when the succession was settled, as a proof of his sincerity and faithfulness to his majesty, as if his majesty had been ignorant of the attempts that had been made to dissolve that treaty, and of the hearty repentance that Marr himself had professed for the hand he had in bringing it about. Of his willingness to serve the king in the same capacity in which he served the queen, and with the same faithfulness, provided it did not interfere with services that he could turn to a more special account, we see no reason to doubt, and perhaps it had been not the worst policy of the king to have taken him at his word, and continued him in his place. Kings, however, are but men, and we do think he must have been something more or something less than man, who, situated as the king then was, could have looked on Marr, as he then presented himself, without a goodly mixture of suspicion and contempt. Which of the two predominated in the king's mind, history does not say, but the letter was certainly passed over without notice; and in consequence Marr durst not present a flaming address which he had procured from the disaffected clans, some one about the court having moreover told him that the king had been apprized of this address, and was highly offended, believing it to have been drawn up at St Germain's for the purpose of affronting him. Though his proffers of service were not accepted, and though he was not on terms of much familiarity, he still continued to hang about the court, carrying on, at the same time, a close correspondence with the disaffected, both in Scotland and England, particularly in Scotland, till the beginning of August 1715, when the *habeas corpus* act being suspended, as also the act against wrongous imprisonment in Scotland, and warrants made out at the secretary of state's office for the immediate apprehension of all suspected persons, he thought it no longer safe to appear among his fellows, and with general Hamilton, a major Hay, and two servants, after being at court to pay his compliments to the king, took ship in the river, all of them being in disguise, and on the third day after landed at Newcastle, where they hired a vessel which set them ashore at Ely in Fife. Here they were joined by the lord Lyon king at arms, Alexander Erskine, and other friends, along with whom they proceeded to Kinnoul, and on the 20th arrived at his lordship's castle of Braemar, where all the Jacobites in that county were summoned to meet him.

Under the feudal system, we may notice here that hunting possessed much of a military character, and was often made the pretext for the superior calling out his vassals, when hunting was but a small part of the object in view; and we find the kings of Scotland frequently calling out lords, barons, landward men, and freeholders, with each a month's provisions and all their best dogs, when the purpose was to daunt the thieves of the particular district where they were summoned to hunt. Often, during the previous years, had this expedient, joined with that of horse-racing, been resorted to, for collecting together the friends of the exiled family; and it was, on this occasion, again employed by Marr. It was but a few days that he had been at Braemar, when, under this pretence, he was waited on by a vast number of gentlemen of the first quality and interest, among whom were the marquises of Huntly and Tullibardine; the earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, &c. &c.; the viscounts of Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy, and Nairn; a number of chieftains from the Highlands, Glendaruel, Auldbair, Auchterhouse, Glengarry; with the two generals, Hamilton and Gordon, and many others of inferior name. To these gentlemen, previously prepared for the purposes of faction, Marr opened at large his whole scheme. He declaimed, with well affected sorrow, particularly upon his own misconduct, and the guilty hand he

had in effecting the "cursed union," which he was now resolved to spend his best blood to free them from—on the miseries attendant on a foreign succession; which, grievous as they already felt them to be, might be expected to increase till their liberties, civil and religious, were totally annihilated; but from which they had now the means of being delivered, by simply restoring James VIII. who had already promised them his presence for that end, with abundance of arms, ammunition, officers, and engineers, so soon as they should have resolved upon the proper place to land them. Money, the grand desideratum in all such undertakings, he assured them he had received, and would regularly receive in abundance, so that no gentleman would find any difficulty in subsisting his men, nor should the country be at all burdened on their account. Finally, he informed them that he had received a commission from the said king James, to act as his lieutenant-general, in consequence of which he intended immediately to set up the royal standard, and summon to attend it the whole fencible men in the kingdom. Though these statements were false, and foolish in the extreme, from the rank of the speaker, the confidence with which they were uttered, and especially from the previously formed habits and feelings of the hearers, they made a powerful impression; each hastened to bring forward his followers, and, on the 6th day of September, 1715, Marr set up the standard of James and proclaimed him king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c., at his castle of Braemar. The same proclamation was repeated three days after at the village of Kirk-Michael, and the people summoned generally to attend him,—for, as yet, they were a very small handful. From Kirk-Michael he proceeded to Moulin, in Perthshire, and thence, by Logie Rait to Dunkeld, where he found his army swelled to upwards of two thousand men. At the two former of these places, James was proclaimed with proper solemnity; at the latter, he had been proclaimed by the marquis of Tullibardine, previous to Marr's arrival. At Perth, he was proclaimed by colonel Balfour and colonel John Hay, who, with two hundred and fifty horse, assisted by two hundred men, introduced into the town, by the duke of Athol, under the pretence of defending it, secured it for the earl of Marr, though the earl of Rothes, with five hundred well-appointed troops, was in the immediate vicinity, intending to take possession of it for the government. James was at the same time proclaimed at Aberdeen, by the earl Marischal; at Castle Gordon, by the earl of Huntly; at Brechin, by the earl of Panmure; at Montrose, by the earl of Southeske; at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, now, by the pretender, created viscount Dundee; and at Inverness, by Mackintosh of Borlum, who, with five hundred men, had taken possession of that important place for James; and, after giving it in charge to Mackenzie of Coal, proceeded to join the army under Marr.

While the whole north of Scotland, with the exception of Sutherland and Caithness, was thus, without anything like opposition, cordially declaring for the Pretender, a scheme was laid for surprising and taking possession of the castle of Edinburgh, which would at once have given the rebels the command of Scotland almost without stroke of sword. The prime agent in this affair was the lord Drummond, who, had he succeeded, was to have the governorship of the castle, and his companions, ninety gentlemen of his own selection, were to be rewarded with one hundred guineas each, and a commission in the rebel army. To accomplish their purpose, they corrupted a sergeant in the castle, of the name of Ainsley, with the promise of a lieutenantancy; a corporal, with the promise of an ensigncy, and two soldiers, the one with eight, and the other with four guineas. They then provided a scaling ladder, made of ropes, and so constructed that two or three persons could ascend it abreast. This the traitor within drew up with pulleys, fastening it at the top, and a number of the rebel

party were in the act of ascending when an officer, who had been apprized of the plot, walking his rounds, observed the ladder, cut the ropes by which it was fastened above, and all that were upon it were precipitated to the bottom. The sentinel fired at the same time, and the party fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their ladder, a number of firelocks, a Mr McLean, who had been an officer at Killiecranky, Mr Lesley and Mr Ramsay, writers in Edinburgh, and a Mr Boswell, who had been a page to the duchess of Gordon, severely bruised by their fall from the ladder, at the foot of the rock. Ainsley, who had engaged to betray the fortress, was hanged, his accomplices severely punished, and the governor lieutenant, David Stewart, displaced for negligence.

The failure of this undertaking was no doubt a serious disappointment to the rebels, but in all other respects their affairs were prosperous beyond any thing that could have been anticipated. Their numbers were rapidly augmenting, and their hopes were strongly excited by the arrival from St Germans, whither he had gone early in the spring, of Mr James Murray, second son to the viscount Stormont, who brought along with him patents from James, creating himself secretary of state for Scotland, and the earl of Marr a duke, by the title of duke of Marr, marquis of Stirling, and earl of Alloa. He brought also assurances of the presence of James himself, with a powerful army and abundant supplies, furnished him by the court of France. Large supplies had certainly been promised on the occasion, and they were, to a considerable extent, provided; but the death of Louis, on the 1st of September, was followed by a total change of measures, under the duke of Orleans, who acted as regent for Louis XV., then only five years of age; and though a considerable expedition had, by the zeal of individuals, been prepared at St Maloes, through the vigilance of admiral Byng at sea, and the influence of the earl of Stair at Versailles, except one or two, which sailed clandestinely, not a ship put to sea, and not one of them ever reached the Scottish shore. The news of the death of Louis was so discouraging to their hopes that a number of the chiefs insisted upon going home and waiting for a more favourable opportunity. They were, however, overruled, but a messenger was despatched to James, to solicit his presence to the enterprise with all possible expedition.

Every exertion was in the mean time made by the party to increase the number of their followers, and judging from what was done by the earl of Marr, these exertions were of no very gentle character. Writing on the 9th of September, to his bailie of Kildrummy, who had sent up to him the night before, one hundred men, when his lordship "expected four times the number,"—"I have sent," he says, "enclosed, an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience it will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them, were I willing, from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend upon it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly let my own tenants of Kildrummy know this; if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them, and they may believe this not only a threat; but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it into execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others." This was logic, that, with the poor tenants of Kildrummy, was no doubt perfectly convincing; but it was necessary to use more soothing arguments, with others not so completely in his power; and for this purpose he had a manifesto prepared by some of his clerical followers, and printed at Edinburgh by his majesty's printer, Robert Freebairn, setting forth the absolutely indefeasible rights of the Stuarts; the total annihilation



of the ancient Scottish constitution; the incalculable mischiefs that had attended, and the inevitable ruin that must necessarily follow the "unhappy union, brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others;" all of which was to be remedied by one single act of justice, the restoring of the Stuarts, through whom religion was to be revived, and plenty, tranquillity, and peace, interminably established. That James was a papist, this precious document did not deny; but, then there was no "reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty's judgment," in consequence of which "in due time, good example and conversation with our learned divines, could not fail to remove those prejudices which this clear-headed junto knew, that, even being educated in a popish country had not riveted in his royal discerning mind; and with a parliament of his own selection, they had no doubt but he would enact such laws in behalf of the protestant religion, as should "give an absolute security to all future ages against the efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies." Such was the force of prejudice and pride, and deeply wounded national feeling, and so little were the benefits accruing from the revolution, either understood or appreciated, that this paper made a very great impression; and, Marr after resting a few days at Dunkeld, removed his head quarters to Perth, when he found himself at the head of an army of twelve thousand men.

So far this insurrection had been completely successful; and, but for Marr's entire ignorance of military affairs, it might have been still more so. Having possessed himself of Perth, not to speak of the Highlands, where his principal strength lay, he was master of all the Lowlands, on the east coast of Scotland, north of the Tay, containing the fruitful provinces of Angus, the Carse of Gowrie, Mearns, Moray, Aberdeen, Banff, as well as of the shire of Fife, which, from its maritime situation, afforded him peculiar advantages. By the complete possession of so much territory, he had cut off all communications between his majesty's friends in the south and those in the north, who could now neither act for his service, nor save themselves by flight. In all those places, too, he seized upon the public revenues, for which he granted receipts in the name of James VIII.; and arms and ammunition he laid hold of, wherever they could be found. Fourteen pieces of cannon he brought up to Perth, from the castle of Dunotter, and he surprised a king's ship laden with arms, that had for a night anchored in the road of Bruntisland, boarded her and carried off her whole cargo, which brought him considerable eclat, and a numerous accession of followers.

Nothing was now wanting on the part of Marr, but promptitude, and a little military knowledge. The castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling, were in the hands of the government, and Argyle occupied the last mentioned place with a force which did not yet amount to two thousand men. But this was the whole force that could be opposed to him in Scotland at the time, and with one-half his troops, he might have shut up or forced these strengths, while with the other half, he subdued the whole open country. Instead of this, he lingered at Perth, where the number of his troops soon occasioned a want of provisions; to supply which, he had recourse to the impolitic measure of imposing assessments upon the country, to the amount of twenty shillings on the hundred pounds Scots, of property, upon those that had espoused his cause, but double the sum upon all who yet were faithful to the existing government, to be paid against a certain day, to collectors whom he had appointed, under the pain of military execution. Argyle in the meantime issued a proclamation, denouncing all who should submit to pay any such assessment as guilty of high treason, so that between the two, there was no alternative for plain country people, but either



submit to be robbed, or run the risk of being hanged. For more than a month did this war of words or manifestoes continue, neither party undertaking any enterprise of consequence, except that Marr, not daring to attempt the dislodging of Argyle from Stirling, conceived the foolish design of sending part of his troops across the Forth, and by strengthening a few malecontents whom he expected they would find in arms in the south, create a diversion which might enable him to elude an army, not a fourth part of the number of his own. For this mad project, he selected upwards of two thousand of his best troops, and committed them to the charge of Mackintosh of Borlum, an old officer of unquestioned bravery, who executed apparently the most difficult part of his task with spirit and despatch. When he arrived on the coast of Fife, he was in sight of his majesty's fleet in the frith, which was stationed there for the very purpose of preventing all intercourse between the opposite shores, and which was perfectly well acquainted with his intentions; but, by a skilful marching and counter-marching, he in one day completely bewildered his enemy, and embracing the chance of a calm and an ebb tide, crossed over in their sight with the loss only of one boat with forty men. A few of his flotilla were cut off from the rest, but they escaped into the isle of May, and thence back to Fife. Borlum, after nearly surprising the city of Edinburgh, proceeded without any interruption to Kelso, when he was joined on the 22d of October, by the rebels from Northumberland, under Forster and Derwentwater, and from Dumfries-shire, Nithsdale, &c., under the viscount Kenmure, when their united forces, horse and foot, amounted to about two thousand men.

At Kelso they halted till the 27th; when, being informed that general Carpenter had advanced to Wooler, and intended to attack them next day, a council of war was called, in order to determine on a plan of operations. In the council there was much heat, and little unanimity. The gentlemen from England were anxious to return to that country, where they promised themselves (on what grounds does not appear) a vast accession of numbers. To this the Scots, particularly Borlum and the earl of Winton, were peculiarly averse, as they wished to return and join the clans, taking Dumfries and Glasgow in their way back. A third proposal was made to cross the Tweed, and, taking general Carpenter by surprise, cut him off with his army, before he should be able to obtain reinforcements. This was the only soldier-like proposal that had been made, and their neglecting to put it in practice can be accounted for on no rational principle; Carpenter had not more than nine hundred men under his command, the greater part of them raw troops, and the whole of them at the time excessively fatigued. The Highlanders under Borlum could not be much below fourteen hundred men, and there were besides, five troops of Scottish horse, and of English noblemen and gentlemen at least an equal number. Overlooking, or not aware of their superiority, it was determined to decamp, for it does not appear whether they understood themselves to be retreating, or advancing to Jedburgh, where they learned, that they were three days in advance of general Carpenter, and, upon the still continued importunity of the English gentlemen, resolved to march into that country. The reluctance of the Highlanders, however, was not abated, and though a captain Hunter and his troop of horse had been sent on to Tyndale to provide quarters for the whole army, it moved on for Hawick; on the road to which, the Highlanders, having been told by the earl of Winton that if they entered England they would be overpowered by numbers, and either cut to pieces, or taken and sold for slaves, refused to march, and when surrounded by the horse, cocked their muskets, faced about, and told them, that if they were to be made a sacrifice of, they would choose to have it done in their own country. They agreed,

however, at last to abide by the army as long as it remained in Scotland, and the march was continued. Next day they marched to Midholm, whence at midnight they pushed forward four hundred men to Ecclefechan for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries, till the main body could come up to attack it. On this day's march, five hundred refractory Highlanders departed for the heads of the Forth. Next morning, learning that the town of Dumfries was prepared to give them a warm reception, and that Carpenter was come to Jedburgh in pursuit of them, the detachment was recalled from Ecclefechan, and the whole marched for Longtown. Having rested a night at Longtown, they proceeded, November the 1st, to Brampton, where Forster opened his commission from the earl of Marr, as commander-in-chief. On the second they marched for Penrith, the posse comitatus of Cumberland, to the number of fourteen thousand, being drawn out to stop their progress. Of the whole number, however, only lord Lonsdale and about twenty domestics waited to see them, the rest having thrown down their arms, and fled as soon as they heard the rebels were approaching, who gathered up the arms that had been thrown away in great quantities, and collected a number of horses. On the 3rd they proceeded to Appleby; and, on the 5th, to Kendal, carrying along with them several persons whom they had apprehended as spies. On the 6th, they arrived at Kirby Lonsdale, the last market town of Westmoreland, and, though they had now traversed two populous counties, they had been joined by only two individuals. Now, however, the papists from Lancashire began to join them in great numbers. On the 7th, they occupied Lancaster, where they found in the custom house a quantity of arms, some claret and brandy, which, to encourage and keep up their spirits, was all bestowed upon the Highlandmen, who, with sixpence each a day and the good cheer they were enjoying, had now become in some degree reconciled to the service. Here they had a large accession to their number, but they were all catholics: and here, if they had been guided by any thing like judgment, they would have, for a time at least, fixed their head quarters. With the view of securing Warrington bridge and Manchester, they set forward for Preston on the 9th, where they arrived on the 11th; and, as they had done at all the towns they passed, proclaimed the pretender, seized all the public money, and as many horses as they could lay their hands on. At this place, however, their progress ended. With fatal temerity they had pushed forward, taking no pains to ascertain the movements of his majesty's forces, and they had commenced their march on Saturday the 12th, for the bridge of Warrington, when their advance guard under Farquharson of Invercauld, was astonished to meet, at the bridge of Ribble, general Wills at the head of one full regiment of foot, and six regiments of horse. Since they were to be surprised, however, no place could be more favourable for them to be so; Farquharson being fully able to defend the passage of the Ribble, till they had withdrawn their troops from the town into the open field, when they could have fought or retreated according to circumstances; but with that sheer infatuation which marked all their measures, they withdrew their advanced columns, leaving Wills a free passage over the Ribble, and suffered themselves to be cooped up in a town, which afforded few facilities for defence, and where, at all events, they could easily be reduced by famine. Wills, perfectly aware of the advantage he had gained, lost not a moment in following it up; and though the rebels made a brave and desperate resistance, general Carpenter, who was following upon their rear, coming up next morning, Sabbath, the 13th, reduced them to despair, and they made an unconditional surrender to the number of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight men.

In the meantime Marr continued to bustle, but to lose his time at Perth,

till at last, unable to keep his army together in such a state of inaction, he resolved on attacking Stirling, for which purpose he broke up from Perth on the 10th, was met at Dunblane on the same fatal 13th of November by Argyle, and, through the utter imbecility of his character, though his army was fourfold that of his adversary, and in part successful, was driven back to his former head-quarters, under circumstances as fatal as though he had met a total defeat. Argyle, however, was in no case to follow him, and he began to fortify the city, and to supply the wants of his numerous followers in the best manner he could. The fatal affair at Preston, which was soon known among them, and the loss of Inverness, which nearly at the same time was retaken for the government by the earl of Sutherland, threw a damp over his men, which all his address could not overcome. By the help of Mr Freebairn, his majesty's printer, who had now taken up his residence in Perth, he issued news of the most cheering description; he collected meal throughout all the adjacent country with the utmost industry; and as the frost was excessive, he levied upon the country people, for the use of his men, large contributions of blankets, and he compelled the gentlemen and farmers around him to supply them with coal, which, as the river was frozen, was done at an immense expense; yet, in spite of all he could do, and in spite of partial reinforcements, his army was daily diminishing, and it was resolved among the chiefs to furl for a time the standard of rebellion, and abandoning Perth, to reserve themselves, in the best manner they could, for a more favourable opportunity, when on the 22d of December, 1715, their spirits were for a few days revived, by the arrival of James himself. Instead, however, of those abundant supplies which he had promised to bring along with him, he escaped from France with difficulty in disguise, and was landed at Peterhead with only six attendants. Here he and his companions slept the first night, disguised as sea officers. The second night he lay at Newburgh, a seat of the earl Marischal's. Next day he passed through Aberdeen, still *incognito*, with two baggage horses, and the third night met at Fetteresso with Marr, the earl Marischal, and about thirty gentlemen from Perth. Here James assumed the forms of royalty, gave the gentlemen his hand to kiss, received loyal addresses from the clergy and citizens of Aberdeen, formed a court, appointing all the officers of state and household, created peers, made knights, appointed bishops, &c. A slight indisposition confined him to Fetteresso for some days, but having recovered, he advanced, January the 2nd, 1716, to Brechin, where he remained till the 4th; and proceeding by Kinnaird and Glamis, he made his public entry into Dundee on Friday the 6th, accompanied by about three hundred horsemen. On Saturday he dined at Castle Lyon, and slept in the house of Sir David Threipland; and on Sabbath the 8th, took possession of the royal palace of Scoon. Here he formed a council, and began to exercise the functions of government. He had been already proclaimed at Fetteresso, and had issued another declaration, dated at Cromeray in Lorrain; now all at once he issued six proclamations,—one ordering a thanksgiving for his safe arrival—a second, ordering public prayers to be put up for him in all the churches—a third, giving currency to foreign coins—a fourth, summoning a convention of estates—a fifth, ordering all fencible men to repair to his standard—and a sixth, fixing his coronation for the 23d of the current month. At the same time he obstinately refused to attend any protestant place of worship, and he would allow no protestant to say grace at his table. His own confessor, father Innes, constantly repeated the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* for him, and he had an invincible repugnancy to the usual form of the coronation oath, obliging the sovereign to maintain the established religion. This avowed bigotry occasioned wide divisions among his few councillors, and greatly cooled



the affliction of his female friends, many of whom had incited their husbands to take arms on his behalf, under an idea that he had turned protestant. It would also have created some difficulty on the approaching coronation, had not circumstances before the day arrived rendered his funeral a more likely occurrence.

On the 16th, he assembled a grand council of all the insurgent chiefs, where he delivered a most melancholy speech, every sentiment of which seems to have been the offspring of weakness and fear, and every word of it to have been steeped in tears; yet it was put into the hands of Freebairn, and industriously circulated among the rebels, though it could have no effect but to damp their spirits. It was indeed pretty evident, that this grand council had no other purpose, but to cover for a little the determination that had been formed, to abandon the enterprise as speedily as was consistent with the safety of those who had been the prime agents in the whole affair. They well knew that they were in no condition to stand an attack from the royal army, now provided with a powerful artillery and strengthened by numerous reinforcements; but it was proper to conceal this knowledge from the troops, lest they might have been so dispirited as to have been incapable of taking the necessary steps for securing a retreat, or perhaps provoked, as was like to have been the case at Preston, to take summary vengeance on their leaders, who had by so many misrepresentations and so many blunders, brought them into a situation of so much danger. There was nothing of course to be seen among them but bustling activity, and nothing heard but the dreadful note of preparation. Every where there was planting of guns, throwing up breast works, and digging trenches, and in short, every thing to induce the belief that they intended to make the most desperate resistance to the king's troops. To confirm this view of the matter still further, an order was issued on the 17th, the day after the council, for burning the whole country between Perth and the king's troops, and otherwise destroying every thing that could be of any use to an enemy. This order was the last that James issued in Scotland, and it was in a few days executed to the very letter.

Hearing that Argyle and Cadogan were on the march to attack him, the Chevalier once more called a council to deliberate whether they should await his coming or save themselves by a timely retreat? Nothing appears to have been more terrible to the Chevalier than a battle in his present circumstances; but the principal part of the officers, especially the highlanders, who thought they had had far too little fighting, were unanimous for instant warfare and would not be restrained. Marr, seeing no prospect of an agreement, adjourned the council till next morning, and shortly after selected a few of the most influential among them, upon whom he urged the necessity of a retreat, and procured their consent, giving out at the same time that they only waited a more favourable opportunity to engage and cut off Argyle, which they stated they should have at Aberdeen, where they would be strengthened by auxiliaries from abroad. Matters being thus accommodated, James, by a strong feeling of danger awakened from his dream of empire, hastened from his palace of Scoon to Perth, where he supped with provost Hay, and after attempting to sleep for a few hours, early next morning, with his army, abandoned Perth, marching over the Tay upon the ice. He left Perth in company with Marr and his principal adherents, dissolved in tears, and saying, "that instead of bringing him to a crown they had brought him to his grave."

Having abandoned their artillery, which they threw into the Tay, with all their waggons and heavy baggage, the insurgents marched with great celerity, and were soon two days a head of the royal army, taking the road by Dundee, Aberbrothock, and Montrose, for Aberdeen. At Montrose they had a vessel



prepared to carry off the Chevalier and the principal part of the chieftains. This intention, however, was carefully concealed from the army; and, at eight o'clock at night, the Chevalier, having ordered his horse to the door of the house in which he lodged, with all his guards mounted in the usual manner, went from his lodgings by a back door to those of the earl of Marr, and thence, in company with the earl and one domestic, by a private footpath to the waterside, where a boat was in waiting, which carried them aboard the *Maria Teresa* of St Maloes, a ship of about ninety tons burden. The same boat returned, and about two o'clock in the morning carried on board the same ship the earl of Melford, the lord Drummond, generals Bulkley and Sheldon, with others of the first rank in the household or in the army, to the number of seventeen persons in all. The ship immediately set sail for the coast of Norway, and having a fresh gale, made land the next evening; and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, in seven days landed her passengers safely at Waldam, near Gravelines, between Dunkirk and Calais. The rebel army, in the meantime, went on to Aberdeen, general Gordon leading the front, and the earl Marischal, with the horse, bringing up the rear. Arrived at Aberdeen, general Gordon showed them a letter from the Chevalier, in which he acquainted his friends that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him to leave the country, that he thanked them for their services, and desired them to advise with general Gordon and consult their own security, either by keeping in a body or separating; and encouraging them to expect to hear from him in a short time. The general acquainted them at the same time that they were to expect no more pay; and though he, as well as the other leaders were in the secret before leaving Perth, yet now he pretended to be in a transport of rage and despair because the pretender and Marr had deserted them. Many of the people, too, threw down their arms, crying out that they were basely betrayed, they were all undone, they were left without king or general. They were, however, conducted west through Strathspey and Strathdon to the hills of Badenoch, where they separated, the foot dispersing into the mountains on this side the Lochy, and the horse going into Lochaber, all of them promising to reassemble as they should have warning from the Chevalier to that effect.

Marr continued to direct the management of the Chevalier's affairs, and to enjoy his sole confidence for a number of years, during which he seems to have been indefatigable in his mistaken attempts to destroy the peace of his country, though he only destroyed his own and that of his imbecile and unfortunate master. Scarcely was he safe on the continent, and the blood of his less fortunate companions was yet reeking on the sword of justice, than he attempted to induce the king of Sweden, the frantic Charles XII., by the present of five or six thousand bolls of oatmeal from the Scottish Jacobites, to invade Great Britain in behalf of the chevalier. The persons to whom the proposal was made, captain Straiton, the bishop of Edinburgh, lord Balmerino, and Lockhart of Carnwath, seem to have given it a serious entertainment, and to have been sincerely grieved when they found it beyond their power to execute. Failing in this, his next object was to raise among them a sum of money, for the same purpose; and the earl of Eglington was so enthusiastic in the cause, as to offer three thousand guineas to such a fund. Many others were willing to contribute "round sums," but they wanted "the plan first to be well concerted, and the blow ready to be struck." He then set about corrupting Argyle, but, fearing in him a rival for emolument and power, he shortly after repented of the attempt, and was at some pains to prevent it taking effect. In the Spanish affair, which was planned by cardinal Alberoni, and closed at Glenshiel in the month of June, 1719, he

does not seem to have been so particularly concerned, which may have set him on those other methods of advancing his own interest, to which he shortly afterwards resorted. By this time, indeed, his influence with the Chevalier, who was almost compelled by his situation, to manifest a disposition to favouritism, had excited the envy of every Jacobite, for every Jacobite reckoned his own merit so great as to deserve the special and particular attention of his divinely consecrated master; yet every one wondered at the unreasonableness of another for aiming at the same things as himself; hence Lockhart of Carnwath, one of the most zealous of them at that day, speaking of the troubles and crosses the Chevalier met with, describes them as "the natural consequences of having to deal with a set of men whom no rules of honour or ties of society can bind." Lockhart had planned a new scheme of managing the Chevalier's affairs in Scotland, by a number of persons, whom he called trustees, and of which he himself was named one. This gave offence to not a few of the Chevalier's friends, and to none more than the earl of Marr, whose ambition from the beginning of his career was to be sole director of the affairs of Scotland. He began also about this time to be supplanted in the affections of his master by James Murray, afterwards created by the Chevalier earl of Dunbar and made tutor to the young prince Charles; in consequence of which he left the Chevalier at Rome, and took up his residence at Paris, where he appears to have been as restless and as mischievously employed as ever; sometimes appearing to be diligent for the one side and sometimes for the other. He obtained money from the earl of Stair, under the pretence of friendship, and liberty from the British government to reside for his health in France, provided he kept himself free of any plots against the government of Britain; likewise, on a renewal of the same promise, an offer of the family estate to be restored to his son, and in the interim, till an act of parliament could be procured to that effect, he himself was to receive a yearly pension of two thousand pounds sterling, over and above one thousand five hundred pounds sterling of jointure paid to his wife and daughter. The Chevalier now began to withdraw his confidence from him, and a general suspicion of his fidelity seems to have been entertained among one party of his Jacobite associates, who charged him with betraying, not only the interests of individuals, but the cause in general, by a system of deep laid and deliberate villany. By Atterbury he was abhorred and charged as the person who discovered his correspondence with the Chevalier to the British government, which procured his banishment. A laboured scheme for the restoration of James, presented by Marr without his authority, to the regent of France, the duke of Orleans, a little before his death, was also by the same personage charged as a deep laid design to render him odious to the English people, and so to cut off all hopes of his ever being restored. He was also said to have embezzled two thousand pounds sterling, which he had collected for general Dillon, for the purpose of purchasing arms at the time of Atterbury's conspiracy. He was by the same party charged with being the author of that schism in the king's family, which exposed him to the pity or to the contempt of all Europe, by stirring up the queen against colonel Hay and his lady, a daughter of the earl of Stormont, and sister to James Murray, created about this time earl of Dunbar. This colonel Hay was brother to the earl of Kinnoul, and on Marr's loss of favour was by James promoted to his place in the cabinet, and created earl of Inverness, which was supposed sufficient to excite his utmost malice. Possessing the ear of Mrs Sheldon, mistress to general Dillon, who was wholly at his devotion, and who had acquired an entire ascendancy over the queen, James's wife, he so operated upon her feelings, that when she found her authority insufficient to enforce the dismissal of Inverness and his lady, and to retain Mrs Sheldon,

whom James would no longer endure, she drove off in one of the king's coaches, and took refuge in the convent of St Cecilia on the 15th of November, 1725. Inverness in his account of this affair says, "it is a matter the king is very easy about, since he sees plainly that the queen has been drawn into this step, and made subservient to a project of Marr's which has been laid these several years." Whatever opinion the king might have of the causes which had brought about this strange resolution of the queen, it evidently, and indeed it could not be otherwise, gave him no little trouble. "The queen is still in the convent," he writes to one of his correspondents, "and her advisers continue still under a false pretence of religion, to procure my uneasiness from the pope to such a degree, that I wish myself out of his country, and I won't fail to do my endeavours to leave it, which I am persuaded will tend to the advantage of my affairs." This, however, is evidently the ebullition of a weak mind, attempting to hide from itself its own weakness, and there can be no doubt, as one of his best friends remarked at the time, that this extraordinary proceeding gave a terrible shock to his affairs, lowered his character in the judgment both of friends and foes, and highly displeased the continental princes, many of whom were nearly related to the queen. At the same time, whether Marr, as was given out by one side of the Jacobite interest, was really the author of all this mischief, is a question that we think admits of being very fairly disputed. That Inverness and his lady had attained to the absolute sway of James's affections, does not appear to admit of a doubt. How they attained to this envied superiority is not so easily to be accounted for. "His lordship," according to Lockhart of Carnwath, "was a cunning, false, avaricious creature, of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, altogether void of experience in business, and his insolence prevailing often over his little stock of prudence, he did and said many unadvised ridiculous things, that with any other master would soon have stripped him of that credit which, without any merit, at the expense of the king's character and the peace of his family, he maintained, in opposition to the remonstrances of several potentates, and his majesty's best friends at home and abroad. His lady was a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant"—and he adds, what appears to be the true solution of the mystery, though he affects at the same time to make light of it,—"It was commonly reported and believed, that she was the king's mistress, and that the queen's jealousy was the cause of the rupture." That it was so we have the testimony of the queen herself:—"Mr Hay and his lady are the cause," she says, writing to her sister, "that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer only to do you a pleasure, and to oblige the king, but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of such a fatal separation betwixt the king and me, are continually teasing him every day to part with all his best friends and most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and insults that can be imagined." That Marr, beholding such conduct on the part of these worthless favourites, and the uneasiness of the queen under it, should have laboured for the preventing of such a fatal catastrophe, to have them removed, is rather a bright spot upon a character which, it must be owned, had few redeeming qualities.



With regard to the money he received from Stair, and the pensions in lieu of his estate, we cannot think there will be two opinions. The British ministry were the most consummate fools if they bestowed such a boon upon such a man without something profitable in return; and James was just such another fool, if he ever after put any confidence in him. The money transaction with Stair has never been, and perhaps from the nature of the service, could not be cleared up. The discovery of the plot in 1722, and the consequent banishment of Atterbury, was, we apprehend, the return for his pensions; and it was not unworthy of them, especially as, by bringing together three such spirits as himself, Inverness, and Atterbury, he put it out of the power of the chevalier to bring any one scheme to bear during their lives.

His character in consequence seems to have utterly sunk, and in the latter days of his life he appears to have been little regarded by any party. In 1729 he went for his health to reside at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he died in the month of May, 1732.

His lordship was twice married; first, to lady Margaret Hay, daughter to the earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had two sons; John, who died in infancy, and Thomas, lord Erskine. He married secondly, lady Frances Pierrepont, daughter of Evelyn, duke of Kingston, by whom he had one daughter, lady Frances Erskine, who married her cousin James Erskine, son of lord Grange, through whom the line of the family is kept up, and to whose posterity the honours of the house of Marr have been of late years restored.

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Carnock, afterwards of Cardross, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, was born in the year 1695. His father was the honourable colonel John Erskine of Carnock, the third son of lord Cardross, whose family now holds the title of earl of Buchan. The zeal which colonel Erskine had manifested for the cause of the presbyterian religion and of liberty, constrained him to retire into Holland, where he obtained the command of a company in a regiment of foot, in the service of the prince of Orange. He afterwards accompanied that prince to England, at the revolution of 1688, and received as a reward for his services and attachment, the appointments of lieutenant-governor of Stirling castle, a lieutenant-colonelcy of a regiment of foot, and, afterwards, the governorship of the castle of Dumbarton. He was chosen, in 1695, a director of the African and Indian company of Scotland, and, in the following year, was sent to Holland and other parts of the continent, to manage the affairs of the company. He was representative of the town of Stirling in the last Scottish parliament, and was a great promoter of the legislative union of the kingdoms. When the treaty of union was effected, he was nominated, in the year 1707, to a seat in the united parliament of Britain, and, in the general election of 1708, he was chosen member for the Stirling district of burghs. He died in Edinburgh, January, 1743, in the 82d year of his age. He was four times married; first, to Jane, daughter and heiress of William Mure of Caldwell, in Renfrewshire, by whom he had no issue; secondly, on the 5th of January, 1691, to Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Dundas of Kincavel, who was the mother of John Erskine of Carnock, the subject of this notice, and of other three sons and a daughter; thirdly, on the 18th of April, 1725, to Lillias, daughter of Stirling of Keir, who died leaving no issue; and, fourthly, to Mary, daughter of Charles Stuart of Dunearn, by whom he had one son.

John Erskine of Carnock having been educated for the profession of the law, became a member of the faculty of advocates, in the year 1719, and continued for some years to discharge the duties of his profession without having been remarkably distinguished. In 1737, on the death of Alexander Bain, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, Mr Erskine became a candidate



for that chair. The patronage of this professorship is nominally in the town council of Edinburgh, but virtually in the faculty of advocates; the election, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of George I., being made in the following manner:—The faculty, by open suffrage of all the members, send a *leet*, (as it is called,) or *list*, containing the names of two of their number, to the town council; one of whom the patrons must choose. The candidate favoured by his brother is of course joined in the *leet* with another member of the body, who, it is known, will not accept; and although, in case of collision, this arrangement might occasion embarrassment, practically the effect is, to place the nomination to this chair in the body best qualified to judge of the qualifications of the candidates. Hence this preferment is, generally speaking, a very fair test of the estimation in which the successful candidate is held by his brethren; and their choice has seldom been more creditable to themselves than it was in the case of Mr Erskine. The list presented to the town council contained the names of Erskine and of Mr James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who had no desire for the appointment, and Mr Erskine was consequently named professor. The emoluments of the office consist of a salary of £100 per annum, payable from the revenue of the town, in addition to the fees paid by the students.

Mr Erskine entered on the discharge of his academical duties with great ardour; and, from the ability which he displayed as a lecturer, his class was much more numerously attended, than the Scots law class had been at any former period. The text book which he used for many years was Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*; but, in the year 1754, Mr Erskine published his own "*Principles of the Law of Scotland*," 8vo, which he intended chiefly for the use of his students, and which, from that time forward, he made his text-book. In this work, Mr Erskine follows the order of Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions*, supplying those omissions into which Sir George was betrayed by his desire for extreme brevity, and making such farther additions as the progress of the law since Sir George's time rendered necessary. The book is still very highly esteemed on account of the precision and accuracy, and, at the same time, the conciseness, with which the principles of the law are stated; nor is it an inconsiderable proof of its merit, that, notwithstanding the very limited circulation of Scottish law books, this work has already gone through numerous editions.

After having taught the Scots law class with great reputation for twenty-eight years, Mr Erskine, in 1765, resigned his professorship, and retired from public life. For three years after his resignation, he occupied himself chiefly in preparing for publication his larger work, "*The Institutes of the Law of Scotland*." It was not published, however, nor, indeed, completed, during his life. The work, in the state in which Mr Erskine left it, was put into the hands of a legal friend, who, after taking the aid of some of his associates at the bar, published it in 1773, in folio. Although marked with some of the defects incident to a posthumous publication, Erskine's *Institutes* has been, for the last eighty years, a book of the very highest authority in the law of Scotland. It is remarkable for the same accuracy and caution which distinguish the *Principles*; and as additions have been made in every successive impression, suitable to the progressive changes in the law, there is perhaps no authority which is more frequently cited in the Scottish courts, or which has been more resorted to, as the ground-work of the several treatises on subordinate branches of the law, which have appeared within the last fifty years. It has been said, that the *Institutes* partakes somewhat of the academical seclusion in which it was written, and indicates occasionally that the author was not

familiar with the every-day practice of the law. But this is a defect, which, if it exists at all, would require keener eyes than ours to discover. On the contrary, without presuming to dogmatise on such a subject, we should be inclined to say, that we have met with no Scottish law book, which appears to us to contain a more clear and intelligible exposition, both of the theory and practice of the law, or in which the authorities cited are digested and analysed with more care and success.

Mr Erskine died at Cardross on the 1st of March, 1768, in the 73d year of his age. He had been twice married; first to Miss Melville, of the noble family of Leven and Melville, by whom he left the celebrated John Erskine, D. D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh; secondly, to Anne, second daughter of Mr Stirling of Keir, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. In the year 1746, Mr Erskine had purchased, at a judicial sale, the estate of Cardross, which formerly had belonged to his grandfather, lord Cardross, and he was possessed, besides, of very considerable landed property, the greater part of which devolved on James Erskine of Cardross, the eldest son of his second marriage, who died at Cardross on the 27th of March, 1802.

ERSKINE, REV. DR JOHN, was born on the 2nd of June, 1721. He was the eldest son of John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, a younger branch of the noble family of Buchan. His mother was Margaret, daughter of the honourable James Melville of Bargarvie, of the family of Leven and Melville. Young Erskine was taught the elementary branches of his education by private tuition, and was placed, towards the close of the year 1734, at the university of Edinburgh, where he acquired a great fund of classical knowledge, and made himself master of the principles of philosophy and law. He was originally intended for the profession of the law, in which his father had been so much distinguished; but a natural meditative and religious disposition inclined him towards the church. This peculiar turn of mind had displayed itself at a very early age, when, instead of joining in the games and amusements suitable to the period of boyhood, he was retired and solitary, and preferred the more exalted pleasures of religious meditation; so that while his companions were pursuing their youthful sports, he would be found shut up in his closet, employed in the study of the scriptures, and in exercises of devotion. Although his taste thus led him towards the sacred profession, yet in compliance with the wishes of his parents, he repressed his own inclinations, and passed through the greater part of that course of discipline prescribed in Scotland, in former times, as preparatory to entering the faculty of advocates. But at length, deeply impressed with the conviction that it was his duty to devote himself to the service of religion, he communicated to his father his intention to study divinity. This resolution met with the decided opposition of his family. They conceived that the clerical office was at best but ill suited for the display of those talents which they knew him to possess, while the very moderate provision made for the clergy of the church of Scotland, has always been a prudential obstacle with the parents and guardians of young men of family or consideration in this country. In spite, however, of every opposition, Erskine persevered in the prosecution of his theological studies, and on their completion, in the year 1743, he was licensed to preach, by the presbytery of Dumblane.

Prior to the commencement of Dr Erskine's classical education, an ardent desire to cultivate literature and philosophy had manifested itself in Scotland, and the professors of the college of Edinburgh, some of them men of the most distinguished talents, had contributed greatly to promote and cherish the spirit which animated the nation. Among those early benefactors of Scottish litera-

ture, the most conspicuous were Sir John Pringle, and Mr Stevenson, professors of moral philosophy and of logic, in the university of Edinburgh. One mode which these eminent men adopted in order to stimulate the exertions of their students, was to prescribe topics connected with the subject of their respective prelections, on which their pupils were required to write short dissertations; when these exercises were to be read, numbers attended from the different classes, and we are informed by Dr Erskine, that Dr William Wishart, principal of the college, "that great encourager of the study of the classics, and of moral and political sciences, would often honour those discourses with his presence, listen to them with attention, criticise them with candour; and when he observed indications of good dispositions, and discerned the blossoms of genius, on these occasions, and afterwards, as he had opportunity, testified his esteem and regard." Professor Stevenson selected a number of the best of the essays which were read in his class, and bound them up in a volume, which is now preserved in the college library. They are in the hand-writing of their authors; and in this curious repository are to be found the productions of Erskine and Robertson, together with those of many young men who afterwards rose to eminence in their several paths of life. We have Dr Erskine's authority for saying, that during the time he was at the university, "Edinburgh college then abounded with young men of conspicuous talents, and indefatigable application to study; many of whom afterwards rose to high eminence in the state, in the army, and in the learned professions, especially in the law department." Amongst these we may name as his intimate friends, Sir Thomas Miller of Glenlee, afterwards lord president of the court of session, and those distinguished lawyers who were promoted to the bench under the titles of lords Elliock, Alva, Kennet, Gardenston, and Braxfield.

In May, 1744, Dr Erskine was ordained minister of Kirkintilloch, in the presbytery of Glasgow, where he remained until the year 1753, when he was presented to the parish of Culross, in the presbytery of Dunfermline. In June, 1753, he was translated to the new Grey Friars, one of the churches of Edinburgh. In November, 1766, the university of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, and in July, 1767, he was promoted to the collegiate charge of old Grey Friars, where he had for his colleague Dr Robertson.

In the different parishes in which Dr Erskine had ministered, he had enjoyed the esteem and affection of his parishioners. They were proud of him for his piety, learning, and rank;—they were delighted and improved by his public and private instructions, and they deeply lamented his removal when called from them to undertake the more important charges to which his merit successively promoted him. His attention to the duties of the pastoral office was most exemplary, and his benevolent consolation and advice, which were at the service of all who required them, secured him the respect and affection of his flock, who long remembered him with feelings of the warmest gratitude. No man ever had a keener relish for the pleasures of conversation; but in these he considered, that he ought not to indulge, conceiving his time and talents to be entirely the property of his parishioners. At college, he had made great attainments in classical learning, and through life, he retained a fondness for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, in which his great talents fitted him to excel; he refrained, however, from their pursuit, restricting himself in a great measure, to the discharge of his important religious duties. But although literature was not allowed to engross a large share of his attention, nor to interfere with his more sacred avocations, still, by much exertion, and by economizing his time, he was enabled to maintain a perfect acquaintance with the progress of the arts and sciences.



Perhaps, no country in the world ever made more rapid progress in literature than Scotland did during the last half of the eighteenth century. And it is to Dr Erskine chiefly, that the nation is indebted for that improvement which took place in our theological writings, and in the manner in which the services of the pulpit were performed. Previous to the time when he was licensed, sermons abounded with discursive and diffuse illustrations, and were deformed by colloquial familiarities and vulgar provincialisms; and although the discourses of such men as Robertson, Home, and Logan, and others of their cotemporaries, were conspicuous for their beauty, still it is to the published sermons of Dr Erskine, that the perspicuity and good taste subsequently displayed in the addresses from the pulpit have been justly traced. Even before the publication of his sermons, however, Dr Erskine had been favourably known to the public. His first publication was a pamphlet against certain of the doctrines contained in Dr Campbell's work, on the "necessity of revelation." In this production, Erskine had occasion to advocate some of the opinions maintained in Dr Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses; and having presented that distinguished prelate with a copy of the pamphlet, a correspondence ensued, highly creditable to Erskine, from the terms in which Warburton addresses him; more particularly when it is considered that at this time Erskine had not attained his 21st year.\*

\* The works written by Dr Erskine are,

1st, The Law of Nature sufficiently promulgated to the Heathen World; or, an Inquiry into the ability of the Heathens to discover the being of a God, and the immortality of human souls, in some miscellaneous reflections occasioned by Dr Campbell's (professor of Divinity at St Andrews) Treatise on the necessity of Revelation. Edinburgh, 1741. Republished in "Theological Dissertations." London, 1765.

2d, The Signs of the Times considered; or, the high probability that the present appearances in New England, and the West of Scotland, are a prelude to the glorious things promised to the Church in the latter ages. Edinburgh, 1742. Anonymous.

3d, The People of God considered as all righteous; or, three Sermons, preached at Glasgow, April, 1745. Edinburgh, 1745. Republished in the first volume of Dr Erskine's Discourses.

4th, Meditations and Letters of a Pious Youth, lately deceased, (James Hall, Esq., son of the late Sir John Hall, Bart. of Dunglass), to which are prefixed, Reflections on his death and character, by a friend in the country. Edinburgh, 1746.

5th, An account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, October 6th, 1748; respecting the employment of Mr Whitefield to preach in the pulpits of the Synod. Edinburgh, 1748. Anonymous.

6th, An humble attempt to promote frequent Communicating. Glasgow, 1749. Republished in "Theological Dissertations."

7th, The Qualifications necessary for Teachers of Christianity; a Sermon before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 2d October, 1750. Glasgow, 1750. Republished in Discourses, vol. II.

8th, The Influence of Religion on National Happiness; a sermon preached at the anniversary meeting of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in the High Church of Edinburgh, January, 1756.

9th, Ministers of the Gospel cautioned against giving offence; a sermon before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, November 3d, 1763; to which is added, A Charge at the Ordination of the late Mr Robertson, minister of Ratho. Edinburgh, 1764. Republished in Discourses, vol. I.

10th, Mr Wesley's Principles detected; or, a defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh edition of "Aspasio Vindicated," written by Dr Erskine in answer to Mr Kershaw's Appeal — to which is prefixed the Preface itself. Edinburgh, 1765.

11th, Theological Dissertations, (1) On the Nature of the Sinai covenant, (2) On the Character and Privileges of the Apostolic churches, (3) On the Nature of Saving Faith, (4) See 1st, (5) See 6th. London, 1765.

12th, Shall I go to War with my American Brethren? A discourse on Judges xx. 28, addressed to all concerned in determining that important question. London, 1769. Anonymous. Reprinted in Edinburgh with a Preface and Appendix, and the author's name, 1776.

13th, The Education of the poor children recommended; a sermon before the Managers of the Orphan Hospital, 1774.

14th, Reflections on the Rise, and Progress, and probable Consequences of the present contentions with the Colonies: by a Freeholder. Edinburgh, 1776.

About the time when Dr Erskine obtained his license, a remarkable concern for religion had been exhibited in the British colonies of North America. In order to obtain the earliest and most authentic religious intelligence from those provinces, he commenced a correspondence with those chiefly concerned in

15th, *The Equity and Wisdom of the Administration, on measures that have unhappily occasioned the American Revolt—tried by the Sacred Oracles.* Edinburgh, 1776.

16th, *Considerations on the Spirit of Popery, and the intended Bill for the relief of the Papists in Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1778.

17th, *A Narrative of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25th, 1779.* Occasioned by the apprehensions of an intended repeal of the penal statutes against Papists. With a dedication to Dr George Campbell, principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh, 1780.

18th, *Prayer for those in civil and military offices, recommended from a view of the influence of Providence on their character, conduct, and success; a sermon preached before the election of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, October 5th, 1779, and published at the request of the Magistrates and Town council.*

19th, *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from modern foreign writers, vol. I.* Edinburgh, 1790.

20th, *Letters, chiefly written for comforting those bereaved of Children and Friends. Collected from books and manuscripts.* Edinburgh, 1790. 2d edition with additions. Edinburgh, 1800.

21st, *The fatal Consequences and the General Sources of Anarchy; a discourse on Isaiah, xxiv. 1, 5; the substance of which was preached before the Magistrates of Edinburgh, September, 1792; published at their request, and that of the members of the Old Grey Friars Kirk Session.* Edinburgh, 1793.

22d, *A Supplement to Two Volumes, published in 1754, of Historical Collections, chiefly containing late remarkable instances of Faith working by Love; published from the Manuscript of the late Dr John Gillies, one of the ministers of Glasgow. With an account of the Pious Compiler, and other additions.* Edinburgh, 1796.

23d, *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from modern foreign writers, vol. II.* Edinburgh, 1797.

24th, *Discourses preached on several occasions, vol. I.* 2d edition, 1798. Volume II. posthumous, prepared for the press and published by Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, 1804.

25th, *Dr Erskine's reply to a printed Letter, directed to him by A. C.; in which the gross misrepresentations in said letter, of his Sketches of Church History, in promoting the designs of the infamous sect of the Illuminati, are considered.* Edinburgh, 1798.

Those Works which were edited by Dr Erskine, or for which he wrote prefaces are,

1st, *Aspasio Vindicated, or the Scripture doctrine of imputed righteousness defended against the animadversions, &c. of Mr Wesley; with a preface of ten pages by Dr Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1765.

2d, *An Account of the Life of the late Rev. Mr David Brainerd, &c. by Jonathan Edwards.* Edinburgh, 1765.

3d, *An Essay on the continuance of immediate Revelations of Faets and Future Events, in the Christian church, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of the Gospel at Dunfermline; together with a Letter by the late Mr Cuthbert, minister of Culross, on the danger of considering the influence of the Spirit as a rule of Duty; with a Preface by Dr Erskine.* Edinburgh, 1774.

4th, *A Treatise on Temptation, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie. Prefaced by Dr Erskine, 1771.*

5th, *A History of the work of Redemption, by the late Jonathan Edwards, Svo.* Edinburgh, 1774.

6th, *Sermons on various important subjects, by Jonathan Edwards, 12mo.* Edinburgh, 1785.

7th, *Dying Exercises of Mrs Deborah Prince, and Devout Meditations of Mrs Sarah Gill, daughters of the late Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of South church Boston, New England.* 1785.

8th, *Six Sermons, by the late Rev. Thomas Prince, A. M., one of the ministers in the South Church, Boston. Published from his manuscript, with a Preface by Dr Erskine, containing a very interesting account of the Author, of his Son who pre-deceased him, and of three of his daughters.*

9th, *Practical Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, Svo, 1788.*

10th, *Twenty Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, on various subjects.* Edinburgh, 1789.

11th, *A Reply to the Religious Scruples against Inoculating the Small-pox, in a letter to a friend, by the late Rev. William Cooper of Boston, New England.* Edinburgh, 1791.

12th, *The safety of appearing at the Day of Judgment in the Righteousness of Christ, opened and applied, by Solomon Stoddart, pastor to the church of Northampton, in New England, the grandfather and predecessor of Mr Jonathan Edwards.* Edinburgh, 1792.

bringing about this change; nor was this correspondence confined to America. He also opened a communication with several divines of the most distinguished piety on the continent of Europe. This intercourse he assiduously cultivated and carried on during the whole of his life. One bad consequence of it was the toil which it necessarily entailed on him, not only in answering his numerous correspondents, but in being called upon by the friends of deceased divines, to correct and superintend the publication of posthumous works. To his voluntary labours in this way, the religious world is indebted for the greater part of the works of president Edwards, and Dickson, and of Stoddart, and Fraser of Alness. Such was Dr Erskine's thirst for information concerning the state of religion, morality, and learning on the continent, that in his old age, he undertook and acquired a knowledge of the Dutch and German languages. The fruits of the rich field which was thus thrown open to him appeared in "The Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated or abridged from modern Foreign Writers. Edinburgh, vol. 1st, 1790, vol. 2nd, 1799." These volumes contained the most extensive and interesting body of information respecting the state of religion on the Continent, which had been presented to the world.

One of the objects professed by the promoters of those revolutionary principles, which, towards the close of the last century threatened the subversion of social order in Europe, was the destruction of all christian church establishments; and an association was actually formed on the continent for this purpose. Dr Erskine, however, having in the course of his researches into the state of religion, discovered the existence of this association, gave the alarm to his countrymen; and professor Robinson and the Abbe Barruel soon after investigated its rise and progress, and unfolded its dangers. The patriotic exertions of those good men were crowned with success. Many of those who had been imposed upon by the specious arguments then in vogue, were recalled to a sense of reason and duty; and even the multitude were awakened to a sense of the impending danger, when the true character of the religion and morality of those political regenerators, who would have made them their dupes, were disclosed and illustrated by the practical commentary which the state of France afforded. The consideration that he had assisted to save this country from the horrors to which the French nation had been subjected, was one of the many gratifying reflections which solaced Dr Erskine on looking back, in his old age, on his laborious and well spent life.

Dr Erskine's zeal in the cause of religion led him to take a large share in the business of the society for the propagation of christian knowledge; and even when, through the infirmities of bad health and old age, he was unable to

Fourth edition, with a Preface, containing some account of him, and an acknowledgment of the unscripturalness of some of his sentiments.

13th, Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Subjects, by the late Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1793.

14th, Sermons and Tracts, separately published at Boston, Philadelphia, and now first collected into one volume, by Jonathan Dickenson, A. M., late President of the College of New Jersey. Edinburgh, 1793.

15th, A Sermon preached on the Fast Day, 28th February, 1794, at the French Chapel Royal, at St James's, and at the Royal Crown Court, Soho, by Mr Gilbert. Translated from the French by a young Lady, Dr Erskine's grand-daughter, lately dead (daughter of Charles Stuart, M. D.), with a short Preface by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1794.

16th, Remarks on Important Theological Controversies, by Mr Jonathan Edwards, 1796.

17th, Select Discourses, by eminent ministers in America. 2 volumes. Edinburgh, 1796.

18th, Religious Intelligence and seasonable Advice from Abroad, concerning lay preaching and exhortation, in four separate Pamphlets. Edinburgh, 1801.

19th, Discourses on the Christian Temper, by J. Evans, D. D., with an account of the Life of the author, by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1802.

20th, New Religious Intelligence, chiefly from the American States. Edinburgh, 1802.



attend the meetings of that body, such was the dependence of the directors on his information and sound judgment, that on any difficulty occurring in the management of their affairs, they were in the habit of consulting him at his own house. In the general assembly of the church of Scotland, he was for many years the leader of the popular party; there the openness and integrity of his character secured him the confidence and affection of his friends and the esteem and respect of his opponents. The friendship which subsisted between him and principal Robertson, the leader of the moderate party, has been objected to by some of his more rigid admirers, as displaying too great a degree of liberality—a fact strongly illustrative of the rancour which existed in former times among the high church party. The courtesy which marked Dr Erskine's conduct to principal Robertson throughout their lives, and the candour which led him to bear testimony to the high talents and many estimable qualities of the historian, in the funeral sermon which he preached on the death of that great man, did equal honour to Dr Erskine's head and his heart. The following anecdote has been told of one rupture of the friendship which subsisted in early life between principal Robertson and Dr Erskine. Mr Whitefield, who was sent by the English methodists as a missionary into Scotland, at first formed a connection with the *Seceders*, the body which had left the established church; but when he refused to confine his ministrations to them, they declared enmity against him, and his character became a controversial topic. Mr Erskine, some time before he obtained the living of Kirkintilloch, appears to have been a great admirer of the character of this celebrated preacher, and to have been strongly impressed with the force of his powerful eloquence and the usefulness and efficacy of his evangelical doctrines. It unfortunately happened, that at the time when the friends and enemies of Mr Whitefield were keenly engaged in discussing his merits, the question as to his character and usefulness was made the subject of debate in a literary society which Robertson and Erskine had formed. Conflicting opinions were expressed, and the debate was conducted with so much zeal and asperity that it occasioned not only the dissolution of the society, but it is said to have led to a temporary interruption of the private friendship and intercourse which subsisted between Erskine and Robertson. There is another anecdote of these two great men, which tells more favourably for Dr Erskine's moderation and command of temper, and at the same time shows the influence which he had acquired over the Edinburgh mob. During the disturbances in Edinburgh in the years 1778 and 1779, occasioned by the celebrated bill, proposed at that time to be introduced into parliament, for the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholics in Scotland, the populace of Edinburgh assembled in the College court, with the intention of demolishing the house of principal Robertson, who had taken an active part in advocating the abolition of these penal laws; and there seems to be little doubt that the mob would have attempted to carry their threats into execution in defiance of the military, which had been called out, had not Dr Erskine appeared, and by his presence and exhortations, dispersed them.

Dr Erskine's opinions, both in church and state politics, will be best understood from the following short account of the part which he took on several of the important discussions which divided the country during his life. In the year 1769, on the occasion of the breach with America, he entered into a controversy with Mr Wesley, and published more than one pamphlet, deprecating the contest. He was an enemy to the new constitution given to Canada, by which he considered the catholic religion to be too much favoured. In 1778, when the attempt was made to repeal certain of the penal enactments against the Roman catholics of Great Britain, he testified his apprehensions of the conse-

quences in a correspondence between him and Mr Burke, which was published. And finally, we have already seen, that he took an active and prominent part, in his old age, in support of constitutional principles, when threatened by the French revolution.

Having attained to the 82d year of his age, Dr Erskine was suddenly struck with a mortal disease, and died at his house in Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh, on the 19th of January, 1803, after a few hours' illness. He had been from his youth of a feeble constitution, and for many years previous to his death, his appearance had been that of one in the last stage of existence; and during many winters he had been unable to perform his sacred duties with regularity; nor did he once preach during the last sixteen months of his life. Before he was entirely incapacitated for public duty, his voice had become too weak to be distinctly heard by his congregation. Still, however, the vivacity of his look and the energy of his manner, bespoke the warmth of his heart and the vigour of his mind. His mental faculties remained unimpaired to the last; and, unaffected by his bodily decay, his memory was as good, his judgment as sound, his imagination as lively, and his inclination for study as strong, as during his most vigorous years, and to the last he was actively engaged in those pursuits which had formed the business and pleasure of his life. Even the week before his death, he had sent notice to his publisher, that he had collected materials for the 6th number of the periodical pamphlet he was then publishing, entitled, "Religious intelligence from abroad."

In his temper, Dr Erskine was ardent and benevolent, his affections were warm, his attachments lasting; and his piety constant and most sincere. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and for that genuine humility which is frequently the concomitant and brightest ornament of high talents. In his beneficence, which was great but unostentatious, he religiously observed the Scripture precept in the distribution of his charity and in the performance of his many good and friendly offices. We cannot close this short sketch of Dr Erskine more appropriately than in the graphic words of our great novelist, who, in his *Guy Mannering*, has presented us, as it were, with a living picture of this eminent divine. "The colleague of Dr Robertson ascended the pulpit. His external appearance was not prepossessing. A remarkably fair complexion, strangely contrasted with a black wig, without a grain of powder; a narrow chest and a stooping posture; hands which, placed like props on either side of the pulpit, seemed necessary rather to support the person than to assist the gesticulation of the preacher,—no gown, not even that of Geneva, a tumbled band, and a gesture which seemed scarcely voluntary, were the first circumstances which struck a stranger. 'The preacher seems a very ungainly person,' whispered Mannering to his new friend.

"'Never fear, he is the son of an excellent Scottish lawyer, he'll show blood, I'll warrant him.'

"The learned counsellor predicted truly. A lecture was delivered, fraught with new, striking, and entertaining views of Scripture history—a sermon in which the Calvinism of the Kirk of Scotland was ably supported, yet made the basis of a sound system of practical morals, which should neither shelter the sinner under the cloak of speculative faith or of peculiarity of opinion, nor leave him loose to the waves of unbelief and schism. Something there was of an antiquated turn of argument and metaphor, but it only served to give zest and peculiarity to the style of elocution. The sermon was not read—a scrap of paper, containing the heads of the discourse, was occasionally referred to, and the enunciation, which at first seemed imperfect and embarrassed, became, as the preacher warmed in his progress, animated and distinct: and although

the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannerling had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument brought into the service of christianity. 'Such,' he said, going out of the church, 'must have been the preachers, to whose unfearing minds, and acute though sometimes rudely exercised talents, we owe the reformation.'

"'And yet that reverend gentleman,' said Pleydell, 'whom I love for his father's sake and his own, has nothing of the sour or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the kirk, about particular points of church discipline; but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides.'"

Dr Erskine was married to Christian Mackay, third daughter of George, third lord Ray, by whom he had a family of fourteen children, but of whom only four survived him, David Erskine, Esq. of Carnock, and three daughters.

ERSKINE, RALPH, the well known author of Gospel Sonnets, and other highly esteemed writings, was a young son of Henry Erskine, some time minister of Cornhill, in Northumberland, and, after the revolution, at Chirnside, Berwickshire, and was born at Monilaws, in Northumberland, on the eighteenth day of March, 1685. Of his childhood, little has been recorded, but that he was thoughtful and pious, and was most probably by his parents devoted to the work of the ministry from his earliest years. Of his earlier studies, we know nothing. Like his brother Ebenezer, he probably learned his letters under the immediate eye of his father, and like his brother, he went through a regular course of study in the University of Edinburgh. During the latter years of his studentship, he resided as tutor and chaplain in the house of Colonel Erskine, near Culross, where he was gratified with the evangelical preaching, and very often the edifying conversation of the Rev. Mr Cuthbert, then minister of Culross. He had here also frequent opportunities of visiting his brother Ebenezer, but, though younger in years and less liberally endowed with the gifts of nature, he was a more advanced scholar in the school of Christ, and his brother, if we may believe his own report, was more benefited by him than he was by his brother. Residing within its bounds, he was, by the presbytery of Dunfermline, licensed as a preacher, on the eighth day of June, 1709. He continued to be a probationer nearly two years, a somewhat lengthened period in the then desolate state of the church, when the field, at least, was large, whatever might be the harvest, and the labourers literally few. At length, however, he received a unanimous call from the parish of Dunfermline, to serve as colleague and successor to the Rev. Mr Buchanan, which he accepted, and to which he was ordained in the month of August, 1711, his friend Mr Cuthbert of Culross, presiding on the occasion. In common with all the churches of the reformation, the church of Scotland was from her earliest dawn of returning light, distinguished for her attachment to the doctrines of grace. There, as elsewhere, it was the doctrine of grace in giving thorough righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord, preached in its purity, freedom, and fulness, by Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, which shook from his firm base the dagon of idolatry, and levelled the iron towers of papal superstition with the dust, and it was in the faith of the same doctrines that the illustrious list of martyrs and confessors under the two Charleses, and the Jameses sixth and seventh, endured such a great fight of affliction and resisted unto blood, striving against sin. At the happy deliverance from the iron yoke of persecution through the instrumentality of William, prince of Orange, in the year 1688, the ecclesiastical constitution of the country was happily restored with the whole



system of doctrine entire. When her scattered ministry began to be assembled, however, it was found that the sword of persecution, or the scythe of time, had cut off the chief of her strength. The few that had escaped were men, generally speaking, of inferior attainments. Some of them had been protected purely by their insignificance of character, some by compliances, real or affected, with the system of prelacy, and not a few of them had actually officiated as the bishops' underlings, but for the sake of the benefice, were induced to transfer their respect and obedience from the bishop to the presbytery, and to sign the Confession of Faith as a proof of their sincerity. This was the more unfortunate that there was among them no commanding spirit, who, imbued with the love of truth, and living under the powers of the world to come, might have breathed through the body an amalgamating influence, and have insensibly assimilated the whole into its own likeness. So far from this, their leading men, under the direction of the courtly Carstairs, were chiefly busied in breaking down to the level of plain worldly policy any thing that bore the shape of really disinterested feeling, and regulating the pulse of piety by the newly graduated scale of the court thermometer. In consequence of this state of matters, there was less attention paid, both to doctrine and discipline than might have been expected, and even with the better and more serious part of the clergy, considerable confusion of ideas on the great subject of the gospel, with no inconsiderable portion of legalism, were prevalent. A spirit of inquiry was, however, at this time awakened, and the diffusion of Trail's works, with the works of some of the more eminent of the English nonconformists, had a powerful effect in correcting and enlarging the views of not a few of the Scottish clergy, among whom, was the subject of this memoir, who, from a very early period of life, seems to have felt strongly, and apprehended clearly, the great scheme of the gospel. Mr Ralph Erskine had been a most diligent student, and had made very considerable progress in the different branches of science, which were commonly studied at that time, but among his people he determined to know nothing, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Having been exercised to godliness from his earliest years, he, by the grace of God, manifested himself to be a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bringing forth out of his treasures things new and old. He continued to be a hard student even to his old age, generally writing out his sermons in full, and for the most part in the delivery, keeping pretty close to what he had written. For the pulpit, he possessed excellent talents, having a pleasant voice and an agreeable winning manner. He peculiarly excelled in the full and free offers of Christ which he made to his hearers, and in the persuasive and winning manner in which he urged their acceptance of the offer so graciously made to them on the authority of the divine word. He possessed also, from his own varied and extensive experience, a great knowledge of the human heart, and had a singular gift of speaking to the varied circumstances of his hearers, which rendered him more than ordinarily popular. On sacramental occasions, he was always waited upon by large audiences, who listened to his discourses with more than ordinary earnestness. During his incumbency, Dunfermline, at the time of dispensing the sacrament, was crowded by strangers from all parts of the kingdom, many of whom, to the day of their death, spoke with transport of the enlargement of heart they had there experienced. To all the other duties of the ministry he was equally attentive as to those of the pulpit. His diligence in exhorting from house to house was most unwearied, his diets of public catechising, regular; and he was never wanting at the side of the sick bed when his presence was desired. Ardently attached to divine truth, he was on all occasions its dauntless advocate. In the case of professor Simpson, he stood up manfully for the regular exercise of discipline, both in his first and second pro-

cess; and in the case of the Marrow, had his own share of the toil, trouble, and opprobrium cast upon the few ministers who at that time had the hardihood to make an open appearance for the genuine faith of the Gospel. Before the commencement of the secession, he was engaged, along with his copresbyters, of the presbytery of Dunfermline, in a dispute with the general assembly, in behalf of the liberties of the presbyterian church of Scotland, in which, however, they failed. This was in the case of Mr Stark, who had been most shamefully intruded upon the burgh and parish of Kinross, and whom, in consequence, the presbytery of Dunfermline refused to admit as one of their members. The case was brought before the assembly, 1732, and summarily decided by ordering the presbytery to assemble immediately, and enrol Mr Stark as one of their members, give him the right hand of fellowship, and by all means in their power, to strengthen his hands, and hold him up against the opposition that was raised against him by the parish, under the pain of being visited with the church's highest displeasure. Against this decision, protests were offered by Mr Ralph Erskine and others, but they were peremptorily refused. Another act of the same assembly became the ostensible cause of the secession. In this controversy, however, Mr Ralph Erskine had no share, farther than that he adhered to the protests that were offered in behalf of the four brethren who carried it on, took their part on all occasions, attended many of their meetings, and maintained the closest communion with them, both christian and ministerial; but he did not withdraw from the judicatures of the established church, till the month of February, 1737, when seeing no hope of any reformation in that quarter, he gave in a declaration of secession to the presbytery of Dunfermline, and joined the associate presbytery.

The fame of Mr Ralph Erskine was now, by his taking part with the secession, considerably extended; for the circumstances attending it were making a great noise in every corner of the country. It particularly attracted the notice of Wesley and Whitefield, who at this time were laying the foundations of Methodism in England. The latter of these gentlemen entered shortly after this period into correspondence with Mr Ralph Erskine, in consequence of which he came to Scotland, paid a visit to him, and preached the first sermon he delivered in this country from that gentleman's pulpit in Dunfermline. The professed object of Mr Whitefield was the same as that of the secession, namely, the reformation of the church, and the promoting of the interests of holiness; and one mode of doing so he held in common with seceders, which was the preaching of the doctrines of the cross; in every thing else they were directly opposed to each other. Equally or even more decidedly attached to the doctrines of free grace, the seceders considered the settlement of nations and churches as of the last importance for preserving, promoting, and perpetuating true and undefiled religion. Nations, in consequence of the baptismal engagements of the individuals of which they may be composed, they held to be under indispensable obligations to make a national profession of religion; to cause that all their laws be made to accord with its spirit, and to provide for the due celebration of all its ordinances. Oaths, bonds, and civil associations, they held to be, in their own proper places, legitimate means of attaining, promoting, and preserving reformation. Hence they maintained the inviolable obligations of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms, and issued their testimony as a declaration for the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland. Of all these matters, Whitefield was utterly ignorant, and utterly careless. He had received priest's orders in the English church, and had sworn the oath of supremacy, which one would suppose a pretty strong declaration of his being episcopal in his views. Of government in the church, however, he made little

account, for he wandered about from land to land, acknowledging no superior, and seems to have regarded all the forms in which christianity has been embodied with equal favour, or rather, perhaps, with equal contempt. Of course, Mr Whitefield and Mr Erskine had no sooner met, and begun to explain their views, than they were mutually disgusted, and they parted in a manner which, we think, has left no credit to either of the parties.

The associate presbytery was at this time preparing for what they considered the practical completion of their testimony, the renewal of the national covenants, in a bond suited to their circumstances, which they did at Stirling, in the month of December, 1743; Mr Ralph Erskine being the second name that was subscribed to the bond. The swearing of this bond necessarily introduced the discussion of the religious clause of some burghess oaths, which led to a breach in the secession body, an account of which the reader will find in a previous article [the life of Ebenezer Erskine]. In this controversy Mr Ralph Erskine took a decided part, being a violent advocate for the lawfulness of the oath. He, however, did not long survive that unhappy rupture, being seized with a nervous fever, of which he died after eight days' illness, on the 6th of November, 1752, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-second of his ministry.

Mr Ralph Erskine was twice married; first, to Margaret Dewar, daughter to the laird of Lassodie, who died in the month of November, 1730; having lived with him sixteen years, and born him ten children. He married, secondly, Margaret Simpson, daughter to Mr Simpson, writer to the signet, Edinburgh, who bore him four children, and survived him several years. Three of his sons lived to be ministers of the secession church, but they all died in the prime of life, to the grief of their relatives and friends, who had formed the highest expectations of their future usefulness.

Of the character of Mr Ralph Erskine there can be, and, in fact, we believe there is, but one opinion. Few greater names belong to the church of Scotland, of which, notwithstanding of his secession, he considered himself, and must by every fair and impartial man, be considered to have been a most dutiful son to the day of his death. During the days of Ralph Erskine, dissenterism was a name and thing unknown in the secession. Seceders had dissented from some unconstitutional acts of the judicature of the established church, and were compelled to secede, but they held fast her whole constitution, entered their appeal to her first free and reforming assembly, to which every genuine seceder long looked forward with deep anxiety, ready to plead his cause before it, and willing to stand or fall by its judgment. Of Mr Ralph Erskine's writings, it is scarcely necessary to speak, any more than of his character. They have already, several of them, stood a century of criticism, and are just as much valued by pious and discerning readers, as they were on the day when they were first published. Models of composition they are not, nor do we believe that they ever were; but they are rich with the ore of divine truth, and contain many passages that are uncommonly vigorous and happy. Of his poetical works we have not room to say much; some of them are all that the author intended, which is more than can be said of many poetical productions that have a much higher reputation in the world. His Gospel Sonnets, by far the best of his poems, he composed when he had but newly entered on his ministry, as a compend of the scheme of the gospel, and we know few books that in a smaller compass contain one more perfect. The composition is very homely, but it is just so much better fitted for the serious and not highly instructed reader, whose benefit alone the author had in view. Of his versions of the Song of Solomon, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and of the Book of Job, it must be admitted



that they are utterly unworthy of the gloriously divine originals; but it ought to be remembered, that he was put upon these labours by the urgency of his brethren, with a view to their being added to the psalmody, and that in this case, plainness and simplicity has always been aimed at, to a degree bordering on the bold, not to say the profane. Nor are these attempts, after all, beneath several of the same kind by the greatest names in English poetry.

ERSKINE, THOMAS ALEXANDER, sixth earl of Kellie, a distinguished musical genius, was born on September 1st, 1732. He was the eldest son of Alexander, fifth earl of Kellie, by Janet Pitcairn, daughter of the celebrated physician and poet. The earls of Kellie were a branch of the Marr family, ennobled through the favour of James VI. and I., which was acquired by the services of Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, in protecting his majesty from the machinations of the earl of Gowry and his brother. The father of the subject of this memoir, though possessed of a kind of rude wit, was always deemed a person of imperfect intellect, of which he seems to have been himself aware. Being confined in Edinburgh castle for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, he one morning came into the room occupied by his brethren in misfortune, showing a paper in his hand. This was a list of persons whom the government had resolved to prosecute no further, and while his lordship's name stood at the head, on account of his rank, it was closed by the name of a Mr William Fidler, who had been an auditor in the Scottish exchequer. "Oh, is not this a wise government?" cried the earl, "to begin wi' a fule and end wi' a fiddler!" On his lordship's death, in 1756, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who seems to have inherited the wit of his father, along with the more brilliant genius of his mother's family.

The earl of Kellie displayed, at an early period of life, a considerable share of ability; and it was anticipated that he would distinguish himself in some public employment worthy of his exalted rank. He was led, however, by an overmastering propensity to music, to devote himself almost exclusively to that art. We are informed by Dr Burney, in his History of Music, that "the earl of Kellie, who was possessed of more musical science than any dilettante with whom I was ever acquainted, and who, according to Pinto, before he travelled into Germany, could scarcely tune his fiddle, shut himself up at Manheim with the elder Stamitz, and studied composition, and practised the violin with such serious application, that, at his return to England, there was no part of theoretical or practical music, in which he was not equally well versed with the greatest professors of his time. Indeed, he had a strength of hand on the violin, and a genius for composition, with which few professors are gifted." In the age during which the earl of Kellie flourished, it was unfortunately deemed an almost indispensable mark of a man of genius, either in literature or music, to devote himself much to the service of Bacchus. Hence this young nobleman, whose talents might have adorned almost any walk of life, identified himself with the dissolute fraternity who haunted the British metropolis, and of whom there was a considerable off-shoot even in Edinburgh. Thus he spent, in low buffooneries and debaucheries, time which might have been employed to the general advantage of his country. He, nevertheless, composed a considerable quantity of music, which, in its day, enjoyed a high degree of celebrity, though it is generally deemed, in the present age, to be deficient in taste and feeling. "In his works," says a late writer, "the *fervidum ingenium* of his country bursts forth, and elegance is mingled with fire. From the singular ardour and impetuosity of his temperament, joined to his German education, under the celebrated Stamitz, and at a time when the German overture, or symphony, consisting of a grand chorus of violins and wind instruments, was in its highest

vogue, this great composer has employed himself chiefly in symphonies, but in a style peculiar to himself. While others please and amuse, it is his province to rouse and almost overset his hearer. Loudness, rapidity, enthusiasm, announced the earl of Kellie. His harmonies are acknowledged to be accurate and ingenious, admirably calculated for the effect in view, and discovering a thorough knowledge of music. From some specimens, it appears that his talents were not confined to a single style, which has made his admirers regret that he did not apply himself to a greater variety of subjects. He is said to have composed only one song, but that an excellent one. What appears singularly peculiar in this musician, is what may be called the velocity of his talents, by which he composed whole pieces of the most excellent music in one night. Part of his works are still unpublished, and not a little is probably lost. Being always remarkably fond of a concert of wind instruments, whenever he met with a good band of them, he was seized with a fit of composition, and wrote pieces in the moment, which he gave away to the performers, and never saw again; and these, in his own judgment, were the best he ever composed."<sup>1</sup>

Having much impaired his constitution by hard living, the earl of Kellie visited Spa, from which he was returning to England, when he was struck with a paralytic shock upon the road. Being advised to stop a few days at Brussels, he was attacked by a putrid fever, of which he died at that city, on the 9th of October, 1781, in the fifty-first year of his age.

ERSKINE, THOMAS, lord Erskine, was the youngest son of David Henry, tenth earl of Buchan. He was born in the year 1750, and, after having passed through the high school classes at Edinburgh, was sent to the university of St Andrews to finish his education. At a very early age he had imbibed a strong predilection for a naval life; and the limited means of his family rendering an early adoption of some profession necessary, he was allowed to enter the service as a midshipman, under Sir John Lindsay, nephew to the celebrated earl of Mansfield. Young Erskine embarked at Leith, and did not put foot again on his native soil until a few years before his death. He never, it is believed, held the commission of lieutenant, although he acted for some time in that capacity by the special appointment of his captain, whose kindness in this instance ultimately led to his eleve's abandoning the service altogether, when required to resume the inferior station of a midshipman. After a service of four years, he quitted the navy, and entered the army as an ensign, in the royals, or first regiment of foot, in 1768. In 1770, he married an amiable and accomplished woman, and shortly afterwards went with his regiment to Minorca, where he spent three years. While in the army, he acquired great reputation for the versatility and acuteness of his conversational powers. Boswell, who met with the young officer in a mixed company in London, mentions the pleasure which Dr Johnson condescended to express on hearing him,—an approbation which assures us that the young Scotsman's colloquial talents were of no ordinary kind, and possessed something more than mere brilliancy or fluency, even at that early period of life. It was the knowledge of these qualities of mind, probably, which induced his mother—a lady whose uncommon acquirements we have already had occasion to eulogise in a memoir of another son—to urge him to devote the great energies of his mind to the study of the law and jurisprudence of his country. Her advice, seconded by the counsel of a few judicious friends, was adopted; and, in his 27th year, Thomas Erskine renounced the glittering profession of arms for the graver studies of law.

He entered as a fellow-commoner, at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the

<sup>1</sup> Robertson of Dalmeny's Inquiry into the Fine Arts, vol. i.

year 1777, merely to obtain a degree, to which he was entitled as the son of a nobleman, and thereby shorten his passage to the bar; and, at the same time, he inserted his name in the books of Lincoln's inn, as a student at law. One of his college declamations is still extant, as it was delivered in Trinity college chapel. The thesis was the revolution of 1688, and the first prize was awarded to its author; but, with that nobleness of feeling which always characterized the subject of our memoir, he refused to accept of the reward, alleging as an excuse, that he had merely declaimed in conformity with the rules of college, and, not being a resident student, was not entitled to any honorary distinction. A burlesque parody of Gray's Bard which appeared about this time in the Monthly Magazine, was generally attributed to Mr Erskine. The origin of this production was a circumstance of a humorous nature. The author had been prevented from taking his place at dinner in the college hall, by the neglect of his barber, who failed to present himself in proper time. In the moment of supposed disappointment, hunger, and irritation, the bard pours forth a violent malediction against the whole tribe of hair-dressers, and, in a strain of prophetic denunciation, foretells the overthrow of their craft in the future taste for cropped hair and unpowdered heads. The ode is little remarkable for poetical excellence, but displays a lively fancy and keen perception of the ludicrous. In order to acquire that knowledge of the technical part of his profession, without which a barrister finds himself hampered at every step, Mr Erskine became a pupil of Mr, afterwards judge Buller, then an eminent special pleader, and discharged his laborious and servile avocation at the desk with all the persevering industry of a common attorney's clerk. Upon the promotion of his preceptor to the bench, he entered into the office of Mr, afterwards baron Wood, where he continued for some months after he had obtained considerable business at the bar.

At this time, his evenings were often spent in a celebrated debating association then held in Coach-maker's hall. These spouting clubs, at the period of which we speak, were regarded with a jealous eye by the government; and it was considered discreditable, or at least prejudicial to the interests of any young man, who looked forward to patronage at the bar, to be connected with them. The subjects usually discussed were of a political nature, and the harangues delivered in a motley assembly of men of all ranks and principles, were often highly inflammatory in sentiment, and unguarded in expression. But it was in such schools as these, that the talents of a Burke and a Pitt, and an Erskine, were nursed into that surpassing strength and activity which afterwards enabled them to 'wield at will' not the 'fierce democracy' but even the senate of Great Britain. While engaged in these preparatory studies, Mr Erskine was obliged to adhere to the most rigid economy in the use of his very limited finances,—a privation which the unvarying cheerfulness and strong good sense of his amiable consort enabled him to bear with comparative ease.

Mr Erskine, having completed the probationary period allotted to his attendance in the Inns of court, was called to the bar in 1778; and in the very outset of his legal career, while yet of only one term's standing, made a most brilliant display of professional talent, in the case of captain Baillie, against whom the attorney general had moved for leave to file a criminal information in the court of king's bench, for a libel on the earl of Sandwich. In the course of this his first speech, Mr Erskine displayed the same undaunted spirit which marked his whole career. He attacked the noble earl in a strain of severe invective; Lord Mansfield, observing the young counsel heated with his subject, and growing personal on the first lord of the admiralty, told him that lord Sandwich was not before the court: "I know," replied the undaunted



orator, "that he is not formally before the court; but for that very reason I will bring him before the court. He has placed there men in the front of the battle, in hopes to escape under their shelter; but I will not join in battle with them; *their vices*, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with *me*; I will drag *him* to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace: and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring captain Baillie to his command."

Mr Erskine's next speech was for Mr Carnan, a bookseller, at the bar of the house of commons, against the monopoly of the two universities, in printing almanacs. Lord North, then prime minister, and chancellor of Oxford, had introduced a bill into the house of commons, for re-vesting the universities in their monopoly, which had fallen to the ground by certain judgments which Carnan had obtained in the courts of law; the opposition to the premier's measure was considered a desperate attempt, but, to the honour of the house, the bill was rejected by a majority of 45 votes.

But long after having gained their original triumph, Mr Erskine made a most splendid appearance for the man of the people, lord George Gordon, at the Old Bailey. This great speech, and the acquittal which it secured to the object of it, have been pronounced by a competent judge, the deathblow of the tremendous doctrine of constructive treason. The monster, indeed, manifested symptoms of returning life at an after period; but we shall see with what noble indignation its extirpator launched a second irresistible shaft at the reviving reptile. Lord George's impeachment arose out of the following circumstances. Sir George Saville had introduced a bill into parliament for the relief of the Roman catholics of England from some of the penalties they were subject to by the test laws. The good effects of this measure, which only applied to England, were immediately felt, and in the next session it was proposed to extend the operation of similar measures to Scotland. This produced many popular tumults in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh, where the mob destroyed some popish chapels. The irritation of the public mind in Scotland soon extended itself to England, and produced a reaction of feeling in that country also. A number of protestant societies were formed in both parts of the kingdom for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of Saville's act, as a measure fraught with danger to the constitution, both of church and state. In November, 1779, lord George Gordon, the younger brother of the duke of Gordon, and at that time a member of the house of commons, became president of the associated protestants of London; and on the memorable 2d of June, 1780, while proceeding to present a petition against concession to Roman catholics, signed by 44,000 protestants, was attended by a mob so numerous, and who conducted themselves so outrageously, as for a moment to extinguish all police and government in the city of London. For this indignity offered to the person of royalty itself, lord George and several others were committed to the tower. Upon his trial, Mr Erskine delivered a speech less remarkable, perhaps, for dazzling eloquence, than for the clear texture of the whole argument maintained in it. A singularly daring passage occurs in this speech, which the feeling of the moment alone could prompt the orator to utter; after reciting a variety of circumstances in lord George Gordon's conduct, which tended to prove that the idea of resorting to absolute force and compulsion by armed violence, never was contemplated by the prisoner, he breaks out with this extraordinary exclamation: "I say, BY GOD, that man is a ruffian who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" But for the sympathy

which the orator must have felt to exist at the moment, between himself and his audience, this singular effort must have been fatal to the cause it was designed to support; as it was, however, the sensation produced by these words, and the look, voice, gesture, and whole manner of the speaker, were tremendous. The result is well known; but it may not be equally well known that Dr Johnson himself, notwithstanding his hostility to the test laws, was highly gratified by the verdict which was obtained: "I am glad," said he, "that lord George Gordon has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of hanging a man for constructive treason."

In 1783, Mr Erskine received the honour of a silk gown: his majesty's letter of precedency being conferred upon him at the suggestion of the venerable lord Mansfield. In the same year he was elected member of parliament for Portsmouth.

The defence of John Stockdale, who was tried for publishing a libel against the common house of parliament, has been pronounced the first in oratorical talent, and is certainly not the last in importance of Mr Erskine's speeches. This trial may be termed the case of libels, and the doctrine maintained and expounded in it by Stockdale's counsel is the foundation of that liberty which the press enjoys in this country. When the house of commons ordered the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the articles were drawn up by Mr Burke, who infused into them all that fervour of thought and expression which ever characterized his compositions. The articles, so prepared, instead of being confined to the records of the house until they were carried up to the lords for trial, were printed and allowed to be sold in every bookseller's shop in the kingdom, before the accused was placed upon his trial; and undoubtedly, from the style and manner of their composition, made a deep and general impression upon the public mind against Mr Hastings. To repel or neutralize the effect of the publication of the charges, Mr Logan, one of the ministers of Leith, wrote a pamphlet, which Stockdale published, containing several severe and unguarded reflections upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachments, which the house of commons deemed highly contemptuous and libellous. The publisher was accordingly tried, on an information filed by the attorney-general. In the speech delivered by Mr Erskine upon this occasion, the very highest efforts of the orator and the rhetorician were united to all the coolness and precision of the *nisi prius* lawyer. It was this rare faculty of combining the highest genius with the minutest attention to whatever might put his case in the safest position, which rendered Mr Erskine the most consummate advocate of the age. To estimate the mightiness of that effort by which he defeated his powerful antagonists in this case, we must remember the imposing circumstances of Mr Hastings' trial,—the "terrible, unceasing, exhaustless artillery of warm zeal, matchless vigour of understanding, consuming and devouring eloquence, united with the highest dignity,"—to use the orator's own language—which was then daily pouring forth upon the man, in whose defence Logan had written and Stockdale published. It was "amidst the blaze of passion and prejudice," that Mr Erskine extorted that verdict, which rescued his client from the punishment which a whole people seemed interested in awarding against the reviler of its collective majesty. And be it remembered, that in defending Stockdale, the advocate by no means identified his cause with a defence of Hastings. He did not attempt to palliate the enormities of the governor-general's administration; he avowed that he was neither his counsel, nor desired to have any thing to do with his guilt or innocence; although in the collateral defence of his client, he was driven to state matters which might be considered by many as hostile to the impeachment. Our gifted countryman never perverted his transcendent talents

by devoting them to screen villany from justice, or to the support of any cause which he did not conscientiously approve. His speech for the defendant at the trial of a case of adultery in the court of king's bench, may be considered as an exception to this remark. It must not be forgotten that it was delivered in behalf of a gentleman of high family who had been attached to a young lady, his equal in years and birth, but was prevented from marrying her by the sordid interference of her relatives, who induced or rather constrained her to an alliance with a nobler house. The marriage was, as might have been anticipated, a most unhappy one, and the original attachment seems never to have been replaced by any other, and ultimately produced the elopement which occasioned the action. Mr Erskine does not affect to palliate the crime of seduction; on the contrary, he dwells at length on the miserable consequences occasioned by this crime; but, after having adverted with exquisite delicacy to the sacrifice of affection and enjoyment which had been made in this case, he charges the plaintiff with being the original seducer of a woman, whose affections he knew to be irretrievably bestowed upon and pledged to another.

In 1807, Mr Erskine was exalted to the peerage by the title of lord Erskine of Restormal castle, in Cornwall, and accepted of the seals as lord high chancellor; but resigned them on the dissolution of the short lived administration of that period, and retired upon a pension of £4000 per annum. Since that time to the period of his death, his lordship steadily devoted himself to his duties in parliament, and never ceased to support, in his high station, those measures and principles which he had advocated in his younger years. It is deeply to be regretted, that, by an unhappy second marriage and some eccentricities of conduct, very incompatible with his years and honours, this nobleman should have at once embittered the declining years of his own life, and tarnished that high and unsullied character which he had formerly borne in public estimation. His death was produced by an inflammation of the chest, with which he was seized while on the voyage betwixt London and Edinburgh. He was lauded at Scarborough, and proceeded to Scotland by short stages, but died on the 17th of November, 1823, at Ammondell house. Mr Erskine's peculiar sphere seems to have been oratorical advocacy; his appearance as a senator never equalled that which he made at the bar. Nor is he entitled, as a political writer, to much distinction. His pamphlet, entitled "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the War with France," which he published in support of Mr Fox's principles, indeed, ran through forty-eight editions; but owed its unprecedented sale more to the spirit of the times and the celebrity of its author's name, than to its own intrinsic merit. The preface to Mr Fox's collected speeches was also written by him, as well as a singular political romance, entitled "Armaba," and some spirited pamphlets in support of the Greek cause.

By his first wife, lord Erskine had three sons and five daughters. The eldest of his sons, David Montague, now lord Erskine, was for some time member plenipotentiary to the United States, and afterwards president at the court of Wirtemberg.

## F

FALCONER, WILLIAM, author of "The Shipwreck, a poem," was born in Edinburgh about the year 1730. His father was a barber and wig-maker, in a



well-known street called the Netherbow, where he ultimately became insolvent. A brother and sister of the tuneful Falconer—the only individuals who stood in that relation to him—were born deaf and dumb; and the latter, on account of her infirmities, was a constant inmate of the royal infirmary of Edinburgh, some time after the beginning of the present century. The father of the poet was a cousin-german of the Rev. Mr Robertson, minister of the parish of Borthwick; so that this humble bard was a very near relation of the author of the History of Scotland, and also of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Old Falconer being reduced to insolvency, was enabled by his friends to open a grocer's shop; but being deprived of his wife, who was a prudent and active woman, his affairs once more became deranged, and he terminated his life in extreme indigence.

The education of young Falconer was of that humble kind which might have been expected from his father's circumstances. A teacher of the name of Webster gave him instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He used to say that this was the whole amount of his school education. It appears that he possessed, even in early youth, an ardour of genius, and a zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, which in a great measure supplied his deficiencies. In his poem of the Shipwreck, he evidently alludes to his own attainments, in the following lines:—

“On him fair science dawned in happier hour,  
Awakening into bloom young fancy's flower;  
But soon adversity, with freezing blast,  
The blossom withered and the dawn o'ercast;  
Forlorn of heart, and, by severe decree,  
Condemned, reluctant, to the faithless sea;  
With long farewell, he left the laurel grove,  
Where science and the tuneful sisters rove.”

When very young, he was torn from his self-pursued studies, and entered as an apprentice on board a merchant vessel belonging to Leith. He afterwards became servant to Mr Campbell, the author of *Lexiphanes*, who was purser of the ship to which he belonged, and who, finding in him an aptitude for knowledge, kindly undertook to give him some instructions in person. He subsequently became second mate in the *Britannia*, a vessel in the Levant trade, which, on her passage from Alexandria to Venice, was shipwrecked off Cape Colonna, on the coast of Greece. Only three of the crew were saved, and Falconer was of the number. The event furnished him with the material of a poem, by which it is probable his name will be for ever remembered.

The poet was at this time about eighteen years of age. In 1751, when two or three years older, he is found residing in his native city, where he published his first known work, a poem, “Sacred to the Memory of his Royal Highness, Frederick, Prince of Wales.” He is said to have followed up this effort by several minor pieces, which he transmitted to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr Clarke, the editor of a respectable edition of his poems, points out “The Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Ward-room,” the “Description of a Ninety Gun Ship,” and some lines “On the Uncommon Scarcity of Poetry,” as among these fugitive productions. Mr Clarke has likewise presented his readers with a whimsical little poem, descriptive of the abode and sentiments of a midshipman, which was one of the poet's early productions; and offers some reasons for supposing that he was the author of the popular song, “Cease, rude Boreas.”

Little is known of Falconer during this period of his life, except that he must have been making considerable additions to his stock of knowledge and ideas. His poem, “The Shipwreck,” was published in 1762, being dedicated

to Edward, duke of York, brother of George III. This composition displays a degree of polish, and an array of classical allusions, which could only have been acquired by extensive reading. It was at once placed in the first rank of descriptive poetry, where it has ever since continued. "The distant ocean," says an eminent critic, "and its grand phenomena, have employed the pens of the most eminent poets, but they have generally produced an effect by indefinite outlines and imaginary incidents. In Falconer, we have the painting of a great artist, taken on the spot, with such minute fidelity, as well as picturesque effect, that we are chained to the scene with all the feelings of actual terror. In the use of imagery, Falconer displays original powers. His sunset, midnight, morning, &c., are not such as have descended from poet to poet. He beheld these objects under circumstances in which it is the lot of few to be placed. His images, therefore, cannot be transferred or borrowed; they have an appropriation which must not be disturbed, nor can we trace them to any source but that of genuine poetry." Another writer remarks, "The Shipwreck is didactic as well as descriptive, and may be recommended to a young sailor, not only to excite his enthusiasm, but improve his knowledge of the art. It is of inestimable value to this country, since it contains within itself the rudiments of navigation: if not sufficient to form a complete seaman, it may certainly be considered as the grammar of his professional science. I have heard many experienced officers declare, that the rules and maxims delivered in this poem, for the conduct of a ship in the most perilous emergency, form the best, indeed, the only opinions which a skilful mariner should adopt." Against such a poem it forms no proper objection, that much of the language, being technical, is only perfectly understood by a class.

By his dedication, the poet gained the notice and patronage of the duke of York, who, it will be recollected, was himself a seaman. Almost immediately after the poem was published, his royal highness induced Falconer to leave the merchant service, and procured him the rank of a midshipman in Sir Edward Hawke's ship, the *Royal George*. In gratitude, Falconer wrote an "Ode on the duke of York's second departure from England as rear-admiral," which was published, but displays a merit more commensurate with the unimportance of the subject than the genius of the author. It is said that Falconer composed this poem "during an occasional absence from his messmates, when he retired into a small space formed between the cable tiers and the ship's side."

In 1763, the war being brought to a close, Falconer's ship was paid off,—long before he had completed that period of service which could have entitled him to promotion. He then exchanged the military for the civil department of the naval service, and became purser of the *Glory* frigate of 32 guns. Either in the interval between the two services, or before his appointment as a midshipman, he paid a visit to Scotland, and spent some time in the manse of Gladsmuir, with Dr Robertson, the historian, who, we are told, was proud to acknowledge the relationship that existed between him and this self-instructed and ingenious man.

Soon after this period, Falconer married a Miss Hicks, daughter of the Surgeon of Sheerness Yard. She has been described as "a woman of cultivated mind, elegant in her person, and sensible and agreeable in conversation."<sup>1</sup> It is said that the match was entered into against the will of her parents, who, looking only to the external circumstances of the poet, thought her thrown away upon a poor Scottish adventurer. Notwithstanding this painful circumstance, and, there is reason to fear, real poverty besides, the pair lived happily.

<sup>1</sup> Letter by Joseph Moser, *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 421.

Falconer endeavoured to support himself by literature. He compiled a "Universal Marine Dictionary," which, from its usefulness as a book of reference, soon became generally used in the navy. Like most other literary Scotsmen of that period, he was a zealous partisan of the Bute administration, and endeavoured to defend it against the attacks of its jealous and illiberal enemies. For this purpose, he published a satire, called "the Demagogue," which was more particularly aimed at lord Chatham, Wilkes, and Churchill. We have not learned that it was attended with any particular effect. Falconer, at this time, lived in a manner at once economical, and highly appropriate to his literary character. "When the *Glory* was laid in ordinary at Chatham, commissioner Hanway, brother to the benevolent Jonas Hanway, became delighted with the genius of its purser. The captain's cabin was ordered to be fitted up with a stove, and with every addition of comfort that could be procured; in order that Falconer might thus be enabled to enjoy his favourite propensity, without either molestation or expense."—*Clark's Life of Falconer.*

In 1769, the poet had removed to London, and resided for some time in the former buildings of Somerset house. From this place he dated the last edition of the *Shipwreck* published in his own life-time. That Falconer must have possessed the personal qualities of a man of the world, rather than those of an abstracted student or child of the muses, seems to be proved by Mr Murray, the bookseller, having proposed to take him into partnership. He is supposed to have been only prevented from acceding to this proposal by receiving an appointment to the purser'ship of the *Aurora* frigate, which was ordered to carry out to India, Messrs Vansittart, Scrofton, and Forde, as supervisors of the affairs of the company. He was also promised the office of private secretary to those gentlemen, a situation from which his friends conceived hopes that he might eventually obtain lasting advantages. It had been otherwise ordered. The *Aurora* sailed from England on the 30th of September, 1769, and, after touching at the Cape, was lost during the remainder of the passage, in a manner which left no trace by which the cause of the calamity could be discovered. It was conjectured that the vessel took fire at sea; but the more probable supposition is that she foundered in the Mosambique channel. The widow of Falconer (who eventually died at Bath,) resided for some years afterwards in his apartments at Somerset house, partly supported by Mr Miller, the bookseller, who, in consideration of the rapid sale of the *Marine Dictionary*, generously bestowed upon her sums not stipulated for in his contract with the author. Mr Moser, whom we have already quoted, mentions that he once met her walking in the garden, near her lodging, and, without knowing who she was, happened, in conversation, to express his admiration of "the *Shipwreck*." She was instantly in tears. "She presented me," says Mr M. "with a copy of the *Shipwreck*, and seemed much affected by my commiseration of the misfortunes of a man, whose work appears in its catastrophe prophetic." They had never had any children.

"In person," says Mr Clarke, "Falconer was about five feet seven inches in height; of a thin light make, with a dark weather-beaten complexion, and rather what is termed hard-featured, being considerably marked with the small pox; his hair was of a brownish hue. In point of address, his manner was blunt, awkward, and forbidding; but he spoke with great fluency; and his simple yet impressive diction was couched in words which reminded his hearers of the terseness of Swift. Though he possessed a warm and friendly disposition, he was fond of controversy, and inclined to satire. His observation was keen and rapid; his criticisms on any inaccuracy of language or expression, were frequently severe; yet this severity was always intended to



create mirth, and not by any means to show his own superiority, or to give the smallest offence. In his natural temper, he was cheerful, and frequently used to amuse his messmates by composing acrostics on their favourites, in which he particularly excelled. As a professional man, he was a thorough seaman; and, like most of that profession, was kind, generous, and benevolent."

FERGUSON, DR ADAM, was the son of the Rev. Adam Ferguson, parish minister of Logie Rait, in Perthshire, descended of the respectable family of Dunfallandy; his mother was from the county of Aberdeen. He was born in the year 1724, in the manse of his father's parish, and was the youngest of a numerous family. He received the rudiments of his education at the parish school; but his father, who had devoted much of his time to the tuition of his son, became so fully convinced of the superior abilities of the boy, that he determined to spare no expense, but to afford him every advantage in the completion of his education. He was accordingly sent to Perth and placed under the care of Mr Martin, who enjoyed great celebrity as a teacher. At this seminary Ferguson greatly distinguished himself, as well in the classical branches of education, as in the composition of essays; an exercise which his master was in the habit of prescribing to his pupils. His theses were not only praised at the time of their being delivered, but were long preserved and shown with pride by Mr Martin, as the production of a youthful scholar. In October, 1539, Ferguson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the university of St Andrews, where he was particularly recommended to the notice of Mr Tullidolph, who had been lately promoted to the office of Principal of one of the colleges. At St Andrews, there is an annual exhibition for four bursaries, when the successful competitors, in writing and translating Latin, obtain gratuitous board at the college table, during four years. Ferguson stood first among the competitors of the under-graduate course for the year he entered the college. At that period the Greek language was seldom taught in the grammar schools in Scotland; and although young Ferguson had thus honourably distinguished himself by his knowledge of Latin, he seems to have been unacquainted with Greek. By his assiduity, however, he amply regained his lost time; for so ardently did he apply himself to the study of that language, that, before the close of the session, he was able to construe Homer; nor did his ardour cease with his attendance at college, for during the vacation, he tasked himself to prepare one hundred lines of the Iliad every day, and facility increasing as he advanced in knowledge, he was enabled to enlarge his task, so that by the commencement of the succeeding session, or term, he had gone through the whole poem. This laborious course of study enabled him to devote the succeeding years of his attendance at college to the attainment of a knowledge of mathematics, logic, metaphysics, and ethics.

From St Andrews, on the close of his elementary studies, Mr Ferguson removed to Edinburgh to mix with, and form a distinguished member of that galaxy of great men which illustrated the northern metropolis about the middle of the 18th century. Nor was it long before his acquaintance among those who were thus to shed a lustre over Scotland commenced, for soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he became a member of a philosophical society, which comprehended Dr Robertson, Dr Blair, Mr John Home, the author of "Douglas," and Mr Alexander Carlyle. A society composed of young men of abilities so eminent, it may easily be believed, was an institution peculiarly well adapted to promote intellectual improvement and the acquisition of knowledge. This society afterwards merged in the Speculative Society, which still exists, and has been the favourite resort of most of the young men of talent who have been educated in Edinburgh during the last sixty years.

"In his private studies," (we are informed by one of his most intimate friends.)

Mr Ferguson, while in Edinburgh, devoted his chief attention "to natural, moral, and political philosophy. His strong and inquiring unprejudiced mind, versed in Grecian and Roman literature, rendered him a zealous friend of rational and well-regulated liberty. He was a constitutional whig, equally removed from republican licentiousness and tory bigotry. Aware that all political establishments ought to be for the good of the whole people, he wished the means to vary in different cases, according to the diversity of character and circumstances; and was convinced with Aristotle that the perfection or defect of the institutions of one country does not necessarily imply either perfection or defect of the similar institutions of another; and that restraint is necessary, in the inverse proportion of general knowledge and virtue. These were the sentiments he cherished in his youth; these the sentiments he cherished in his old age."

Mr Ferguson was intended for the church, and had not pursued the study of divinity beyond two years, when, in 1744, Mr Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, offered him the situation of deputy chaplain, under himself, in the 42d regiment. In order, however, to obtain a license as a preacher in the church of Scotland, it was necessary at that time to have studied divinity for six years, and although the fact of Ferguson having some slight knowledge of the Gaelic language, might have entitled him to have two of these years discounted, still no presbytery was authorized to have granted him his license. He was therefore obliged to apply to the general assembly of the church of Scotland, when in consideration of the high testimonials which he produced from several professors, a dispensation was granted in his favour, and having passed his trials, he obtained his license as a preacher; immediately after which he joined his regiment, then in active service in Flanders. In a short time he had the good fortune to be promoted to the rank of principal chaplain.

Mr Gibbon has declared that the manœuvres of a battalion of militia, of which he was colonel, had enabled him to comprehend and describe the evolutions of the Roman legion; and no doubt Mr Ferguson owed his knowledge of military affairs by which he was enabled to give such distinctness and liveliness to his descriptions of wars and battles, to the experience which he acquired while with his regiment on the continent. Nor did his service prove less beneficial to him by throwing open a wide and instructive field of observation of the human character, and imparting a practical knowledge of the mainspring of political events.

On the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Mr Ferguson obtained leave of absence when he visited his native country. At home, he spent his time partly in Perthshire, wandering about in comparative idleness, enjoying the beautiful scenery which surrounded his father's manse, and partly in the capital where he renewed his acquaintance with the friends of his youth. About this period he solicited the Duke of Athol for the living of Caputh, a beautiful and retired parish near Dunkeld, in Perthshire; he was, however, unsuccessful in his application, and it was owing, perhaps, to this disappointment that he did not ask the living of Logie Rait, on the death of his father, which took place shortly after. Having rejoined his regiment, he seems thenceforward to have abandoned all intention of undertaking a parochial charge. Indeed, his talents did not peculiarly fit him for the office of a preacher; for although he had acquired a great facility in writing, his sermons were rather moral essays than eloquent discourses. This, in a great measure, disqualified him for becoming a favourite with a presbyterian congregation, in which so much always depends on the preacher's capacity to excite and sustain a spirit of devotion among his hearers, by the fidelity, earnestness, and energy of his exhortations, and the fervour of his prayers. Although thus unfitted by the nature of his genius to shine as a preacher, Mr Ferguson's great abilities,

his polished manners, and the benevolence of his disposition, peculiarly fitted him for taking a prominent part in literature and in private society.

In the year 1757, Mr Ferguson resigned the chaplaincy of the 42d regiment, after which he was employed for upwards of two years as private tutor in the family of the earl of Bute; and in the year 1759, he was chosen professor of natural philosophy, in the university of Edinburgh; which chair he retained until the year 1764, when he obtained the professorship of moral philosophy—a chair much better suited to his genius, and to the course of study which he had pursued.

In 1766, he published his *Essays on Civil Society*. The object of this work is,—according to the favourite mode of the literary men with whom Ferguson associated,—to trace men through the several steps in his progress from barbarism to civilization. This, which was his first publication, contributed not a little to raise Mr Ferguson in public estimation, and the university of Edinburgh hastened to confer on him the honorary degree of LL. D. In the same year, he revisited the scenes of his youth, and delighted the old parishioners of his father by recollecting them individually, while they were no less proud that their parish had produced a man who was held in such estimation in the world. During this year, also, he was married to Miss Burnet, from Aberdeenshire, the amiable niece of the distinguished professor Black, of Edinburgh. In order to render his lectures more useful to his pupils, Dr Ferguson, about this time, published “*his institutes or synopsis of his lectures.*”

Dr Ferguson continued to enjoy the literary society of Edinburgh, interrupted only by the recreation of cultivating a small farm in the neighbourhood of the city, until the year 1773; when he was induced by the liberal offers of lord Chesterfield, nephew to the celebrated earl, to accompany him in his travels. After a tour through most of the countries of Europe, Dr Ferguson returned in 1775, to the duties of his chair, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the well known Dugald Stewart. This relief from his academical duties, proved not only highly advantageous to Dr Ferguson in a pecuniary point of view, but contributed considerably to his improvement. His lectures on his return were not only numerously attended by the usual routine of students, but by men of the first rank and talents in the country. We have the testimony of one, who, although young at the time, seems to have been well able to appreciate his talents, as to Dr Ferguson’s manner as a lecturer.—“The doctor’s mode of communicating knowledge, was firm, manly, and impressive, but mild and elegant; he was mild, but justly severe in his rebukes to the inattentive and negligent. One day that he was engaged in that part of his course that treated of the practical application of the moral qualities which he had before described, and was speaking of the folly of idleness and inattention to the business in hand, some thoughtless young men were whispering and trifling in the gallery. ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘please to attend, this subject peculiarly concerns you.’” In the year 1776, Dr Ferguson answered Dr Price’s production on civil and religious liberty. The ground on which he differed with Dr Price, was on the applicability of his doctrine to society and to imperfect man.

We have an early notice of Dr Ferguson’s being engaged in the composition of his *History of the Roman Republic* in the following valuable letter, addressed by him to Edward Gibbon, dated Edinburgh, 18th April, 1776:—“Dear sir, I should make some apology for not writing you sooner, an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you, that our respectable friend, Mr Hume, is still declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loses strength. He talks



familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant or lively. He has a great aversion to leaving the tranquillity of his own house, to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or anything else Sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope, that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five.

“I am very glad that the pleasure you give us, recoils a little on yourself, through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes or collecting materials for a history of the destruction that broke down the Roman republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of, even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had, and I suspect, that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking, than the same building, when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself, that as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it, than the end of the Roman republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the enclosed for Mr Smith, (Dr Adam Smith,) whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now, that I hope you are pleased with each other. I am, with the greatest respect, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant, ADAM FERGUSON.” This letter is not only valuable from its intrinsic worth and the reference it has to the composition of the History of the Roman Republic, but from its presenting, connected by one link, four of the greatest names in British literature. Mr Ferguson, however, was interrupted in the prosecution of his historical labours, having been, through the influence of his friend Mr Dundas, afterwards lord Melville, appointed secretary to the commissioners sent out to America in the year 1778, to negotiate an arrangement with our revolted colonies in that continent. The following historical detail will show the success of this mission:—

“In the beginning of June, 1778, the new commissioners arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratification of the treaty with France had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was such as men the most opposite in their politics had foreseen and foretold. Dr Ferguson, secretary to the commission, was refused a passport to the Congress, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means.

“The commissioners, at the very outset, made concessions far greater than the Americans, in their several petitions to the king, had requested or desired—greater, indeed, than the powers conferred upon them by the act seemed to authorize. Amongst the most remarkable of these, was the engagement to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of America, without the consent of the general congress of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states,

who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to establish a freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force in which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

“These papers, when laid before the Congress, were read with astonishment and regret, but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE, they had neither the will, nor the power to recede. An answer, therefore, brief but conclusive, was returned by the president, Henry Laurens, declaring, ‘that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most christian majesty, their ally, or to consider of propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The commission under which they act, supposes the people of America to be still subject to the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmissible.’ The president added, ‘that he was directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of the congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition, will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.’” Conduct so haughty on the part of the Americans, necessarily put a stop to all farther negotiation, and the commissioners having, in a valedictory manifesto, appealed to the people, returned home.

On his return to Scotland, Dr Ferguson resumed the charge of his class and continued the preparation of the Roman History. That work made its appearance in the year 1783; and two years afterwards, he resigned the chair of moral philosophy in favour of Mr Dugald Stewart; while he was himself permitted to retire on the salary of the mathematical class which Mr Stewart had held. Dr Ferguson then took up his residence at Manor, in the county of Peebles, where he passed his time in literary ease and in farming; an occupation for which he had a peculiar taste, but which he ultimately found so unprofitable, that he was glad to relinquish it. He seems also to have devoted his attention to the correction of his lectures, which he published in 1793.

While exempt from all cares and in the enjoyment of good health, and of a competent fortune, Dr Ferguson, in his old age, conceived the extraordinary project of visiting Rome. He accordingly repaired once more to the continent, visiting the cities of Berlin and Vienna, where he was received with great attention. His progress southward was, however, stopped by the convulsions consequent on the French revolution. To this great political phenomenon, Dr Ferguson’s attention had been earnestly directed, and it is curious to know, that he had drawn up (although he did not publish it) a memorial, pointing out the dangers to which the liberties of Europe were exposed, and proposing a congress with objects similar to those which occupied the congress of Vienna, in 1814.

On his return home, Dr Ferguson retired for the remainder of his life to St Andrews, a place endeared to him by early habits and admirably fitted for the retreat of a literary man in easy circumstances. There, in addition to the professors of that ancient university, he enjoyed the society of the patriotic George Dempster, of Dunnichen; and having had almost uninterrupted good health up to the patriarchal age of ninety-three, he died on the 22d of February, 1816. “He was,” to use the words of an intimate friend of the family, “the last great man of the preceding century, whose writings did honour to the age in which

they lived, and to their country; and none of them united in a more distinguished degree the acquirements of ancient learning, to a perfect knowledge of the world, or more eminently added to the manners of a most accomplished gentleman the principles of the purest virtues."

In his person, Dr Ferguson was well formed, active, and muscular; his complexion fair, his eyes blue, his features handsome, intelligent, and thoughtful. There is a very fine and correct portrait of him in an ante-room at Brompton Grove, the seat of Sir John Macpherson. Unlike many who have devoted themselves to the abstruse study of philosophy, he had an intimate knowledge of the world; having mixed much with courtiers, statesmen, politicians, and the learned and accomplished, not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe. His knowledge of the human character was consequently accurate and extensive; his manners were polished, simple, and unostentatious; while his conversation was agreeable and instructive. Warned by an illness with which he was seized when about the age of fifty, resembling in its character an apoplectic fit, he abstained from the use of wine, and during the remainder of his life, lived most abstemiously, and enjoyed an uninterrupted course of good health. His fortune was affluent; besides the fees and salaries of his class and the price of his works, he held two pensions, one from government of £400, and another from lord Chesterfield of £200 a year. By these means, aided by a munificent gift from his pupil, Sir John Macpherson, he was enabled to purchase a small estate near St Andrews; he was also possessed of a house and garden in that city, on which he expended a thousand pounds.

Bred in the tenets of the church of Scotland, he was a respectful believer in the truths of revelation; he did not, however, conceive himself excluded from cultivating the acquaintance of those who were directly opposed to him in their religious opinions, and his intimate friendship with David Hume subjected him to the reprehension of many of the Christian professors of his time. A list of those with whom Dr Ferguson maintained an intimate acquaintance and intercourse, would include all who rose to eminence during the last half of the 18th, and the early part of the present century. Dr Ferguson left six children; three sons, and three daughters: Adam, in the army, John, in the navy, and the third son in the East India Company's service.\*

FERGUSON, JAMES, an ingenious experimental philosopher, mechanist, and astronomer. Of this miracle of self-instruction and native genius, we cannot do better than give his own account, as drawn up by himself a very few years before his death, and prefixed to his "Select Mechanical Exercises." It is one of the most interesting specimens of autobiography in the language.

"I was born in the year 1710, a few miles from Keith, a little village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland; and can with pleasure say, that my parents, though poor, were religious and honest; lived in good repute with all who knew them; and died with good characters.

As my father had nothing to support a large family but his daily labour, and the profits arising from a few acres of land which he rented, it was not to be expected that he could bestow much on the education of his children: yet they

\* The following is a list of Dr Ferguson's works.

"The History of Civil Society," in one volume, published 1766

"His Institutes of Moral Philosophy," 8vo, 1769.

His answer to Dr Price's celebrated observations on Civil and Political Liberty, 1776. This pamphlet is peculiarly remarkable for the liberality and delicacy with which he treats the principles and intentions of his antagonist.

"The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic," 3 vols. 4to, 1783.

And lastly, his celebrated work, entitled, the "Principles of Moral and Political Science, being chiefly a retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh," 2 vols. 4to, 1792.



were not neglected; for, at his leisure hours, he taught them to read and write. And it was while he was teaching my elder brother to read the Scottish catechism that I acquired my reading. Ashamed to ask my father to instruct me, I used, when he and my brother were abroad, to take the catechism, and study the lesson which he had been teaching my brother; and when any difficulty occurred, I went to a neighbouring old woman, who gave me such help as enabled me to read tolerably well before my father had thought of teaching me.

Some time after, he was agreeably surprised to find me reading by myself: he thereupon gave me further instruction, and also taught me to write; which, with about three months I afterwards had at the grammar-school at Keith, was all the education I ever received.

My taste for mechanics arose from an odd accident.—When about seven or eight years of age, a part of the roof of the house being decayed, my father, desirous of mending it, applied a prop and lever to an upright spar to raise it to its former situation; and, to my great astonishment, I saw him, without considering the reason, lift up the ponderous roof as if it had been a small weight. I attributed this at first to a degree of strength that excited my terror as well as wonder: but thinking further of the matter, I recollected, that he had applied his strength to that end of the lever which was furthest from the prop; and finding, on inquiry, that this was the means whereby the seeming wonder was effected, I began making levers (which I then called bars); and by applying weights to them different ways, I found the power gained by my bar was just in proportion to the lengths of the different parts of the bar on either side of the prop.—I then thought it was a great pity, that, by means of this bar, a weight could be raised but a very little way. On this I soon imagined, that, by pulling round a wheel, the weight might be raised to any height by tying a rope to the weight, and winding the rope round the axle of the wheel; and that the power gained must be just as great as the wheel was broader than the axle was thick; and found it to be exactly so, by hanging one weight to a rope put round the wheel, and another to the rope that coiled round the axle. So that, in these two machines, it appeared very plain, that their advantage was as great as the space gone through by the working power exceeded the space gone through by the weight. And this property I also thought must take place in a wedge for cleaving wood; but then I happened not to think of the screw.—By means of a turning lathe which my father had, and sometimes used, and a little knife, I was enabled to make wheels and other things necessary for my purpose.

I then wrote a short account of these machines, and sketched out figures of them with a pen, imagining it to be the first treatise of the kind that ever was written: but found my mistake, when I afterwards showed it to a gentleman, who told me that these things were known long before, and showed me a printed book in which they were treated of: and I was much pleased when I found, that my account (so far as I had carried it) agreed with the principles of mechanics in the book he showed me. And from that time my mind preserved a constant tendency to improve in that science.

But as my father could not afford to maintain me while I was in pursuit only of these matters, and I was rather too young and weak for hard labour, he put me out to a neighbour to keep sheep, which I continued to do for some years; and in that time I began to study the stars in the night. In the day-time I amused myself by making models of mills, spinning-wheels, and such other things as I happened to see.

I then went to serve a considerable farmer in the neighbourhood, whose name was James Glashan. I found him very kind and indulgent: but he soon ob-

served, that in the evenings, when my work was over, I went into a field with a blanket about me, lay down on my back, and stretched a thread with small beads upon it, at arms-length, between my eye and the stars, sliding the beads upon it till they hid such and such stars from my eye, in order to take their apparent distances from one another, and then, laying the thread down on a paper, I marked the stars thereon by the beads, according to their respective positions, having a candle by me. My master at first laughed at me, but when I explained my meaning to him, he encouraged me to go on; and that I might make fair copies in the day-time of what I had done in the night, he often worked for me himself. I shall always have a respect for the memory of that man.

One day he happened to send me with a message to Rev. Mr John Gilchrist, minister at Keith, to whom I had been known from my childhood. I carried my star-papers to show them to him, and found him looking over a large parcel of maps, which I surveyed with great pleasure, as they were the first I had ever seen. He then told me, that the earth is round like a ball, and explained the map of it to me. I requested him to lend me that map, to take a copy of it in the evenings. He cheerfully consented to this, giving me at the same time a pair of compasses, a ruler, pens, ink, and paper; and dismissed me with an injunction not to neglect my master's business by copying the map, which I might keep as long as I pleased.

For this pleasant employment, my master gave me more time than I could reasonably expect; and often took the threshing-flail out of my hands, and worked himself, while I sat by him in the barn, busy with my compasses, ruler, and pen.

When I had finished the copy, I asked leave to carry home the map; he told me I was at liberty to do so, and might stay two hours to converse with the minister. — In my way thither, I happened to pass by the school at which I had been before, and saw a genteel-looking man, whose name I afterwards learnt was Cantley, painting a sun-dial on the wall. I stopt a while to observe him, and the schoolmaster came out, and asked me what parcel it was that I had under my arm. I showed him the map, and the copy I had made of it, where-with he appeared to be very well pleased; and asked me whether I should not like to learn of Mr Cantley to make sun-dials? Mr Cantley looked at the copy of the map, and commended it much; telling the schoolmaster, Mr John Skinner, that it was a pity I did not meet with notice and encouragement. I had a good deal of conversation with him, and found him to be quite affable and communicative; which made me think I should be extremely happy if I could be further acquainted with him.

I then proceeded with the map to the minister, and showed him the copy of it. While we were conversing together, a neighbouring gentleman, Thomas Grant, esq. of Achoynaney, happened to come in, and the minister immediately introduced me to him, showing him what I had done. He expressed great satisfaction, asked me some questions about the construction of maps, and told me, that if I would go and live at his house, he would order his butler, Alexander Cantley, to give me a great deal of instruction. Finding that this Cantley was the man whom I had seen painting the sun-dial, and of whom I had already conceived a very high opinion, I told squire Grant, that I should rejoice to be at his house as soon as the time was expired for which I was engaged with my present master. He very politely offered to put one in my place, but this I declined.

When the term of my servitude was out, I left my good master, and went to the gentleman's house, where I quickly found myself with a most humane

good family. Mr Cantley the butler soon became my friend, and continued so till his death. He was the most extraordinary man that I ever was acquainted with, or perhaps ever shall see; for he was a complete master of arithmetic, a good mathematician, a master of music on every known instrument except the harp, understood Latin, French, and Greek, let blood extremely well, and could even prescribe as a physician upon any urgent occasion. He was what is generally called self-taught; but I think he might with much greater propriety have been termed, God Almighty's scholar.

He immediately began to teach me decimal arithmetic, and algebra; for I had already learnt vulgar arithmetic, at my leisure hours from books. He then proceeded to teach me the elements of geometry; but, to my inexpressible grief, just as I was beginning that branch of science, he left Mr Grant, and went to the late earl Fife's, at several miles distance. The good family I was then with could not prevail with me to stay after he was gone; so I left them, and went to my father's.

He had made me a present of Gordon's Geographical Grammar, which, at that time, was to me a great treasure. There is no figure of a globe in it, although it contains a tolerable description of the globes, and their use. From this description I made a globe in three weeks at my father's, having turned the ball thereof out of a piece of wood; which ball I covered with paper, and delineated a map of the world upon it, made the meridian ring and horizon of wood, covered them with paper, and graduated them; and was happy to find, that by my globe, which was the first I ever saw, I could solve the problems.

But this was not likely to afford me bread; and I could not think of staying with my father, who, I knew full well could not maintain me in that way, as it could be of no service to him; and he had, without my assistance, hands sufficient for all his work.

I then went to a miller, thinking it would be a very easy business to attend the mill, and that I should have a great deal of leisure time to study decimal arithmetic and geometry. But my master, being too fond of tipping at an ale-house, left the whole care of the mill to me, and almost starved me for want of victuals; so that I was glad when I could have a little oat-meal mixed with cold water to eat. I was engaged for a year in that man's service; at the end of which I left him, and returned in a very weak state to my father's.

Soon after I had recovered my former strength, a neighbouring farmer, who practised as a physician in that part of the country, came to my father's, wanting to have me as a labouring servant. My father advised me to go to Dr Young, telling me that the doctor would instruct me in that part of his business. This he promised to do, which was a temptation to me. But instead of performing his promise, he kept me constantly at very hard labour, and never once showed me one of his books. All his servants complained that he was the hardest master they had ever lived with; and it was my misfortune to be engaged with him for half a year. But at the end of three months I was so much overwrought, that I was almost disabled, which obliged me to leave him; and he was so unjust as to give me nothing at all for the time I had been with him, because I did not complete my half year's service; though he knew that I was not able, and had seen me working for the last fortnight as much as possible with one hand and arm, when I could not lift the other from my side. And what I thought was particularly hard, he never once tried to give me the least relief, further than once bleeding me, which rather did me hurt than good, as I was very weak, and much emaciated. I then went to my father's, where I was confined for two months on account of my hurt, and despaired of ever recovering the use of my left arm. And during all that time the doctor never



once came to see me, although the distance was not quite two miles. But my friend Mr Cantley hearing of my misfortune, at twelve miles' distance, sent me proper medicines and applications, by means of which I recovered the use of my arm; but found myself too weak to think of going into service again, and had entirely lost my appetite, so that I could take nothing but a draught of milk once a day, for many weeks.

In order to amuse myself in this low state, I made a wooden clock, the frame of which was also of wood; and it kept time pretty well. The bell on which the hammer struck the hours was the neck of a broken bottle. Having then no idea how any time-keeper could go but by a weight and a line, I wondered how a watch could go in all positions, and was sorry that I had never thought of asking Mr Cantley, who could very easily have informed me. But happening one day to see a gentleman ride by my father's house, which was close by a public road, I asked him what o'clock it then was: he looked at his watch, and told me. As he did that with so much good-nature, I begged of him to show me the inside of his watch; and though he was an entire stranger, he immediately opened the watch, and put it into my hands. I saw the spring-box with part of the chain round it, and asked him what it was that made the box turn round; he told me that it was turned round by a steel spring within it. Having then never seen any other spring than that of my father's gun-lock, I asked how a spring within a box could turn the box so often round as to wind all the chain upon it. He answered that the spring was long and thin, that one end of it was fastened to the axis of the box, and the other end to the inside of the box, that the axis was fixed, and the box was loose upon it. I told him I did not yet thoroughly understand the matter:—'Well, my lad,' says he, 'take a long thin piece of whalebone, hold one end of it fast between your finger and thumb, and wind it round your finger, it will then endeavour to unwind itself; and if you fix the other end of it to the inside of a small hoop, and leave it to itself, it will turn the hoop round and round, and wind up a thread tied to the outside of the hoop.'—I thanked the gentleman, and told him that I understood the thing very well. I then tried to make a watch with wooden wheels, and made the spring of whalebone; but found that I could not make the watch go when the balance was put on, because the teeth of the wheels were rather too weak to bear the force of a spring sufficient to move the balance; although the wheels would run fast enough when the balance was taken off. I enclosed the whole in a wooden case very little bigger than a breakfast tea-cup; but a clumsy neighbour one day looking at my watch, happened to let it fall, and turning hastily about to pick it up, set his foot upon it, and crushed it all to pieces; which so provoked my father, that he was almost ready to beat the man, and discouraged me so much that I never attempted to make such another machine again, especially as I was thoroughly convinced I could never make one that would be of any real use.

As soon as I was able to go abroad, I carried my globe, clock, and copies of some other maps besides that of the world, to the late Sir James Dunbar of Durn, about seven miles from where my father lived, as I had heard that Sir James was a very good-natured, friendly, inquisitive gentleman. He received me in a very kind manner, was pleased with what I showed him, and desired I would clean his clocks. This, for the first time, I attempted; and then began to pick up some money in that way about the country, making Sir James's house my home at his desire.

Two large globular stones stood on the top of his gate; on one of them I painted with oil colours a map of the terrestrial globe, and on the other a map of the celestial, from a planisphere of the stars which I copied on paper from a

celestial globe belonging to a neighbouring gentleman. The poles of the painted globes stood toward the poles of the heavens; on each the twenty-four hours were placed around the equinoctial, so as to show the time of the day when the sun shone out, by the boundary where the half of the globe at any time enlightened by the sun, was parted from the other half in the shade; the enlightened parts of the terrestrial globe answering to the like enlightened parts of the earth at all times. So that whenever the sun shone on the globe, one might see to what places the sun was then rising, to what places it was setting, and all the places where it was then day or night, throughout the earth.

During the time I was at Sir James's hospitable house, his sister, the honourable lady Dipple came there on a visit, and Sir James introduced me to her. She asked me whether I could draw patterns for needle-work on aprons and gowns. On showing me some, I undertook the work, and drew several for her; some of which were copied from her patterns, and the rest I did according to my own fancy. On this, I was sent for by other ladies in the country, and began to think myself growing very rich by the money I got for such drawings, out of which I had the pleasure of occasionally supplying the wants of my poor father.

Yet all this while I could not leave off star-gazing in the nights, and taking the places of the planets among the stars by my above-mentioned thread. By this, I could observe how the planets changed their places among the stars, and delineated their paths on the celestial map, which I had copied from the above-mentioned celestial globe.

By observing what constellations the ecliptic passed through in that map, and comparing these with the starry heaven, I was so impressed as sometimes to imagine that I saw the ecliptic in the heaven, among the stars like a broad circular road for the sun's apparent course; and fancied the paths of the planets to resemble the narrow ruts made by cart-wheels, sometimes on one side of a plain road, and sometimes on the other, crossing the road at small angles, but never going far from either side of it.

Sir James's house was full of pictures and prints, several of which I copied with pen and ink; this made him think I might become a painter.

Lady Dipple had been but a few weeks there when William Baird, Esq. of Auchmedden came on a visit; he was the husband of one of that lady's daughters, and I found him to be very ingenious and communicative; he invited me to go to his house, and stay some time with him, telling me that I should have free access to his library, which was a very large one, and that he would furnish me with all sorts of implements for drawing. I went thither, and stayed about eight months; but was much disappointed in finding no books of astronomy in his library, except what was in the two volumes of Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, although there were many books on geography and other sciences. Several of these indeed were in Latin, and more in French, which being languages that I did not understand, I had recourse to him for what I wanted to know of these subjects, which he cheerfully read to me; and it was as easy for him at sight to read English from a Greek, Latin, or French book, as from an English one. He furnished me with pencils and Indian ink, showing me how to draw with them; and although he had but an indifferent hand at that work, yet he was a very acute judge, and consequently a very fit person for showing me how to correct my own work. He was the first who ever sat to me for a picture; and I found it was much easier to draw from the life than from any picture whatever, as nature was more striking than any imitation of it.

Lady Dipple came to his house in about half a year after I went thither; and as they thought I had a genius for painting, they consulted together about

what might be the best way to put me forward. Mr Baird thought it would be no difficult matter to make a collection for me among the neighbouring gentlemen, to put me to a painter at Edinburgh; but he found, upon trial, that nothing worth the while could be done among them: and as to himself, he could not do much that way, because he had but a small estate, and a very numerous family.

Lady Dipple then told me that she was to go to Edinburgh next spring, and that if I would go thither, she would give me a year's bed and board at her house, gratis; and make all the interest she could for me among her acquaintance there. I thankfully accepted of her kind offer; and instead of giving me one year, she gave me two. I carried with me a letter of recommendation from the lord Pitsligo, a near neighbour of 'squire Baird's, to Mr John Alexander, a painter in Edinburgh, who allowed me to pass an hour every day at his house, for a month, to copy from his drawings; and said he would teach me to paint in oil-colours if I would serve him seven years, and my friends would maintain me all that time; but this was too much for me to desire them to do, nor did I choose to serve so long. I was then recommended to other painters, but they would do nothing without money; so I was quite at a loss what to do.

In a few days after this, I received a letter of recommendation from my good friend 'squire Baird, to the Rev. Dr Robert Keith at Edinburgh, to whom I gave an account of my bad success among the painters there. He told me, that if I would copy from nature, I might do without their assistance, as all the rules for drawing signified but very little when one came to draw from the life; and by what he had seen of my drawings brought from the north, he judged I might succeed very well in drawing pictures from the life, in Indian ink, on vellum. He then sat to me for his own picture, and sent me with it, and a letter of recommendation, to the right honourable the lady Jane Douglas, who lived with her mother, the marchioness of Douglas, at Merchiston-house, near Edinburgh. Both the marchioness and lady Jane behaved to me in the most friendly manner, on Dr Keith's account, and sat for their pictures, telling me at the same time, that I was in the very room in which lord Napier invented and computed the logarithms; and that if I thought it would inspire me, I should always have the same room whenever I came to Merchiston. I stayed there several days, and drew several pictures of lady Jane, of whom it was hard to say, whether the greatness of her beauty, or the goodness of her temper and disposition, was the most predominant. She sent these pictures to ladies of her acquaintance, in order to recommend me to them; by which means I soon had as much business as I could possibly manage, so as not only to put a good deal of money in my own pocket, but also to spare what was sufficient to help to supply my father and mother in their old age. Thus a business was providentially put into my hands, which I followed for six and twenty years.

Lady Dipple, being a woman of the strictest piety, kept a watchful eye over me at first, and made me give her an exact account at night of what families I had been in throughout the day, and of the money I had received. She took the money each night, desiring I would keep an account of what I had put into her hands; telling me, that I should duly have out of it what I wanted for clothes, and to send to my father. But in less than half a year, she told me that she would thenceforth trust me with being my own banker; for she had made a good deal of private inquiry how I had behaved when I was out of her sight through the day, and was satisfied with my conduct.

During my two years' stay at Edinburgh, I somehow took a violent inclination to study anatomy, surgery, and physic, all from reading of books, and conversing with gentlemen on these subjects, which for that time put all thoughts of



astronomy out of my mind; and I had no inclination to become acquainted with any one there who taught either mathematics or astronomy, for nothing would serve me but to be a doctor.

At the end of the second year I left Edinburgh, and went to see my father, thinking myself tolerably well qualified to be a physician in that part of the country, and I carried a good deal of medicines, plaisters, &c. thither; but to my mortification I soon found that all my medical theories and study were of little use in practice. And then, finding that very few paid me for the medicines they had, and that I was far from being so successful as I could wish, I quite left off that business, and began to think of taking to the more sure one of drawing pictures again. For this purpose I went to Inverness, where I had eight months' business.

When I was there, I began to think of astronomy again, and was heartily sorry for having quite neglected it at Edinburgh, where I might have improved my knowledge by conversing with those who were very able to assist me. I began to compare the ecliptic with its twelve signs, through which the sun goes in twelve months, to the circle of twelve hours on the dial-plate of a watch, the hour-hand to the sun, and the minute hand to the moon, moving in the ecliptic, the one always overtaking the other at a place forwarder than it did at their last conjunction before. On this, I contrived and finished a scheme on paper, for showing the motions and places of the sun and moon in the ecliptic on each day of the year, perpetually; and consequently, the days of all the new and full moons.

To this I wanted to add a method for showing the eclipses of the sun and moon; of which I knew the cause long before, by having observed that the moon was for one half of her period on the north side of the ecliptic, and for the other half on the south. But not having observed her course long enough among the stars by my above-mentioned thread, so as to delineate her path on my celestial map, in order to find the two opposite points of the ecliptic in which her orbit crosses it, I was altogether at a loss how and where in the ecliptic, in my scheme, to place these intersecting points: this was in the year 1739.

At last, I recollected that when I was with 'squire Grant of Auchoynaney, in the year 1730, I had read, that on the 1st of January, 1690, the moon's ascending node was in the 10th minute of the first degree of Aries; and that her nodes moved backward through the whole ecliptic in 18 years and 224 days, which was at the rate of 3 minutes 11 seconds every 24 hours. But as I scarce knew in the year 1730 what the moon's nodes meant, I took no farther notice of it at that time.

However, in the year 1739, I set to work at Inverness; and after a tedious calculation of the slow motion of the nodes from January 1690, to January 1740, it appeared to me, that (if I was sure I had remembered right) the moon's ascending node must be in 23 degrees 25 minutes of Cancer at the beginning of the year 1740. And so I added the eclipse part to my scheme, and called it, the Astronomical Rotula.

When I had finished it, I showed it to the Rev. Mr Alexander Macbean, one of the ministers at Inverness; who told me he had a set of almanacs by him for several years past, and would examine it by the eclipses mentioned in them. We examined it together, and found that it agreed throughout with the days of all the new and full moons and eclipses mentioned in these almanacs; which made me think I had constructed it upon true astronomical principles. On this, Mr Macbean desired me to write to Mr Maclaurin, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and give him an account of the methods by which I had

formed my plan, requesting him to correct it where it was wrong. He returned me a most polite and friendly answer, although I had never seen him during my stay at Edinburgh, and informed me, that I had only mistaken the radical mean place of the ascending node by a quarter of a degree; and that if I would send the drawing of my rotula to him, he would examine it, and endeavour to procure me a subscription to defray the charges of engraving it on copper-plates, if I chose to publish it. I then made a new and correct drawing of it, and sent it to him: who soon got me a very handsome subscription, by setting the example himself, and sending subscription papers to others.

I then returned to Edinburgh, and had the rotula-plates engraved there by Mr Cooper.<sup>1</sup> It has gone through several impressions; and always sold very well till the year 1752, when the style was changed, which rendered it quite useless. Mr Maclaurin received me with the greatest civility when I first went to see him at Edinburgh. He then became an exceeding good friend to me, and continued so till his death.

One day I requested him to show me his orrery, which he immediately did; I was greatly delighted with the motions of the earth and moon in it, and would gladly have seen the wheel-work, which was concealed in a brass box, and the box and planets above it were surrounded by an armillary sphere. But he told me, that he never had opened it; and I could easily perceive that it could not be opened but by the hand of some ingenious clock-maker, and not without a great deal of time and trouble.

After a good deal of thinking and calculation, I found that I could contrive the wheel-work for turning the planets in such a machine, and giving them their progressive motions; but should be very well satisfied if I could make an orrery to show the motions of the earth and moon, and of the sun round its axis. I then employed a turner to make me a sufficient number of wheels and axles, according to patterns which I gave him in drawing; and after having cut the teeth in the wheels by a knife, and put the whole together, I found that it answered all my expectations. It showed the sun's motion round its axis, the diurnal and annual motions of the earth on its inclined axis, which kept its parallelism in its whole course round the sun; the motions and phases of the moon, with the retrograde motion of the nodes of her orbit; and consequently, all the variety of seasons, the different lengths of days and nights, the days of the new and full moons, and eclipses.

When it was all completed except the box that covers the wheels, I showed it to Mr Maclaurin, who commended it in presence of a great many young gentlemen who attended his lectures. He desired me to read them a lecture on it, which I did without any hesitation, seeing I had no reason to be afraid of speaking before a great and good man who was my friend. Soon after that, I sent it in a present to the reverend and ingenious Mr Alexander Irvine, one of the ministers at Elgin, in Scotland.

I then made a smaller and neater orrery, of which all the wheels were of ivory, and I cut the teeth in them with a file. This was done in the beginning of the year 1743; and in May, that year, I brought it with me to London, where it was soon after bought by Sir Dudley Rider. I have made six orreries since that time, and there are not any two of them in which the wheel-work is alike, for I could never bear to copy one thing of that kind from another, because I still saw there was great room for improvements.

I had a letter of recommendation from Mr Baron Eldin at Edinburgh, to the right honourable Stephen Poyntz, Esq. at St James's, who had been precep-

<sup>1</sup> Cooper was master to the justly celebrated Sir Robert Strange, who was at that time his apprentice.

tor to his royal highness the late duke of Cumberland, and was well known to be possessed of all the good qualities that can adorn a human mind. To me, his goodness was really beyond my power of expression; and I had not been a month in London till he informed me, that he had written to an eminent professor of mathematics to take me into his house, and give me board and lodging, with all proper instructions to qualify me for teaching a mathematical school he (Mr Poyntz) had in view for me, and would get me settled in it. This I should have liked very well, especially as I began to be tired of drawing pictures; in which, I confess, I never strove to excel, because my mind was still pursuing things more agreeable. He soon after told me, he had just received an answer from the mathematical master, desiring I might be sent immediately to him. On hearing this, I told Mr Poyntz that I did not know how to maintain my wife during the time I must be under the master's tuition. What, says he, are you a married man? I told him I had been so ever since May, in the year 1739. He said he was sorry for it, because it quite defeated his scheme, as the master of the school he had in view for me must be a bachelor.

He then asked me what business I intended to follow? I answered, that I knew of none besides that of drawing pictures. On this he desired me to draw the pictures of his lady and children, that he might show them, in order to recommend me to others; and told me, that when I was out of business I should come to him, and he would find me as much as he could; and I soon found as much as I could execute, but he died in a few years after, to my inexpressible grief.

Soon afterward, it appeared to me, that although the moon goes round the earth, and that the sun is far on the outside of the moon's orbit, yet the moon's motion must be in a line, that is, always concave toward the sun; and upon making a delineation representing her absolute path in the heavens, I found it to be really so. I then made a simple machine for delineating both her path and the earth's on a long paper laid on the floor. I carried the machine and delineation to the late Martin Folkes, Esq. president of the royal society, on a Thursday afternoon. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing it, as it was a new discovery; and took me that evening with him to the royal society, where I showed the delineation, and the method of doing it.

When the business of the society was over, one of the members desired me to dine with him next Saturday at Hackney, telling me that his name was Ellicott, and that he was a watchmaker.

I accordingly went to Hackney, and was kindly received by Mr John Ellicott, who then showed me the very same kind of delineation, and part of the machine by which he had done it; telling me that he had thought of it twenty years before. I could easily see by the colour of the paper, and of the ink lines upon it, that it must have been done many years before I saw it. He then told me what was very certain, that he had neither stolen the thought from me, nor had I from him. And from that time till his death, Mr Ellicott was one of my best friends. The figure of this machine and delineation is in the 7th plate of my book of Astronomy.

Soon after the style was changed, I had my rotula new engraved; but have neglected it too much, by not fitting it up and advertising it. After this, I drew out a scheme, and had it engraved, for showing all the problems of the rotula except the eclipses; and in place of that, it shows the times of rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; and the positions of the stars for any time of the night.

In the year 1747, I published a dissertation on the phenomena of the Harvest Moon, with the description of a new orrery, in which there are only four



wheels. But having never had grammatical education, nor time to study the rules of just composition, I acknowledge that I was afraid to put it to the press; and for the same cause I ought to have the same fears still. But having the pleasure to find that this my first work was not ill received, I was emboldened to go on, in publishing my *Astronomy, Mechanical Lectures, Tables and Tracts* relative to several arts and sciences, the *Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy*, a small treatise on *Electricity*, and the following sheets.

In the year 1748, I ventured to read lectures on the eclipse of the sun that fell on the 14th of July in that year. Afterwards I began to read astronomical lectures on an orrery which I made, and of which the figures of all the wheel-work are contained in the 6th and 7th plates of this book. I next began to make an apparatus for lectures on mechanics, and gradually increased the apparatus for other parts of experimental philosophy, buying from others what I could not make for myself, till I brought it to its present state. I then entirely left off drawing pictures, and employed myself in the much pleasanter business of reading lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and astronomy; in all which, my encouragement has been greater than I could have expected.

The best machine I ever contrived is the eclipsareon, of which there is a figure in the 13th plate of my *Astronomy*. It shows the time, quantity, duration, and progress of solar eclipses, at all parts of the earth. My next best contrivance is the universal dialing cylinder, of which there is a figure in the 8th plate of the supplement to my *Mechanical Lectures*.

It is now thirty years since I came to London, and during all that time I have met with the highest instances of friendship from all ranks of people, both in town and country, which I do here acknowledge with the utmost respect and gratitude; and particularly the goodness of our present gracious sovereign, who, out of his privy purse, allows me fifty pounds a year, which is regularly paid without any deduction."

To this narrative we shall add the few particulars which are necessary to complete the view of Ferguson's life and character.<sup>1</sup>

Ferguson was honoured with the royal bounty, which he himself mentions, through the mere zeal of king George III. in behalf of science. His majesty had attended some of the lectures of the ingenious astronomer, and often sent for him, after his accession, to converse upon scientific and curious topics. He had the extraordinary honour of being elected a member of the royal society, without paying either the initiatory or the annual fees, which were dispensed with in his case from a supposition of his being too poor to pay them without inconvenience. From the same idea, many persons gave him very handsome presents. But to the astonishment of all who knew him, he died worth about six thousand pounds.

"Ferguson," says Charles Hutton, in his *Mathematical Dictionary*, "must be allowed to have been a very uncommon genius, especially in mechanical con-

<sup>1</sup> The following is a succinct list of his published works:—1. *Astronomical Tables*, and Precepts for calculating the true times of New and Full Moons, &c. 1763. 2. *Tables and Tracts* relative to several arts and sciences, 1767. 3. *An Easy Introduction to Astronomy*, for young gentlemen and ladies, 2nd edit. 1769. 4. *Astronomy explained* upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles, 5th edit. 1772. 5. *Lectures on select subjects in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics and Optics*, 4th edit. 1772. 6. *Select Mechanical Exercises*, with a short account of the life of the author, by himself, 1773. 7. *The Art of Drawing in Perspective Made Easy*, 1775. 8. *An Introduction to Electricity*, 1775. 9. *Two Letters* to the Rev. Mr John Kennedy, 1775. 10. *A Third Letter* to the Rev. Mr John Kennedy, 1775. He communicated also several letters to the Royal Society, which are printed in their Transactions. In 1805, a very valuable edition of his lectures was published at Edinburgh by Dr Brewster, in 2 vols. 8vo, with notes and an appendix, the whole adapted to the present state of the arts and sciences.

trivances and inventions, for he constructed many machines himself in a very neat manner. He had also a good taste in astronomy, as well as in natural and experimental philosophy, and was possessed of a happy manner of explaining himself in a clear, easy, and familiar way. His general mathematical knowledge, however, was little or nothing. Of algebra he understood but little more than the notation; and he has often told me that he could never demonstrate one proposition in Euclid's Elements; his constant method being to satisfy himself as to the truth of any problem, with a measurement by scale and compasses." He was a man of very clear judgment in any thing that he professed, and of unwearied application to study: benevolent, meek, and innocent in his manners as a child: humble, courteous, and communicative: instead of pedantry, philosophy seemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of resignation and christian piety. He might be called an enthusiast in his love of God, if religion founded on such substantial and enlightened grounds as his was, could be like enthusiasm. After a long and useful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious state of health, worn out with study, age, and infirmities, he died on the 16th of November, 1776.

"Ferguson's only daughter," says Mr Nichols in his life of Bowyer, "was lost in a very singular manner, at about the age of eighteen. She was remarkable for the elegance of her person, the agreeableness and vivacity of her conversation, and in philosophic genius and knowledge, worthy of such a father. His son, Mr Murdoch Ferguson, was a surgeon, and attempted to settle at Bury, staid but a little while, went to sea, was cast away, and lost his all, a little before his father's death, but found himself in no bad plight after that event. He had another son, who studied at Marischal college, Aberdeen, from 1772 to 1777, and afterwards, it is believed, applied to physic."

The astronomer has been thus elegantly noticed in "Eudosia, a poem on the universe" by Mr Capel Lloft:

"Nor shall thy guidance but conduct our feet,  
O honoured shepherd of our later days!  
Thee, from the flocks, while thy untutored soul,  
Mature in childhood, traced the starry course,  
Astronomy, enamoured, gently led  
Through all the splendid labyrinths of heaven,  
And taught thee her stupendous laws; and clothed  
In all the light of fair simplicity,  
Thy apt expression."

FERGUSSON, ROBERT, an ingenious poet, like his successor Burns, drew his descent from the country north of the Forth. His father, William Ferguson, after serving an apprenticeship to a tradesman in Aberdeen, and having married Elizabeth Forbes, by whom he had three children, removed, in 1746, to Edinburgh, where he was employed as a clerk by several masters in succession. It appears that the father of the poet had himself in early life courted the muses, and was at all periods remarkable as a man of taste and ingenuity. When acting as clerk to Messrs Wardrop and Peat, upholsterers in Carrubber's close, he framed a very useful book of rates; and he eventually attained the respectable situation of accountant to the British Linen Company, but whether in its ultimate capacity of a bank has not been mentioned. Previous to his arrival in Edinburgh, he had two sons and a daughter, born in the following order: Henry, 1742; Barbara,<sup>1</sup> 1744; John (who seems to have died young), 1746.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the wife of Mr David Inverarity, joiner.

After removing thither, he had at least two other children, Robert, born 1750, and Margaret,<sup>2</sup> 1753.

The subject of this memoir was born on the 17th of October,<sup>3</sup> 1750, and was an exceedingly delicate child. Owing to the state of his health, he was not sent to school till his sixth year, though it is likely that his parents gave him a good deal of private instruction before that time. What renders this the more probable is, that he had not been six months under his first teacher, (a Mr Philp in Niddry's Wynd,) when he was judged fit to be transferred to the high school, and entered in the first Latin class. Here he went through the usual classical course of four years, under a teacher named Gilchrist. What degree of proficiency he might have attained under ordinary circumstances, it is impossible to determine; but it is to be related to his credit, that, though frequently absent for a considerable period, in consequence of bad health, he nevertheless kept fully abreast of his companions, a temporary application being sufficient to bring him up to any point which the class had attained in his absence. At the same time he acquired, in the leisure of confinement, a taste for general reading, and it is stated that the Bible was his favourite book. A remarkable instance of the vivid impressions of which he was susceptible, occurred at an early period. In perusing the proverbs of Solomon, one passage struck his infant mind with peculiar force; and hastening to his mother's apartment in tears, he besought her to chastise him. Surprised at a request so extraordinary, she inquired the cause of it, when he exclaimed—"O mother! he that spareth the rod, hateth the child!" So ingenuous by nature was the mind of this boy, and such the pure source whence his youth drew instructions, which, disregarded but not forgotten amid the gayeties of a long course of dissipation, at last re-asserted in a fearful manner their influence over him.

Fergusson finished his elementary education at the grammar school of Dundee, which he attended for two years. His parents had resolved to educate him for the church; and with that view removed him in his thirteenth year to the university of St Andrews, which he entered with the advantage of a bursary, endowed by a Mr Fergusson, for the benefit of young men of the same name. Here his abilities recommended him to the notice of Dr Wilkie, author of the *Epigoniad*, then professor of natural philosophy, and it has even been said, that learned person made choice of him to read his lectures to his class, when sickness or other causes prevented his own performance of the duty. Dr Irving ridicules the idea of a youth of sixteen "mounting," as he expresses it, "the professorial rostrum;" and besides the inadequacy of years, Fergusson possessed none of that gravity of demeanour which was calculated to secure the respectful attention of his compeers. His classical attainments were respectable, but for the austerer branches of scholastic and scientific knowledge he always expressed, with the petulance of a youth of lively parts, who did not wish to be subjected to the labour of hard study, a decided contempt. Dr Wilkie's regards must therefore have been attracted by other qualifications than those of the graver and more solid cast—namely, by the sprightly humour and uncommon powers of conversation, for which Fergusson was already in a remarkable degree distinguished. The story of his reading the lectures in public arose from his having been employed to transcribe them. Professor Vilant, in a letter to Mr Inverarity on this subject, says, "A youthful frolicsome exhibition of your uncle first directed Dr Wilkie's attention to him, and he afterwards employed

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards the wife of Mr Alexander Duval, purser in the navy.

<sup>3</sup> The date usually given is 5th September, which appears, however, from a list by Mrs Duval, to have been the birth-day of the elder sister, Barbara. The above is the date given by Mrs Duval.



him one summer and part of another in transcribing a fair copy of his academical lectures." On the doctor's death, in 1772, Fergusson showed his gratitude in a poem dedicated to his memory. In this composition, which assumed the form of a Scottish eclogue, Wilkie's success as an agricultural improver was not forgotten. He had cultivated, with a very remarkable degree of skill, a farm in the vicinity of St Andrews; and we must go back to the time when our fathers were contented to raise small patches of stunted corn here and there, on the unenclosed moor, in order to appreciate fully the enterprise which merited the youthful poet's compliment—

Lang had the thistles and the dockans been  
 In use to wag their taps upo' the green,  
 Whare now his bonny rigs delight the view,  
 And thriving hedges drink the cauler dew.

Among his fellow students, Fergusson was distinguished for vivacity and humour, and his poetical talents soon began to display themselves on subjects of local and occasional interest, in such a way as to attract the notice both of his companions and of their teachers. We are warranted in concluding, that the pieces to which he owed this celebrity were distinguished by passages of no ordinary merit, for professors are not a set of men upon whom it is easy to produce an impression. It is indeed said, that the youthful poet chose the ready instrument of sarcasm with which to move their calm collectedness; but if this were true, the satire must have been of a playful nature; for, from all that has appeared, these gentlemen manifested nothing but kindly feelings towards their pupil, and he a corresponding affection and respect for them. Besides the tribute which he paid to the memory of Wilkie, he wrote an elegy on the death of Mr Gregory, the professor of mathematics, in which, though the prevailing tone is that of respectful regret, we probably have an example of the length to which he ventured in his satirical effusions. Bemoaning the loss that the scientific world had sustained by the decease of this learned person, and enumerating various instances of his sagacity, he says, with irrepressible wagery,

By numbers, too, he could divine  
 That three times three just made up nine;  
 But now he's dead!

Another effusion, of which the occasion may be referred to the time of Fergusson's attendance at college, is his elegy on John Hogg, porter to the university; in this piece he alludes with some humour to the unwillingness with which he was wont to quit his comfortable bed in a morning after some frolic, when that functionary was sent to summon him before the college tribunal. The familiarity of the old door-keeper, together with the demi-professorial strain of his admonitions, is not unhappily portrayed in the stanza—

When I had been fu' laith to rise,  
 John then begude to moralize—  
 " ' The titler nap,—the sluggard cries,  
 And turns him round;  
 Sae spak auld Solomon the wise,  
 Divine profound!"

If Fergusson thus remembered in a kindly manner the species of intercourse which his exploits had rendered necessary between him and the servants of the university, they seem on their part to have cherished a corresponding degree of

partiality for him. Mr James Inverarity, a nephew of the poet, had the curiosity to ask one of them if he recollected Robert Fergusson. "Bob Fergusson!" exclaimed the man; "that I do! Many a time I've put him to the door—ah, he was a tricky callant; but," he added, "a fine laddie for a' that." He seemed to feel great pleasure in the recollection of so lively and so amiable a boy.

While at college, the young poet used to put in practice a frolic which marks the singular vivacity of his character. Whenever he received a remittance from his friends at Edinburgh, he hung out the money in a little bag attached by a string to the end of a pole fixed in his window; and there he would let it dangle for a whole day in the wind. He is supposed to have done this partly from puerile exultation in the possession of his wealth, and partly by way of making a bravado in the eyes of his companions; among whom, no doubt, the slenderness of their funds and the failure of supplies, would be frequent subjects of raillery.

His talents of mimicry were great, and his sportive humour was ever too exuberant, and sometimes led him to overstep the bounds of justifiable indulgence. "An instance of this," says Mr Tennant, in the Edinburgh Literary Journal, (No. 164), "was communicated to me by the late Rev. Dr James Brown, his fellow-student at St Andrews, who was also a poet,\* and who, from kindred delights and sympathies, enjoyed much of Fergusson's society. On the afternoon of a college-holiday, they took a walk together into the country, and, after perambulating many farms, and tripping with fraternal glee over field and hillock, they at last, being desirous of a little rest, bethought themselves of calling at a small farm house, or *pendicle*, as it is named, on the king's muirs of Denino. They approached the house, and were kindly invited to a seat by the rustic and honest-hearted family. A frank and unceremonious conversation immediately took place, in the course of which, it was discovered, that a young person, a member of the family, was lying ill of fever. The playful Fergusson instantly took it into his head, to profess himself a medical practitioner;—he started to his feet, begged to be shown to the sick-bed; approached, and felt the pulse of the patient; assumed a serious air; put the usual pathological interrogatories; and pronounced his opinion with a pomp and dignity worthy of a true doctor of physic. In short, he personated his assumed character so perfectly, that his friend Brown, though somewhat vexed, was confounded into silent admiration of his dexterity. On leaving the house, however, Mr Brown expostulated with him on the indefensibility of practising so boldly on the simplicity of an unsuspecting family, and of misleading their conceptions as to the cure of the distemper, by a stratagem, on which, however witty, neither of them could congratulate themselves."

The impulse of the moment seems to have been at all times irresistible with Fergusson, without any dread or consideration of the consequences which his levity might produce. His voice being good, he was requested, oftener than was agreeable to him, to officiate as precentor at prayers. His wicked wit suggested a method of getting rid of the distasteful employment, which he did not scruple to put in practice, though there was great danger that it would incense the heads of the college against him. It is customary in the Scottish churches for persons who are considered to be in a dangerous state of illness, to request the prayers of the congregation, which it is the duty of the precentor publicly to intimate. One morning, when Fergusson occupied the desk, he rose up, and, with the solemnity of tone usual upon such occasions, pronounced,—“Remember

\* "Dr Brown, who was for thirty years rector of a considerable parish in the neighbourhood of London, was the author of a poem called 'Britain Preserved,' written about 1793, in reference to, and commendation of, Mr Pitt's plan of policy, then adopted."

in prayer, ———, a young man (then present) of whom, from the sudden effects of inebriety, there appears but small hope of recovery."

A proceeding so indecorous could not but be frowned upon by the professors; and another incident, which it was still less in their power to overlook, soon occurred. The circumstances attending the expulsion of the poet from the university have occasioned some controversy, and we therefore deem it best to give the account drawn up in 1801, by Dr Hill, and attested by professor Vilant, who was unable from sickness, to do more at that time, than affix his name to it. "Mr Nicholas Vilant," says this document, "professor of mathematics, the only person now in the university, who was then a member of it, declares, that in the year 1767, as he recollects, at the first institution of the prizes given by the earl of Kinnoul, late chancellor of this university, there was a meeting one night, after the determination of the prizes for that year, of the winners in one room of the united college, and a meeting of the losers in another room at a small distance; that in consequence of some communication between the winners and the losers, a scuffle arose, which was reported to the masters of the college, and that Robert Fergusson and some others who had appeared the most active were expelled; but that the next day, or the day thereafter, they were all received back into the college upon promises of good behaviour for the future." Dr Wilkie's intercessions were exerted on this occasion in behalf of the poet; nor are we to suppose that the cordial co-operation of others was wanting, for Mr Inverarity assures us, that in Mr Vilant, Fergusson had found a friend and judicious director of his studies. On the whole, this transaction affords a proof, that Fergusson, whatever might be his indiscretions, had not, by refractory or disrespectful conduct, rendered himself obnoxious to the heads of the university, since, had that been the case, it is to be presumed, they would have availed themselves of this infraction of academical discipline to make good his expulsion. If, therefore, the first aspirations of his muse were employed in satirical effusions against his instructors, it must have been with an absence of all bitterness, and in a vein of pleasantry which was not meant to be, and did not prove offensive.

Of the progress made by Fergusson in his studies, we have no means of forming a very exact estimate. "He performed," says Dr Irving, "with a sufficient share of applause, the various exercises which the rules of his college prescribed." Yet, it is acknowledged that he found more pleasure in the active sports of youth, and in social enjoyment, than in habits of recluse study. His time, however, does not seem to have been spent without some plans of more serious application. A book which belonged to him, entitled, "A Defence of the church government, faith, worship, and spirit of the presbyterians," is preserved; the blank leaves of this volume were devoted by him to the somewhat incongruous purpose of receiving scraps of speeches, evidently the genus of a play which he meditated writing. Another dramatic scheme of his, assumed a more decided shape; he finished two acts of a tragedy, founded on the achievements and fate of Sir William Wallace, but abandoned the undertaking, having seen another play on the same subject, and being afraid that his own might be considered a plagiarism. Probably both productions were of a common place description; and the poet, perceiving the flatness of that of which he was not the author, and conscious of the similarity of his own, relinquished an undertaking to which his abilities certainly were not equal. It has been observed, that the choice of the subject affords an evidence of Fergusson's judgment; inasmuch as the fate of the illustrious Scottish hero, together with his disinterested patriotism and bravery, supply a much more eligible theme for the tragical muse, than the deaths of Macbeth, Richard III., Pizarro, or any other tyrant of ancient or modern times, whose catastrophes, being nothing more than the vengeance due to their crimes, cannot



excite those sympathetic feelings that arise only from the contemplation of suffering virtue. This would be very justly said, if it were true that the success of a dramatic author depends upon his enlisting the approbation of the audience in behalf of his hero. But the case is widely different. A view of human nature under the influence of some powerful emotion, with which mankind, in general, are not familiar, seems to be what is mainly required. All men are not acquainted with the workings of an ambitious and wicked heart; and hence, when the tyrant is exhibited before them, they learn something that is new and surprising, and the skill of the poet meets with its proportionate meed of applause. But there are few, indeed, who have not considered from their youth up, the character of a great patriot like Wallace; their admiration and pity have been bestowed upon him from their tenderest years, and there is nothing left for poetry to effect. Nor was the genius of Fergusson fitted for the delineation of a majestic character. He had a fund of humour, an agreeable gayety, but not much reach of passion or of feeling. In his English blank verses, there is no stately flow nor elevation of sentiment. His mind, moreover, did not possess strength sufficient to accomplish more than can be done in a series of occasional verses; he had not as much resolution to carry him through the succession of efforts necessary for the completion of a dramatic poem; and on the whole, we see no occasion either for surprise or regret, that he never perfected his third act.

What were the reasons for Fergusson abandoning his academical career, is nowhere mentioned. Probably he had no great heart to the profession to which he had been destined, and was prevented by want of pecuniary means, from pursuing his studies with a view to any other. When the term of his bursary expired, which was at the end of four years, he quitted St Andrews, and returned to Edinburgh, to his mother's house, his father having died two years before. Here, if his prospects were not gloomy, his plans were unsettled, and never took any decided aim for his settlement in life. The profession of a teacher has been resorted to by many who have acquired some learning, but whose narrow circumstances did not allow them to aspire to more pleasant and profitable employments; and, even after qualifying themselves for superior offices, numbers of young men, failing to obtain the reward of their labours, fall back upon that humbler means of obtaining a subsistence. But for the patient duties of a schoolmaster, Fergusson's ardent temperament completely disqualified him; and probably, he never thought of the alternative. The study of medicine was suggested to him; but this was no less distasteful, for, to such vivid nervous excitement was he liable, that he could not read the description of a disease, without imagining that his own frame felt its symptoms.

After some time spent in vain hope that some opening would present itself, he paid a visit to Mr John Forbes, a maternal uncle, near Aberdeen, who, being in easy circumstances, was expected to do something for his nephew. That gentleman, according to the usual account, entertained him for some time, hoping, perhaps, that after a reasonable stay, such as the hospitality of an uncle's roof might warrant, he would take his leave and give him no farther trouble. But time slipped on, and Fergusson still continued his guest. At last, the habiliments of the dependent relative began to grow somewhat shabby, and an intimation was conveyed to him, that he was no longer fit to appear at Mr Forbes's table. The indignant poet immediately retired to an ale-house in the neighbourhood, where he penned a letter full of resentment of the usage he had received. This remonstrance produced some little effect, for his uncle sent him, by a messenger, a few shillings, to bear his charges to Edinburgh. He performed the journey on foot, and returned to his mother's house so worn out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with mortification, that he fell into a serious illness. In a few days his

strength of body revived, and he regained sufficient composure of mind to express his vexation in a poem, entitled, "The Decay of Friendship," and his grounds for philosophic resignation in another, "Against Repining at Fortune." These pieces exhibit some fluency of versification, but do not breathe any poetic fire. In the first, he bewails the ingratitude of man, and according to ancient usage, determines to resort to some solitary shore, there to disclose his griefs to the murmuring surge, and teach the hollow caverns to resound his woes. In the second, he declares, that he was able to contemplate the gorgeous vanity of state with a cool disdain, and after reasoning the matter on the inadequacy of wealth to procure happiness, concludes that virtue is the sacred source of permanent and heart-felt satisfaction,—a fact, the truth of which is so very generally acknowledged, that the statement and elucidation of it is no longer considered to constitute poetry.

The behaviour of Mr Forbes in the matter just related, has been reprobated as ungenerous in the extreme. But it seems questionable, whether the censure be merited in its full extent. Every man is, no doubt, bound to assist his fellow-men, and more particularly those who are connected with his own family, or have other claims to his patronage, as far as lies in his power. But it is difficult to fix the limits to which his exertions ought, in any particular case, to be carried. It may seem very clear to every one at the present day, that Fergusson was a man of genius, and ought to have been promoted to some office which might have conferred independence, at the same time that it left him leisure for the cultivation of his literary talents. This was, however, by no means so apparent at the period to which we refer, nor, perhaps, at any future period during the poet's lifetime. He presented himself in his uncle's house an expectant of favour; but his expectations might not, to any ordinary-minded person, appear very reasonable. He was a young man that had addicted himself to the profitless occupation of rhyming; (who could tell he was to render himself eminent by it?) he could not submit his mind to common business, and had aversions that did not appear to rest on very feasible foundations, to certain employments which were proposed to him: and when we consider to how close a scrutiny, it is reasonable that those who solicit patronage should be prepared to submit, it does not seem wonderful that he should have been regarded as a young man who was disposed to remain idle, and that his friends should have been discouraged from using their influence in behalf of one who did not seem willing to do what he could for himself. We know few of the circumstances that took place during Fergusson's residence with his uncle, and it is unjust to deal out reproaches so much at random.

Some time after his return to Edinburgh, Fergusson obtained employment as a copyist of legal papers, in the office of the commissary clerk of Edinburgh; a situation miserably inferior to his talents, but which his straitened circumstances and his total want of an aim in life, compelled him to accept. With the exception of some months devoted to similar duties at the Sheriff-clerk's office, he spent, in this humble employment, the remainder of his brief and unhappy life. The change from the one office to the other seems to have been dictated purely by that desire of an alternation of misery, which caused the soldier who suffered under flagellation to cry first "strike high," and then "strike low." Having experienced some trouble from the fretful temper of the deputy commissary clerk, Mr Abercromby, under whom he performed his drudgery, he sought relief in the other office; but finding worse evils there, in the painful nature of the sheriff's duties as an enforcer of executions, he speedily solicited re-admission to his former place, and was glad to obtain it. It is generally supposed that Fergusson's employment involved the study of law, and that in that lay the unpleasantness of his situation. But in reality, the study of law, allow-

ing it to be as dry as several of Fergusson's biographers have represented it, and as unsuitable as they have supposed to the mercurial genius of a poet, would have been absolutely a daily delight of the highest kind, compared to the monotonous duties of perpetual transcription, which formed in reality the extent of the poet's professional labours.

This wretched drudgery, however, was relieved in two ways. Fergusson, during the whole period of his residence in Edinburgh, as a clerk, or copyist, wrote more or less poetry almost every day. At the same time, he spent a part of almost every evening in those convivial regalements, with which the citizens of Edinburgh of all classes were then accustomed to solace themselves after the drudgery of the day.

The mind of the poet was partly directed to English classical models: he wrote pastorals and dialogues, in the manner of Pope, Shenstone, and Somerville; but these are mere exhibitions of language, totally uninspired by the least force or originality of ideas, and would now weary even the most patient antiquary in the perusal. Fortunately, he also adventured upon the course lately left vacant by Ramsay, and there found themes for which his genius was better adapted. The humours and peculiarities of social life in the ancient city of Edinburgh attracted his attention, and became in his hands the materials of various specimens of Scottish poetry, which far surpassed the similar poems of Ramsay, and are but little inferior to those of Burns. In his "Leith Races," "the Rising and Sitting of the Session," "Cauler Oysters," and "the King's birth day," there is a power of humorous description which at once stamps him as a poet of superior genius, even if the nervous sense of his "Braid Claith," "Cauler Water," and other poems upon general subjects, and the homely grace of his "Farmer's Ingle," which describes in the most vivid and genuine colours, a scene worthy of the highest efforts of the muse, had not placed him still more unequivocally in that rank. The language employed by Fergusson is much more purely Scottish than that of Burns, and he uses it with a readiness and ease in the highest degree pleasing. He has not the firm and vigorous tone of Burns, but more softness and polish, such as might have been expected from his gentler, and perhaps more instructed mind. The poet chiefly wrote these effusions for a periodical work, entitled Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine, where they attracted a considerable share of public attention, not only in Edinburgh but throughout the country.

The convivialities of Fergusson have been generally described as bordering on excess, and as characterizing himself in particular, amidst a population generally sober. The real truth is, that the poor poet indulged exactly in the same way, and in general to the same extent, as other young men of that day. The want of public amusements, the less general taste for reading, and the limited accommodations of private houses in those days, led partly to a practice, which, as already mentioned, prevailed among all orders of people in Edinburgh, of frequenting taverns in the evening, for the sake of relaxation and exercise of the intellect. The favourite haunt of Robert Fergusson, and many other persons of his own standing, was Lucky Middlemass's tavern in the Cowgate, which he celebrates in his poem on Cauler Oysters. One of the individuals, who almost nightly enjoyed his company there, communicated to the present writer, in 1827, the following particulars respecting the extent and nature of their convivialities.

"The entertainment almost invariably consisted of a few boards of raw oysters, porter, gin, and occasionally a rizzared [dried] haddock, which was neither more nor less than what formed the evening enjoyments of most of the citizens of Edinburgh. The best gin was then sold at about five shillings a



gallon, and accordingly the gill at Lucky Middlemass's cost only threepence. The whole debauch of the young men seldom came to more than sixpence or sevenpence. Mr S—— distinctly recollects that Fergusson always seemed unwilling to spend any more. They generally met at eight o'clock, and rose to depart at ten; but Fergusson was sometimes prevailed upon to outsit his friends, by other persons who came in later, and, for the sake of his company, intreated him to join them in further potations. The humour of his conversation, which was in itself the highest treat, frequently turned upon the odd and obnoxious characters who then abounded in the town. In the case, however, of the latter, he never permitted his satire to become in the least rancorous. He generally contented himself with conceiving them in ludicrous or awkward situations, such, for instance, as their going home at night, and having their clothes bleached by an impure ablution from the garrets—a very common occurrence at that time, and the mention of which was sufficient to awaken the sympathies of all present."

The personal appearance of the poet is thus described by the same informant. "In stature Fergusson was about five feet nine, slender and handsome. His face never exhibited the least trace of red, but was perfectly and uniformly pale, or rather yellow. He had all the appearance of a person in delicate health; and Mr S—— remembers that, at last, he could not eat raw oysters, but was compelled by the weakness of his stomach, to ask for them pickled. His forehead was elevated, and his whole countenance open and pleasing. He wore his own fair brown hair, with a long massive curl along each side of the head, and terminating in a queue, dressed with a black silk riband. His dress was never very good, but often much faded, and the white thread stockings, which he generally wore in preference to the more common kind of grey worsted, he often permitted to become considerably soiled before changing them."

The following anecdote has been related for the purpose of showing the irksomeness of the poet under his usual avocations. In copying out the extract of a deed, one forenoon, he blundered it two different times, and was at length obliged to abandon the task without completing it. On returning in the evening, he found that the extract had been much wanted, and he accordingly sat down with great reluctance to attempt it a third time. He had not, however, half accomplished his task, when he cried out to his office companion, that a thought had just struck him, which he would instantly put into verse, and carry to Ruddiman's Magazine, (on the eve of publication,) but that he would instantly return and complete the extract. He immediately scrawled out the following stanza on one Thomas Lancashire, who, after acting the gravedigger in Hamlet, and other such characters, on the Edinburgh stage, had set up a public house, in which he died:—

Alas, poor Tom! how oft, with merry heart,  
Have we beheld thee play the Sexton's part!  
Each comic heart must now be grieved to see  
The Sexton's dreary part performed on thee.

On his return towards the office, he called at the shop of his friend Sommers, paintseller and glazier, in the parliament close, where he found a boy reading a poem on creation. This circumstance furnished him with the point of another epigram, which he immediately scribbled down, and left for Mr Sommers's perusal. These proceedings occupied him about twenty minutes, and he then returned to his drudgery.

Uniform tradition, and every other testimony, ascribe to Fergusson an excellent voice, and a most captivating manner of singing the simple melodies of his

native country. His Birks of Invermay long survived in the recollection of his associates, as a musical gem of the first lustre. The following anecdote, communicated by his biographer Sommers, at once proves his vocal powers and reflects a light upon his character. "In one of his convivial frolics, he laid a wager with some of his associates that, if they would furnish him with a certain number of printed ballads, (no matter what kind), he would undertake to dispose of them as a street singer in the course of two hours. The bet was laid, and next evening, being in the month of November, a large bundle of ballads were procured for him. He wrapped himself in a shabby great-coat, put on an old scratch wig, and in this disguised form commenced his adventure at the weigh-house, head of the West Bow. In his going down the Lawnmarket and High Street, he had the address to collect great multitudes around him, while he amused them with a variety of favourite Scottish songs, by no means such as he had ballads for, and gained the wager by disposing of the whole collection. He waited on his companions by eight o'clock that evening, and spent with them in mirthful glee, the produce of his street adventure."

Fergusson's disposition led him into many frolics; of which the following instances are recounted. His landlord happened to be a man very much given to intemperance, at the same time that he aspired to all the honours of a saint. One night, he attempted to perform family worship, in a state of complete intoxication, when, to his inconceivable horror, every sentence of his prayer was echoed by some unseen being at no great distance. Confounded with drunken terror, he ordered his family to retire, and *tak awa the buiks*. It was Fergusson who thus alarmed him from a neighbouring closet. Afterwards, the poor man gave his family an impressive lecture on the necessity of their improving their ways, as he felt certain that something serious was about to befall them. He even unbosomed his own conscience to the waggish cause of all his terrors, and received, with marks of extreme contrition, the absolution which Fergusson administered to him in consideration of his repentance. On another occasion, Fergusson went, with some companions, to the door of a similar zealot, and began to whine forth a psalm in burlesque of the hypocritical habits (as he considered them) of those within. With even less justifiable thoughtlessness, he once threw into the open window of a Glassite meeting-house, a paper, on which he had inscribed some lines in imitation of the manner in which they were pleased to perform their devotions. A more innocent frolic was as follows: having procured a sailor's dress, he dressed himself in it, assumed a huge stick, and, sallying out, paid a round of visits to his acquaintances. He was so effectually disguised that few or none of them knew him; and by throwing forth hints of some of their former indiscretions, he so much surprised them, that they imputed his knowledge to divination. By this means, he procured from many of them such a fund of information, as enabled him to give them a greater surprise when he resumed the genuine character of Robby Fergusson. For in the sailor's habit he informed them of many frailties and failings, which they imagined it impossible for any one of his appearance to know; and in the habit of Robby Fergusson, he divulged many things which they believed none but the ragged sailor was acquainted with. Fergusson's power of mimicry were, indeed, admirable, and he displayed a considerable turn for acting in general. Towards the end of his life, he was the very life and soul of a particular spouting club to which he attached himself.

In the circle of his acquaintance, though it extended through nearly all ranks of society, he had few more respectable friends than Mr Woods, a distinguished player long established in Edinburgh. Woods was a man of wit, taste, and good sense, to which good qualities he added a prudence of conduct,

in which it is to be wished that the poet had uniformly imitated him. Through the influence of Mr Woods, and in consideration, perhaps, of occasional poetical services, he enjoyed a free admission to the theatre, of which he took not unfrequent advantage. To quote a memorandum which has been supplied to us on this subject—"He always sat in the central box, denominated the Shakspeare box; and his mode of expressing approbation in comic performances was very singular. Instead of clapping his hands, or using any exclamations, he used to show how much he was delighted by raising his right hand clenched above his head, and bringing it down emphatically on the front of the box, with a sweeping blow."

His brother, Henry, who was eight years older than himself, had before this period been obliged by some youthful indiscretions to go to sea. Henry was a youth of considerable acquirements and ingenuity, and, in particular, had an extraordinary taste for fencing. Some letters are extant, which the young sailor addressed to his mother and brother, and they certainly display powers of mind and habits of reflection, which, if discovered on ship-board, must have astonished his superiors. Apparently quite tired of the hopeless drudgery of his office, and perhaps impelled by more pressing considerations, Robert Fergusson at one time contemplated the course of life now pursued by his brother, the wild dangers of which might have some charm to a poet's breast. He thus humorously alludes to his design in an epigram:

Fortune and Bob, e'er since his birth,  
 Could never yet agree;  
 She fairly kicked him from the earth,  
 To try his fate at sea.

He was not destined, however, to execute this resolution.

In 1773, Fergusson's poems were collected from the *Weekly Magazine* into one volume; but it does not appear that the poet reaped any pecuniary benefit from the publication. It is probable, indeed, that this admired son of genius never realised a single shilling by his writings.

For a brief number of years, Fergusson led the aimless life which we have endeavoured to describe, obtaining the means of a scanty subsistence by a servile and unworthy drudgery, and cheering his leisure moments with mingled intellectual exertion and convivial dissipation. To many persons he was recommended by his fascinating conversation, his modesty, and his gentle and affectionate character. Of these, however, with but one exception, there were none who either felt called upon or had it in their power, to advance his worldly fortunes. That exception was a Mr Burnet, who, becoming much attached to the poet at Edinburgh, was afterwards enabled to send him a draught for a hundred pounds from India, with an invitation to come thither, in order to experience still more solid and lasting proofs of his friendship. Even of this single ray of kindness from his fellow men, the poor poet was destined to reap no advantage, being dead before the money and the invitation arrived. The unhappy youth continued, so long as his mind was sensible of any thing, to feel that, with powers which elevated him above most of his fellows, and were likely to make him be remembered when all of them were forgotten, he yet ate every day a bitterer and a scantier meal, and moiled on and on in hopeless poverty, at once the instrument and the victim of their pleasures.

Early in the year 1774, when his frame was peculiarly exposed by the effects of a certain medicine to cold, he was induced to accompany some gentlemen, who were interested in an election business, to one of the eastern counties of Scotland. It is no uncommon thing for cold, contracted under such circum-



stances, to produce mental derangement; and such was the melancholy destiny of Fergusson! Being involved in the riotous scenes of the election, he easily caught the baneful distemper, the effects of which were quite as much mental as physical. While in this disordered state, he happened one day to wander into the church-yard, where he was soon after accosted by the venerable John Brown, author of many well known works in divinity, and who exercised the humble but respectable functions of a dissenting clergyman in this town. After a few trivial remarks had passed between them, Mr Brown was led by the nature of the scene to advert to the mortality of man, observing that, in a short time, they would soon be laid in the dust, and that therefore it was wise to prepare for eternity. To Mr Brown, the conversation seemed the most casual and unimportant that could well be. But such were not its effects. In the present state of the poet's mind, his early religious impressions were fast reviving, and, while the penalties of folly wrung his nerves, his thoughts wandered back over his mispent and unprosperous life. Upon a mind so prepared, the accidental remarks of the divine (who did not even know who he was) sunk as deep as if they had been imprinted in characters of fire. He returned home, an altered and despairing man.

One of his intimate friends, who met him in March, 1774, a short time after this event, found him somewhat tranquillized, but still in a very precarious state. The poor bard gave an account of the excesses which had lately produced such dreadful effects, and spoke with terror of what would be unavoidable in the event of a relapse—confinement in the common asylum for insane persons. He also introduced the subject of religion, and conversed with much earnestness on some of its fundamental doctrines. "Upon a particular occasion, which he specified, he said, a Mr Ferrier, at, or near St Andrews, had alarmed and rather displeased him, by maintaining, what are usually denominated the orthodox tenets of our Scottish creeds: and Fergusson appeared to differ, in a very considerable degree, from the commonly received notions on these subjects. He did not seem to be satisfied of the necessity of the fall of man, and of a mediatorial sacrifice for human iniquity; and he questioned, with considerable boldness, the consistency of such doctrines with the attributes of divine wisdom and goodness. At the same time, however, he confessed the imperfect nature of the human intellect, and the unfathomable depth of all such inquiries. This is the only gleam of infidelity which ever seems to have diminished the fearful gloom of superstitious terror: no consoling rays of genuine religion charmed his bosom; no sounds of peace gladdened his heart, and enabled him to sustain, with fortitude and calmness, the sorrows which oppressed him. He anticipated 'the last peal of the thunder of heaven,' as the voice of eternal vengeance speaking in wrath, and consigning him to irremediable perdition."<sup>1</sup>

After having partially recovered from his disorder, his mind is said to have received another shock from the following incident:—

"In the room adjoining to that in which he slept, was a starling, which being seized one night by a cat that had found its way down the chimney, awakened Mr Fergusson by the most alarming screams. Having learned the cause of the alarm, he began seriously to reflect how often he, an accountable and immortal being, had in the hour of intemperance, set death at defiance, though it was thus terrible, in reality, to an unaccountable and sinless creature. This brought to his recollection, the conversation of the clergyman, which, aided by the solemnity of midnight, wrought his mind up to a pitch of remorse that almost bordered on frantic despair. Sleep now forsook his eyelids; and he rose in the morning, not as he had formerly done, to mix again with the social and the gay,

<sup>1</sup> Peterkin's Life of Fergusson, prefixed to London edition of his poems, 1807.

but to be a recluse from society, and to allow the remembrance of his past follies to prey upon his vitals. All his vivacity now forsook him; those lips which were formed to give delight, were closed as by the hand of death, and on his countenance sat horror plumed!<sup>1</sup>

It is probably to this period that we are to refer two anecdotes, which have been related as giving the first proofs of a decided craze in his understanding. Mr Tennant, in an article which has been already quoted, says:—"It is difficult, even in sane persons, to determine where wit ends, and temporary reeling of the imagination begins; and, in the case of Fergusson, whose conceptions were ever so vivid, and whose wit was so fantastical and irregular, it was difficult for his friends to discriminate between his wit and his madness—to set a boundary line between those of his days that were but frolicsome and funny, and those that were desperately and invariably delirious. The first occurrence that startled his comrades, and put them in alarm for the safety of his understanding, took place one day in the High Street of Edinburgh, when Mr B——, one of his friends, (who, I believe, is still alive,) was standing engaged in conversation with a knot of acquaintances. Fergusson came running up, apparently in a state of high perturbation; and, accosting them familiarly, as he was wont, acquainted them, that, confused and perturbed as he was, it was a marvel that they saw him alive that day at all. On questioning him, with a desire that he should explain himself, he informed them, that on the night before he had met with some Irish students in the street, with whom he had an altercation that led to a quarrel; that they scuffled and buffeted each other furiously; that the combat deepened to deadly ferocity, when one of them, the bloodiest homicide of the troop, at last drew out a cutlass, with which he smote off his head at one blow; that his head ran down the strand trembling and streaming blood for many paces; that, had it not been for his presence of mind, he must infallibly have been a dead man; but that, running instantly after the head, decapitated as he was, he snatched it up, and replaced it so nicely on its former position, that the parts coalesced, and no man could discover any vestiges of decapitation. This story was told with such wild looks and extravagant gesticulation, as impressed the hearers with the suspicion that his mind had shifted from its wonted 'form and pressure;' a suspicion that was afterwards fully confirmed by other more decided and unfortunate indications."

The other anecdote, which indicates a more advanced stage of insanity, is as follows:—Mr Woods, of the theatre royal, one day met him at the bottom of St Anne Street, under the North Bridge, (a street which does not now exist,) and found him in a very disordered state. "I have just," said Fergusson, in a confidential tone, "made a most important discovery." On Mr Woods' inquiring what it was, he answered, "I have found out one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and in order to bring him to proper punishment, I am going to lodge an information against him with Lord Kames." He then walked off towards the residence of that distinguished philosopher and judge.

Even from this second shock, his reason was beginning to recover, when all was thrown into ten-fold disorder by a fall which he met with, one evening in descending a stair. Having cut his head severely, he lost a great deal of blood, and was carried home to his mother's house in a state of delirium, and totally insensible of his deplorable condition. His reason seemed to be now in a great measure destroyed. He passed nights and days in total abstinence from food, sometimes muttering dolefully to himself, and at other times so outrageous that it required the strength of several men to keep him in his bed. Occasionally, he sang his favourite melodies, but in a style of pathos and tenderness such

<sup>1</sup> Life by Mr Inverarity, in Gleig's Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

as he had never before reached. In particular, he chaunted "the Birks of Invermay," with such exquisite melody, that those who heard his notes could never forget the sound. While in this state, probably anticipating that miserable catastrophe which soon after happened, he burned all his manuscripts, remarking, when the task was done, "I am satisfied—I feel some consolation in never having written any thing against religion." Like Collins, he now used but one book, but he probably felt, with that unfortunate bard, "that it was the best." It is needless to mention, that this sole companion of his moody hours was the bible.

The circumstances of his widowed mother were not unfortunately of such a kind, as to enable her to keep her son, and procure for him the attendance necessary for his malady, in her own house. She was, therefore, compelled to make arrangements for consigning him to a very wretched public asylum, which, before the erection of an elegant building at Morningside, was the only place in connexion with the Scottish capital, where such accommodations could be obtained. This house was situated within a gloomy nook of the old city wall, with another large building closing it up in front, as if it had been thought necessary to select for the insane, a scene as sombre and wretched as their own mental condition. To this horrid mansion it was found necessary to convey Ferguson by a kind of stratagem, for he was too well aware of what was contemplated, and too much alive to the horrors of the place, to have either gone willingly himself, or to have been conveyed thither without some indecent exposure. Two friends, therefore, were instructed to pay him a visit about night-fall, as if for the purpose of inquiring after his welfare. He met them with easy confidence, and after some conversation, in which he took part like a sane man, they proposed that he should accompany them on a visit to a friend at another part of the town. To this he cheerfully consented, and was accordingly placed in a sedan which they had in readiness at the bottom of the stair. The unhappy youth then permitted himself to be conveyed peaceably along the streets, till he arrived at the place which he had all along feared would be his final abode. The chair was conveyed into the hall, and, it was only when Ferguson stepped out, that he perceived the deception which had been practised upon him. One wild halloo—the heart-burst of despair—broke from him, and was immediately echoed from the tenants of the surrounding cells. Thrilled with horror, his friends departed, and left the wretched Ferguson to his fate.

"During the first night of his confinement," says Mr Sommers, "he slept none; and when the keeper visited him in the morning, he found him walking along the stone floor of his cell, with his arms folded, and in sullen sadness, uttering not a word. After some minutes' silence, he clapped his right hand on his forehead, and complained much of pain. He asked the keeper, who brought him there? He answered, 'friends.'—'Yes, friends, indeed,' replied Robert, 'they think I am too wicked to live, but you will soon see me *a burning and a shining light.*'—'You have been so already,' observed the keeper, alluding to his poems. 'You mistake me,' said the poet: 'I mean, you shall see and hear of me as a bright minister of the gospel.'"

Ferguson continued about two months to occupy a cell in this gloomy mansion. Occasionally, when the comparative tranquillity of his mind permitted it, his friends were allowed to visit him. A few days before his dissolution, his mother and sister found him lying on his straw bed, calm and collected. The evening was chill and damp: he requested his mother to gather the bed-clothes about him, and sit on his feet, for he said, they were so very cold, as to be almost insensible to the touch. She did so, and his sister took her seat by the bed-side. He then looked wistfully in the face of his affectionate parent, and said, "Oh, mother, this is kind, indeed." Then addressing his sister, he said, "might you



not come frequently, and sit beside me ; you cannot imagine how comfortable it would be ; you might fetch your seam, and sew beside me." To this, no answer was returned : an interval of silence was filled up by sobs and tears. " What ails ye ?" inquired the dying poet ; " wherefore sorrow for me, sirs ? I am very well cared for here—I do assure you, I want for nothing—but it is cold—it is very cold. You know, I told you, it would come to this at last—yes, I told you so. Oh, do not go yet, mother—I hope to be soon—oh, do not go yet—do not leave me !" The keeper, however, whispered that it was time to depart, and this was the last time that Fergusson saw these beloved relatives.

Mr Sommers thus describes his last interview with the poet, which took place in company with Dr John Aitken, another friend of the unfortunate maniac. " We got immediate access to the cell, and found Robert lying with his clothes on, stretched upon a bed of loose uncovered straw. The moment he heard my voice, he arose, got me in his arms, and wept. The doctor felt his pulse, and declared it to be favourable. I asked the keeper to allow him to accompany us into an adjoining back-court, by way of taking the air. He consented. Robert took hold of me by the arm, placing me on his right, and the doctor on his left, and in this form we walked backward and forward along the court, conversing for nearly an hour ; in the course of which, many questions were asked both by the doctor and myself, to which he returned most satisfactory answers ; but he seemed very anxious to obtain his liberty. Having passed two hours with him on this visit, we found it necessary to take our leave, the doctor assuring him that he would soon be restored to his friends, and that I would visit him again in a day or two. He calmly and without a murmur walked with us to the cell ; and, upon parting, reminded the doctor of his promise to get him soon at liberty, and of mine to see him next day. Neither of us, however, had an opportunity of accomplishing our promise ; for in a few days thereafter I received an intimation from the keeper that Robert Fergusson had breathed his last."

Before this period, Mrs Fergusson had been enabled by a remittance from her son Henry, to make some preparations for receiving the poor maniac back into her own house, where superior accommodations, and the tenderness of a mother's and a sister's love, might have been expected to produce some favourable effect. But it came too late : misery had already secured her victim. " In the solitude of his cell," says Mr Peterkin, " amid the terrors of the night, ' without a hand to help or an eye to pity,' the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw ; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace ; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with those of contrition and hope, which, in charity, I trust, illumined his closing eye."

Robert Fergusson died on the 16th of October, 1774, aged one day less than twenty-four years. His body was interred in the Canongate church-yard, where his grave remained quite undistinguished, until his successor, and (as he was pleased to acknowledge), his imitator, Robert Burns, appeared in Edinburgh. When Burns came to the grave of Fergusson, he uncovered his head, and, with his characteristic enthusiasm, kneeling down, embraced the venerated clay. He afterwards obtained permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to Fergusson, which he inscribed with the following stanza :—

No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,  
 " No storied urn, nor animated bust ;"  
 This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way,  
 To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust.

On the reverse of the monument, which is literally a "simple stone," is the following honourable inscription: "By special grant of the managers, to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of Robert Fergusson." In more than one of his effusions, in prose and poetry, the Ayrshire poet has bewailed the fate of Fergusson; but perhaps the following little elegy, which he inscribed on a copy of the works of that poet, which he presented to a young lady (March 19, 1787), are less generally known than the rest:

Curse on ungrateful man that can be pleased,  
 And yet can starve the author of his pleasure!  
 Oh thou, my elder brother in misfortune,  
 By far my elder brother in the muses,  
 With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!  
 Why is the bard unfitted for the world,  
 Yet has so keen a relish of its pleasures?

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of this stanza, its feeling has an irresistible appeal.

The external appearance of Fergusson, so far as it is left undelineated in the sketch already quoted, was as follows:<sup>3</sup> His countenance was somewhat effeminate, but redeemed by the animation imparted to it by his large black eyes. Mingled with the penetrative glance of an acute and active mind, was that modesty which gives to superior intellect its greatest charm. Unfortunately there is no authentic portrait in existence, though it may be worth while to mention that his grand-niece, the late Miss Inverarity, the actress, bore so strong a resemblance to him, as to have struck the mind of an individual who remembered the appearance of Fergusson, and who had learned neither the name of the young lady nor her relation to the poet. Fergusson's manners were always accommodated to the moment: he was gay, serious, set the table in a roar, charmed with his powers of song, or bore with becoming dignity his part in learned or philosophical disquisition. "In short he had united in him," says Mr Alexander Campbell, "the sprightliness and innocence of a child, with the knowledge of a profound and judicious thinker."—"Gentleness and humanity of disposition," says Dr Irving, "he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently led him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance fully demonstrates his value as a friend." It may be added, that, to this day, there prevails but one universal impression in favour of Fergusson. Cut off in the greenest of his days, he still lives in the feeling of the world, exactly what he really was in life, a gentle and youthful being; of whom no one could think any ill, and who was the friend and brother of every body.

FINLAYSON, JAMES, D.D. F.R.S.E., professor of logic and metaphysics in the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the high church of that city, was born on the 15th of February, 1758, at Nether Cambusie, in the parish of Dumblane, a small farm which his ancestors had occupied for several centuries. His parents, who were persons of much worth and in comfortable circumstances, had the satisfaction of witnessing the eminence to which their son arrived, and of having their old age cheered by his dutiful attentions; but they had likewise the misfortune to survive his death, which took place at a comparatively early age. Having passed some years of his early childhood under

<sup>3</sup> According to another individual who recollects seeing him, "he was very *smallly* and delicate, a little in-kneed, and *wagled* a good deal in walking."

the care of a maternal uncle at Lecropt, young Finlayson was sent to school at Kinbuck, in the neighbourhood of his father's house; and at the age of ten was removed to that of Dumblane. At this early period, he was conspicuous among his playmates, not only for a gayety and energy of character, which placed him at the head of every plan of frolic or amusement, but at the same time for an uncommon degree of application to his juvenile studies, combined with an understanding naturally clear, and a memory so retentive, as to enable him to outstrip the greater number of his school-fellows. As it had been resolved, that he should devote himself to the clerical profession, he was sent at the early age of fourteen, to the university of Glasgow, where he commenced his preparatory course of study; there, his habits of industry were confirmed, his mind enlarged and invigorated, and his taste for literature and science acquired, under the instruction of the very eminent professors who then adorned that seminary.

In order to relieve his parents of the expense which necessarily attended his residence at college, he engaged in private teaching; and during the summer vacation, he employed himself in giving instruction to his younger brothers. During two years, he acted as tutor in the family of Mrs Campbell of Carie, and afterwards, with the intervention of a summer, which he devoted to private study, he was employed in the same capacity in the family of Mr Cooper of Glasgow. Professor Anderson, who had discovered his superior abilities and great steadiness, employed him for some time as his amanuensis; and in the year 1782, he had the good fortune to become domestic tutor to two sons of Sir William Murray of Ochertyre.<sup>1</sup>

There were many circumstances which rendered this connexion desirable to Mr Finlayson. The greater number of young men who engage as tutors in Scotland, look forward to a pastoral charge as the ultimate object of their ambition. The interest of the Ochertyre family was amply sufficient to accomplish that object. Sir William was a man of general information, of a liberal turn of mind, who derived much pleasure from the conversation of an ingenious and intelligent companion; and few persons were more suited to his taste than Mr Finlayson, whose manners were modest and unassuming, and whose knowledge was accurate and extensive. Possessed of great natural acuteness and originality, his conversation was highly instructive, and rendered him a valuable addition in the retirement of a country residence. As the family spent the winter in Edinburgh, when his pupils attended the high school, Mr Finlayson, had many opportunities of improvement. At the same time that he assisted them in their tasks, he resumed his own studies with renewed vigour; he attended the divinity hall, and other of the university classes. About this time also, he became a member of the theological society, a body still in existence. Although he took an active part in the discussions which were introduced, and although the extent of his knowledge and the philosophical precision of his language placed him far above the majority of his companions; yet it cannot be denied that Mr Finlayson's talents were by no means such as fitted him either to shine as an orator, or make a figure in extemporaneous debate.

Mr Finlayson was licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1785. We have the authority of an intimate friend for the style which characterized his earliest appearances in the pulpit. "The composition of his sermons gives evidence of the maturity and manliness of his understanding. They exhibited no juvenile splendour of language, no straining for original or unexpected remark; ambi-

<sup>1</sup> The eldest son, Sir Patrick, one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland, and the younger Sir George, well known as a quarter-master-general of the army under the duke of Wellington, afterwards secretary of state for the colonies, and member of parliament for Perthshire.



tion of refined, or recondite ingenuity. The subjects were judiciously chosen, and the most instructive and intelligent treatment of them preferred. His reasoning was cogent and correct; his illustrations rational and just; and his style, which neither courted nor rejected ornament, was classically pure, and appropriate. His manner was still less florid than his duties. He carried to the pulpit the same unpretending simplicity, with which he appeared in society; and from his care to avoid affectation and all rhetorical attempts of doubtful success, he might, to the undiscerning have some appearance of coldness; but by those who felt such an interest in the matter, as was due to its excellence, no defect of energy or animation in the manner was observable. If it had no artificial decoration, it had no offensive meanness. As a preacher, Dr Finlayson was nearly what Cowper describes in the following lines:—

“ Simple, grave, sincere,  
In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain:  
And plain in manner. Decent, solemn, chaste,  
And natural in gesture.”

During the course of the year in which he obtained his license, the duke of Athole offered Mr Finlayson the living of Dunkeld. Of this offer he would have been exceedingly glad to accept, had he not received information from Sir William Murray, that a plan was in agitation to procure for him the chair of logic in the university of Edinburgh. This unlooked for prospect gave an entirely different direction to his ambition; and he was induced to decline the duke's offer.

The negotiation, however, respecting the professorship, did not proceed so smoothly as was anticipated. Mr Bruce, who at that time held the chair, had accompanied the present lord Melville as travelling companion in his tour on the continent, and having gone off without giving in his resignation, or making final arrangements, many difficulties arose, which occupied more than a year before they were completely settled, and Mr Finlayson put in possession of the chair. In the meanwhile, Sir William Murray, by his influence with the family of Dundas of Arniston, obtained for him the living of Borthwick, which, while it was in such a near neighbourhoood to Edinburgh as to admit of his holding both it and the professorship, secured him in the meantime an independence in the event of the failure of the negotiation for the chair. Mr Finlayson was ordained minister of Borthwick on the 6th of April, 1787. He had, however, at the commencement of the session of that year assumed the duties of the logic class, and it may therefore be easily believed, that the labour he had to undergo in preparing for his ordination, and at the same time being obliged to write his lecture for the following day's delivery, required a very extraordinary degree of application, and great vigour of intellect; and the accuracy of his knowledge is rendered more remarkable from the fact, that many of the lectures thus hurriedly written off, served him without transcription to the end of his life.

During the succeeding summer, he added to his other labours a course of parochial visitation, which, although very common in Scotland, had in his parish been discontinued for upwards of thirty years. This practice he commenced at the suggestion of Dr Robertson, whose due appreciation of the duties of a clergyman was no less remarkable than his splendid abilities. But although he felt the faithful discharge of parochial duties to be strongly incumbent on him, the labour which he had thus to undergo was too great for his constitution, and his parents used to refer to the toils of this period of his life, as having sown the seeds of those organic diseases which ultimately proved fatal.

Abilities such as Mr Finlayson possessed, could not long remain unacknow-

ledged. The stations which he occupied, his own qualifications, and the connexion which he had formed with the Arniston family, more particularly with the late lord Melville, opened up objects of ambition which were afterwards completely realized. His talents for business had been observed and justly appreciated by lord Melville; and it was therefore determined, that on the first vacancy, he should be removed to Edinburgh, where his practical talents would be of essential service in supporting that system of ecclesiastical polity which his lordship had long maintained, and which had for many years directed the measures of the general assembly. Accordingly, in 1790, he was presented by the magistrates of Edinburgh to lady Yester's church: on the death of Dr Robertson in 1793, he was appointed to succeed that distinguished man in the collegiate church of the old Grey-Friars; and on a vacancy taking place in the high church, in the year 1799, he was removed to that collegiate charge. This last was considered the most honourable appointment in the church of Scotland, and it was, at the time, rendered more desirable from the circumstance, that he had for his colleague the celebrated Dr Hugh Blair; whose funeral sermon, however, he was called upon to preach in little more than a year after he became his colleague. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him the honour of doctor of divinity: and in the year 1802, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly, being the highest mark of respect which his brethren of the church could confer on him.

Dr Finlayson had now obtained every honourable preferment which, as a clergyman of the church of Scotland, was attainable in the line of his profession. His influence in the church was now greatly extended, and nothing of any importance was transacted in the ecclesiastical courts without his advice and direction. Among his own party, his sway was unlimited; and even those who differed from him in church politics, freely acknowledged the honourable and straight forward honesty of his conduct. The means by which he raised himself to be the leader of his party were very different from those used by any of his predecessors, who had all been distinguished for the brilliancy of their oratorical powers. Dr Finlayson, well aware of the nature of his talents, established his ascendancy on the wisdom of his councils, and his knowledge of the laws and constitution of the church.

Towards the beginning of 1805, Dr Finlayson's constitution evidently became impaired. In order to try the effects of country air, he spent the greater part of the autumn of that year with his brother; but without deriving any permanent benefit. His health, however, was so far restored, that he was enabled to perform the duties of his class during the following winter; but in the course of the year 1807, he became considerably worse; yet the good effects of a tour which he took, accompanied by some of his friends, led him to hope that he might be able to undergo the fatigue of the following session; and, accordingly, he not only opened his class, but continued for some time to deliver his lectures. At length he was constrained to accept of the assistance of one of his earliest friends, his respected colleague, the very Rev. Principal Baird, who taught the class during the remainder of that session. Dr Finlayson's disease increased with much rapidity, and on the 25th of January, 1808, while conversing with principal Baird, he was seized with a paralytic affection, which deprived him of the faculty of speech, and the power of moving one side. Among the few words he was able to articulate was the following impressive sentence:—"I am about to pass to a better habitation, where all who believe in Jesus shall enter." He died on the 28th of January, 1808, in the fiftieth year of his age; and was interred in the cathedral church of Dumblane.

Dr Finlayson was rather below the middle size. His appearance indicated

nothing which was calculated to impress a stranger when first introduced to him. His manner, to those who did not know him, appeared formal, and even distant and shy, but was in truth simple and unassuming; characteristics which strongly marked his mind. With a just confidence in himself which he never affected to disguise, he was without that vanity which makes pretensions to those qualifications which he did not possess. His feelings were naturally keen; and he made no attempt to soften his reprehension of any conduct which was equivocal or base. His perfect sincerity and unconsciousness of any hostile impression which required to be concealed, gave his deportment towards his political opponents an appearance of bluntness. When his friends applied to him for advice, as they uniformly did in every difficulty, if he thought that they had acted amiss, he told them so with explicitness and brevity; for he avowed the utmost contempt of that squeamish sensibility which requires to be "swaddled and dandled" into a sense of duty. Such, however, was the persuasion of the excellence of his counsel, and the purity of his intentions, that, notwithstanding this primitive plainness of manner, even his political opponents, in points of business unconnected with party, are said to have been occasionally guided by his judgment. In conversation he preserved the same artless sincerity; and was perhaps too strict a reasoner to be very lively or amusing as the companion of a relaxing hour. But although little qualified himself to shine in lively conversation, he was pleased with it in others; and often, where he was on intimate habits, he led the way for the display of the talents of his friends, by provoking a harmless and inoffensive raillery. In the more serious offices of friendship, he was unwearied; for his kindness as well as his advice, his purse as well as his personal exertions, were ever at the command of those whom he esteemed.

Of his manner in the pulpit at his first appearance as a preacher, some account has already been given; and it never underwent any material change. But his sermons partook of that progressive improvement which his mind derived from the daily exercise of his powers, and the extension of his knowledge.

He was cautious of exhibiting himself as an author; his only publications being two occasional sermons, and a short account of Dr Blair. He likewise printed, but did not publish the "Heads of an Argument" on a question depending before the ecclesiastical courts. The last production furnished an excellent specimen of his practical powers in the art which it was his province to teach. He likewise consented, a few hours before his death, that a volume of his sermons should be published, and the profits of the sale given in aid of the widow's fund of the church of Scotland.

As a teacher of logic, he acquitted himself in a manner such as might have been expected from his talents, industry, and integrity; restricting himself to inculcate the knowledge already acquired in the department of philosophy, rather than making any attempts at originality.

FLEMING, ROBERT, an eminent divine and theological writer, was the son of the Rev. Robert Fleming, a clergyman, first at Cambuslang, and afterwards at Rotterdam, and author of a well known work, entitled "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures." The subject of this memoir received his education partly in his native country, and partly in the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He first officiated as a clergyman to the English congregation at Leyden, and afterwards he succeeded to the church at Rotterdam, where his father died in 1694. In the year 1698, he removed to London, to settle as pastor of the Scottish congregation in Lothbury; not only at the earnest invitation of the people, but by the desire of king William, with whom he had formed an intimacy in Holland. This monarch used frequently to send for Fleming, to consult with him upon Scottish affairs; an intercourse conducted, at the desire of the divine, with the greatest secrecy.



Fleming, though a dissenter from the church of Scotland, as now established, was an admirer of her fundamental and original institution. It was not inconsistent with this profession, that he zealously upheld hereditary monarchy as a principle in government. Popery in the church, and tyranny in the state, were what he most detested. In personal character, Fleming was a pious, mild, and affable man. In learning, he stood very high, being conversant not only with the fathers and councils, and the ecclesiastical and civil historians, but with the Oriental languages, the Jewish Rabbis, and the whole circle of polite authors, ancient and modern. On account of his amiable manners and extensive knowledge, he was held in great esteem both by the foreign universities, and by the most learned persons at home. The archbishop of Canterbury, and many other eminent dignitaries of the English church, extended their friendship to him. By the dissenting clergymen of the city, though connected with a different national church, he was chosen one of the preachers of the merchants' Tuesday lecture at Salters' hall. Lord Carmichael, the secretary of state for Scotland, offered him the office of principal of the university of Glasgow, which he declined, from conscientious scruples.

Fleming published various works in divinity; but the most remarkable was a discourse, printed in 1701, on "the Rise and Fall of the Papacy." Like many other sincerely pious men of that age, he was deeply affected by the position in which the protestant religion stood in respect of the papacy, threatened as Great Britain was, by the power of France, and the designs of a catholic claimant of the throne. Proceeding upon the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other data, he made some calculations of a very striking nature, and which were strangely verified. On the subject of the pouring out of the fourth vial, he says:—"There is ground to hope, that, about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better, for I cannot but hope that some new mortification of the chief supporters of antichrist will then happen; and perhaps the French monarchy may begin to be considerably humbled about that time: that, whereas the present French king takes for his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length, or rather his successors, and the monarchy itself, (at least before the year 1794,) be forced to acknowledge, that, in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.

"But as to the expiration of this vial," he continues, "I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this—that I find the pope got a new foundation of exaltation when Justinian, upon his conquest of Italy, left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now, this being in the year 552, this, by the addition of 1260, reaches down to the year 1811; which, according to prophetic account, is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth vial will end and the fifth commence, by a new mortification of the papacy, after this vial has lasted 148 years; which indeed is long in comparison with the former vials; but if it be considered in relation to the fourth, fifth, and sixth trumpets, it is but short, seeing the fourth lasted 190 years, the fifth 302, and the sixth 393."

It is important to observe, that Fleming immediately subjoins, that he gave "his speculations of what is future, no higher character than guesses." He adds: "therefore, in the fourth and last place, we may justly suppose that the French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire and that which is the fuel that maintains it, resting insensibly till towards the end of this century, as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age."

In the month of January, 1793, when Louis XVI. was about to suffer on

the scaffold, the apparent predictions of Fleming came into notice in the British newspapers. Again, in 1848, the attempt to liberate Italy, and the temporary flight of the pope, attracted attention to Fleming's very remarkable calculation as to the time of the pouring out of the fifth vial. "This judgment," says he, "will probably begin about the year 1794, and expire about the year 1848; . . . for I do suppose that, seeing the pope received the title of supreme bishop no sooner than the year 606, he cannot be supposed to have any vial poured out upon his seat immediately (so as to ruin his authority so signally as this judgment must be supposed to do) until the year 1848, which is the date of the 1260 years in prophetic account, when they are reckoned from the year 606."

The anxiety of this worthy man respecting the fate of protestantism and the Hanover succession, at length brought on a disease which obstructed his usefulness, and threatened his life. Though he recovered from it, and lived some years, his feeble constitution finally sank under his grief for the loss of some dear friends, the death of some noble patriots, the divisions amongst protestants, and the confederacy of France and Rome to bind Europe in chains. He died May 24, 1716.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, so much celebrated for his patriotism and political knowledge, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was born in the year 1653. His descent was truly noble, his father being the fifth in a direct line from Sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York, and his mother of the noble race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan, having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, king of Scots. The subject of this memoir had the misfortune to lose his father in early youth; but he was, by that parent, on his death-bed, consigned to the care of Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Salton, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who carefully instructed him in literature and religion, as well as in the principles of free government, of which Fletcher became afterwards such an eminent advocate. After completing his course of education under his excellent preceptor, he went upon his travels, and spent several years in surveying the manners and examining the institutions of the principal continental states. His first appearance as a public character was in the parliament held by James, duke of York, as royal commissioner, in the year 1681. In this parliament Fletcher sat as commissioner for the shire of East Lothian, and manifested the most determined opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the court. In a short time he found it necessary to withdraw himself, first into England, to consult with his reverend preceptor, Dr Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, to Holland. For his opposition to the test, and to the general spirit of the government, he was, not long after, summoned to appear before the lords of his majesty's privy council at Edinburgh. Of the spirit of this court, the most abominable that has disgraced the annals of Great Britain, Fletcher was too well aware to put himself in its power, and for his non-appearance he was outlawed and his estate confiscated. Holland was at this time the resort of many of the best men of both kingdoms, who had been obliged to expatriate themselves, to escape the fury of an infatuated government, and with these Fletcher formed the closest intimacy. In the year 1683, he accompanied Baillie of Jerviswood to England, in order to concert measures with the friends of liberty there, and was admitted into the secrets of lord Russell's council of six. This assembly consisted of the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson to the immortal patriot of that name. Tyranny was, how-

ever, at this time, triumphant. Monmouth was obliged to abscond; Russell was apprehended, tried, and executed, principally through the evidence of his associate lord Howard, who was an unprincipled wretch. Essex was imprisoned, and either cut his own throat, or had it cut by assassins,—history has never determined which. Sydney was executed, and Howard subjected to a fine of forty thousand pounds sterling. Many other persons of inferior note were executed for this plot. Jerviswood fell into the hands of the Scottish administration, and was most illegally and iniquitously put to death. Fletcher too was eagerly sought after, and, had he been apprehended, would certainly have shared the same fate. He, however, escaped again to the continent, where he devoted his time to the study of public law, and for sometime seems to have had little correspondence with his native country.

In the beginning of the year 1685, when James VII. acceded to the throne of Britain, Fletcher came to the Hague, where were assembled Monmouth, Argyle, Melville, Polworth, Torwoodlie, Mr James Stuart, lord Stair, and many other gentlemen, both Scottish and English, when the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth were concerted. It does not appear, however, that Fletcher was a leader among these gentlemen. His temper was of the most stern and unaccommodating character, and he was bent upon setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as to bear very little resemblance to a kingdom. He had drunk deep of the spirit of ancient Greece, with which the greater part of his associates, patriots though they were, had no great acquaintance, and he had a consciousness of his own superiority that could not go well down with those feudal chieftains, who supposed that their birth alone entitled them to precedency in council, as well as to command in the field. His own country was certainly dearer to him than any other, and in it he was likely to put forth his energies with the greatest effect; yet from his dissatisfaction with their plans of operation, he did not embark with his countrymen, but with the duke of Monmouth, in whom, if successful, he expected less obstruction to his republican views. Fletcher was certainly at the outset warmly attached to Monmouth's scheme of landing in England, though he subsequently wished it to be laid aside; and he afterwards told Burnet, that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, but that he was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was piqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. He accordingly landed at Lynn, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with about an hundred followers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one of the most distinguished. Crowds of people soon flocked to join the standard of Monmouth, and, had he been qualified for such affairs as that he had now undertaken, the revolution of 1688 might perhaps have been anticipated. He, however, possessed no such qualifications, nor did those on whom he had principally depended. Lord Gray, to whom he had given the command of the horse, was sent out with a small party to disperse a detachment of militia that had been assembled to oppose him. The militia retreated before the troops of Monmouth, who stood firm; but Gray, their general, fled, carrying back to his camp the news of a defeat, which was in a short time contradicted by the return of the troops in good order. Monmouth had intended to join Fletcher along with Gray in the command of his cavalry, and the Scottish patriot certainly would not have fled, so long as one man stood by him; but unfortunately, at the very time when Gray was out on the service in which he so completely disgraced his character, Fletcher was sent out in another direction, in which he was scarcely less unfortunate, having, in a personal quarrel about a horse which he had too hastily laid hold of for his own use, killed the mayor of



Lynn, who had newly come in to join the insurgent army, in consequence of which he was under the necessity of leaving the camp immediately. The melancholy fate of Monmouth is generally known.

Though there cannot be a doubt that the shooting of the mayor of Lynn was the real cause of Fletcher's abandoning the enterprise so early, he himself never admitted it. He had joined, he said, the duke of Monmouth on the footing of his manifestations, which promised to provide for the permanent security of civil liberty and the protestant religion, by the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, in which no claim to the throne was to be admitted, but with the free choice of the representatives of the people. From the proclaiming of Monmouth king, which was done at Taunton, he saw, he said, that he had been deceived, and resolved to proceed no further, every step from that moment being treason against the just rights of the nation, and deep treachery on the part of Monmouth. At any rate, finding that he could be no longer useful, he left Taunton, and embarked aboard a vessel for Spain, where he no sooner arrived, than he was thrown into prison, and on the application of the British ambassador, was ordered to be delivered up and transmitted to London in a Spanish ship fitted up for that purpose. In this hopeless situation, looking one morning through the bars of his dungeon, he was accosted by a person, who made signs that he wished to speak with him. Looking around him, Fletcher perceived an open door, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three different military guards, all of whom seemed to be fast asleep, and without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, made good his escape, with the assistance of one who evidently had been sent for the express purpose, but of whom he never obtained the smallest information. Travelling in disguise, he proceeded through Spain, and considering himself out of danger, made a leisurely pilgrimage through the country, amusing himself in the libraries of the convents, where he had the good fortune to find many rare and curious books, some of which he was enabled to purchase and bring along with him, to the enriching of the excellent library he had already formed at his seat of Salton, in East Lothian. In the course of his peregrinations, he made several very narrow escapes, among which the following is remarkable, as having apparently furnished the hint for a similar incident in a well-known fiction. He was proceeding to a town where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood, a few miles from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of respectable appearance, to take the left hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival, he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder, which had taken place on the road against which he had been cautioned, and in which he would have certainly been implicated, through an absurd Spanish law, even although not seen to commit any crime. After leaving Spain, he proceeded into Hungary, where he entered as a volunteer into the army, and distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. From this distant scene of activity, however, he was soon recalled by the efforts that at length were making to break the yoke of tyranny and the staff of the oppressor that had so long lain heavy on the kingdom of Britain. Coming to the Hague, he found there his old friends, Stair, Melville, Polworth, Cardross, Stuart of Coltness, Stuart of Goodtrees, Dr Burnet, and Mr Cunningham, who still thought his principles high and extravagant, though they associated with him, and were happy to have the influence of his name and the weight of his talents to aid them on so momentous an occasion. Though not permitted to be a leader in the great work of the revolution, for

which, indeed, both his principles, which were so different from those of the men who effected it, and his intractable and unyielding temper, alike disqualified him, he came home in the train of his countrymen, who, by that great event were restored to their country and to their rightful possessions; and, according to the statement of the earl of Buchan,<sup>1</sup> made a noble appearance in the convention which met in Scotland after the revolution for settling the new government. Lockhart of Carnwath, who was no friend to the new government, nor of the principles upon which it was founded, takes no notice of this portion of the life of Fletcher, though he is large upon his speeches, and indeed every part of his conduct, when he afterwards became a violent oppositio- nist.

In the year 1692, when every effort to bring about a counter revolution was made, Fletcher, though strongly, and perhaps justly, disgusted with king William, renouncing every selfish principle, and anxious only to promote the welfare of the country, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve what had been already attained in the way of a free government, though it came far short of what he wished, and what he fondly, too fondly, hoped the nation had been ripe to bear. In all that regarded the public welfare, he was indeed indefatigable, and that without any appearance of interested motives. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man, William Paterson, to whom the honour of the formation of the bank of England ought, in justice, to be ascribed, and who projected the Darien company, the most splendid idea of colonization that was ever attempted to be put in practice. "Paterson," says Sir John Dalrymple, "on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr Fletcher, of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess, and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably true, that he was the person who persuaded Paterson to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger in it, for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist. Although Fletcher had nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, and though he was of the country party, yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers, as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house of Salton, in east Lothian, was near to that of the marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterson down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the statesman, by arguments of public good, and of the honour that would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronized those abilities in Paterson, which they possessed in themselves, and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the prince of Orange's declaration at the revolution, and whose son was married to a daughter of lord Stair, went naturally along with his connexions." From the above, it appears that Fletcher, next to the projector, Paterson, who was, like himself, an ardent lover of liberty, had the principal hand in forwarding the colonization of Darien, and to his ardent and expansive mind, we have no doubt, that the plan owed some, at least, of its excellencies, and also, perhaps, the greatest of its defects. "From this period," remarks lord Buchan, "till the meeting of the Union Parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend of his

<sup>1</sup> Life of Fletcher of Salton.

country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers, for it is as much of the nature of kings and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry yard, and destroy the poultry. All of them, therefore," continues his lordship, "ought to be *muzzled*." Among other things that Fletcher judged necessary for the preservation of public liberty, was that of national militia. In a discourse upon this subject, he says, "a good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty; but in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right footing, the liberty of that people must perish."

Scotland, ever since the union of crowns, had been stripped of all her importance in a national point of view, and the great object at this time was to exclude English influence from her councils, and to restore her to her original state of independence; a thing which could never be accomplished, so long as the king of Scotland was the king of England. James the sixth, when he succeeded to the English crown, wiser than any of his statesmen, saw this difficulty, and proposed to obviate it by the only possible means, a union of the two kingdoms; but owing to the inveterate prejudices of so many ages, neither of the kingdoms could at that time be brought to submit to the judicious proposal. Fletcher and his compatriots saw what had been the miserable evils, but they saw not the proper remedy; hence, they pursued a plan that, but for the superior wisdom of the English, would have separated the crowns, brought on hostilities, and the entire subjection of the country, by force of arms. In all the measures which had for their object the annihilating of English influence, Fletcher had the principal hand, and there were some of them of singular boldness. In case of the crowns of the two kingdoms continuing to be worn by one person, the following, after pointing out in strong terms the evils that had accrued to Scotland from this unfortunate association, were the limitations proposed by Fletcher:—"1st, That elections shall be made at every Michaelmas head court, for a new parliament every year, to sit the first of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas—that they choose their own president, and that every thing shall be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 2d, That so many lesser barons shall be added to the parliament, as there have been noblemen created since the last augmentation of the number of the barons, and that in all time coming, for every nobleman that shall be created, there shall be a baron added to the parliament. 3d, That no man have a vote in parliament but a nobleman or elected members. 4th, That the kings shall give the sanction to all laws offered by the estates, and that the president of the parliament be empowered by his majesty to give the sanction in his absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day of salary. 5th, That a committee of one-and-thirty members, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen out of their own number by every parliament, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the next parliament, with power, on extraordinary occasions, to call the parliament together, and that, in said council, all things be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 6th, That the king, without consent of parliament, shall not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate. 7th, That all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament. 8th, That no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or war, but by consent of parliament. 9th, That all the fencible men of the nation betwixt sixty and



sixteen, be with all diligence possible armed with bayonets and firelocks all of a calibre, and continue always provided in such arms, with ammunition suitable. 10th, That no general indemnity nor pardon for any transgression against the public shall be valid without consent of parliament. 11th, That the fifteen senators of the college of justice shall be incapable of being members of parliament, or of any other office or pension but the salary that belongs to their place, to be increased as the parliament shall think fit; that the office of president shall be in three of their number to be named by parliament, and that there be no extraordinary lords. And also, that the lords of the justice court shall be distinct from that of the session, and under the same restrictions. 12th, That if any king break in upon any of these conditions of government, he shall, by the estates, be declared to have forfeited the crown." The above limitations did not pass the house, though they met with very general support; yet, something little short of them were really passed, and received the royal assent. The so much applauded Act of Security made many provisions respecting the mode of proceeding in parliament in case of the queen's death, with the conditions under which the successor to the crown of England was to be allowed to succeed to that of Scotland, which were to be, "at least, freedom of navigation, free communication of trade, and liberty of the plantations to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland, established by the parliament of England." It also provided, "that the whole protestant heritors with all the burghs of the kingdom, should forthwith provide themselves with fire-arms, for all the fencible men who were protestants within their respective bounds, and they were further ordained and appointed to exercise the said fencible men once a month, at least." The same parliament passed an act ament peace and war, which provided, among other things, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person, at the same time king or queen of Scotland and England, shall have sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, without consent of parliament. A proposal made at this time for settling the succession, as the English parliament had done in the house of Hanover, was treated with the utmost contempt, some proposing to burn it, and others insisting that the member who proposed it should be sent to the castle, and it was at last thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven voices. Another limitation proposed by Fletcher, was, that all places, offices, and pensions, which had been formerly given by our king, should, after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred only by parliament so long as the crowns remained united. "Without this limitation," he continues, "our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase, and the question we have now before us, is, whether we will be free-men, or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to defend or break the yoke of our independence? and whether we will choose to live poor and miserable; or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince; for the same condition of government is found in one of the most absolute monarchies of the world, China." Quoting the authority of Sir William Temple for this fact, he continues, "and if, under the greatest absolute monarchy of the world, in a country where the prince actually resides—if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to people who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any, in their present circumstances, without this limitation." We cannot refrain copying the following sentences on the benefits he anticipated from the measure:—"This limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter

us with the hopes of riches, by an uncertain project—does not require so much as the condition of our own industry; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to establish some useful manufacture at home with the highest probability of success: because, our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils, and our trade be entirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not attain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes and ways of living of a rich and luxurious nation; we lay out, yearly, great sums in furniture and equipage to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry; but at court, what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners, and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate? This limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England, and, indeed, one would not wonder, if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country; it is yet less strange, that English ministers should advise and procure the advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders, and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scottish interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament men and others. I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs; but I hope, they likewise show us that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scottish interest, or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scottish affairs, nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before still continue, what will any other limitation avail us? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace, since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war, and neglected in every peace? By this limitation, our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his country, when his country shall have all the bribes in her own hands, offices, places, and pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the customs, that parliament men may be made collectors; we will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them; and our parliament, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts, for we shall have no evil counsellor nor enemy of his country to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people; a general unanimity will be found in this house, in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country party shall no more be heard in this nation, nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will

be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men, by which means, virtue will be recompensed, and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice. I should never make an end if I should prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation, which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned every thing, and brought all to ruin."

If Fletcher really believed the one half of what he ascribes in this speech to his favourite limitation, he was an enthusiast of no common order. We suspect, however, that his design was in the first place to render the king insignificant, and then to dismiss him altogether; it being one of his favourite maxims, that the trappings of a monarchy and a great aristocracy would patch up a very clever little commonwealth. The high-flying tories of that day, however, or in other words, the jacobites, in the heat of their rage and the bitterness of their disappointment, clung to him as their last hope of supporting even his most deadly attacks upon the royal prerogative, from the desperate pleasure of seeing the kingly office, since they could not preserve it for their own idol, rendered useless, ridiculous, or intolerable to any one else who should enjoy it. By this means, there was a seeming consistency in those ebullitions of national independence, and a strength and vigour which they really did not possess, but which alarmed the English ministry; and the union of the kingdoms, which good sense and good feeling ought to have accomplished, at least one century earlier, was effected, at last, as a work of political necessity, fully as much as of mercy. In every stage of this important business, Fletcher was its most determined opponent, in which he was, as usual, seconded by the whole strength of the jacobites. Happily, however, through the prudence of the English ministry, the richness of her treasury, and the imbecility of the duke of Hamilton, the leader of the jacobites, he was unsuccessful, and retired from public life, under the melancholy idea that he had outlived, not only his country's glory, but her very existence, having witnessed, as he thought, the last glimmering of hope, and heard the last sounds of freedom that were ever to make glad the hearts of her unfortunate children. He died at London in 1716.

The character of Fletcher has been the subject of almost universal and unlimited panegyric. "He was," says the earl of Buchan, "by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical oratory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain." Lockhart says, "he was always an admirer of both ancient and modern republics, but that he showed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour and interest of his country. The idea of England's domineering over Scotland was what his generous soul could not endure. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under galled him to the heart, so that, in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentlemen, and was so steadfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage,—not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that in all his life, he never once pursued a measure with the least prospect of any thing by end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and had some experience of the art of war, having been some time a



volunteer in both the land and sea service. He was in his private conversation affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country,) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so exceedingly wedded to his own opinions, that there were few, (and these too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion,) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, which was frequently very singular, that he'd break with his party before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points: and thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, though in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was no doubt an enemy to all monarchical governments; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, that in revenge to them he'd have sided with the royal family. But as that was a subject not fit to be entered on with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendoes I have heard him make. So far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high flying Tories more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour and integrity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman; and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."—Of the general truth of these descriptions we have no doubt; but they are strongly coloured through a national prejudice that was a principal defect in Fletcher's own character. That he was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country, his whole life bore witness; but he was of a temper so fiery and ungovernable, and besides so excessively dogmatic, that he was of little service as a coadjutor in carrying on public affairs. His shooting the mayor of Lynn on a trifling dispute, and his collaring lord Stair in the parliament house, for a word which he thought reflected upon him, showed a mind not sufficiently disciplined for the business of life; and his national partialities clouded his otherwise perspicacious faculties, contracted his views, and rendered his most philosophical speculations, and his most ardent personal exertions of little utility. Upon the whole, he was a man, we think, rather to be admired than imitated; and, like many other popular characters, owes his reputation to the defects, rather than to the excellencies of his character.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, a distinguished judge, under the designation of lord Milton, and for many years *sous ministre* of Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle, was a nephew of the subject of the preceding memoir. His father, Henry Fletcher of Salton, was the immediate younger brother of the patriot, but, distinguished by none of the public spirit of that individual, was only known as a good country gentleman. The genius of lord Milton appeared to have been derived from his mother, who was a daughter of Sir David Carnegie of Pitarrow, and grand-daughter of David earl of Southesk. During the troubles in which the family was involved, in consequence of their liberal principles, this lady went to Holland, taking with her a weaver and a mill-wright, both men of genius and enterprise in their respective departments, and by their means she secretly obtained the art of weaving and dressing the fine linen called *Holland*, of which she established the manufacture at Salton. Andrew, the son of this extraordinary woman, was born in 1692, and educated for the bar. He was

admitted advocate in 1717, one of the lords of session in 1724, when only thirty-two years of age, and lord justice clerk, or president of the criminal court, in 1735, which office, on being appointed keeper of the signet in 1748, he relinquished.

The acuteness of lord Milton's understanding, his judgment and address, and his intimate knowledge of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, recommended him early to the notice and confidence of lord Ilay, afterwards duke of Argyle, who, under Sir Robert Walpole, and subsequent ministers, was entrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. As lord Ilay resided chiefly at the court, he required a confidential agent in Scotland, who might give him all necessary information, and act as his guide in the dispensation of the government patronage. In this capacity lord Milton served for a considerable number of years; during which, his house was, in its way, a kind of court, and himself looked up to as a person little short of a king. It is universally allowed, that nothing could exceed the discretion with which his lordship managed his delicate and difficult duties; especially during the civil war of 1745. Even the jacobites admitted that they owed many obligations to the humanity and good sense of lord Milton.

In February, 1746, when the highland army had retired to the north, and the duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, he was indebted to lord Milton for the advice which induced him to march northward in pursuit; without which proceeding, the war would probably have been protracted a considerable time. After the suppression of the insurrection, Milton applied himself with immense zeal to the grand design which he had chiefly at heart—the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, in his native country; and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the gratitude due to his memory for his exertions towards that noble object. After a truly useful and meritorious life of seventy-four years, his lordship expired at his house of Brunstain, near Musselburgh, on the 13th of December, 1766.

FORBES, ALEXANDER, lord Pitsligo, was the only son of Alexander, third lord Pitsligo, and lady Sophia Erskine, daughter of John, ninth earl of Marr. He was born on the 22nd of May, 1678, and succeeded his father in his titles and estates in 1691, while yet a minor. He soon after went to France; and during his residence in that country, embraced the opinions of madame Guion, to whom he had been introduced by Fenelon. On his return to Scotland, he took the oaths and his seat in parliament, and commenced his political career as an oppositionist to the court party. He joined the duke of Athole in opposing the union; but on the extension of the oath of abjuration to Scotland, he withdrew from public business. A jacobite in principle, he took an active part in the rebellion of 1715; but escaped attainder, though he found it expedient to withdraw for a time to the continent, after the suppression of that ill-judged attempt. In 1720, he returned to his native country, and devoted himself to the study of literature and the mystical writings of the Quietists, at his castle of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire. His age and infirmities, as well as experience, might have prevailed upon him to abide in silence the result of prince Charles's enterprise in 1745; but, actuated by a sense of duty, he joined that enterprise, and was the means, by his example, of drawing many of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire into the tide of insurrection; no one thinking he could be wrong in taking the same course with a man of so much prudence and sagacity. Lord Pitsligo arrived at Holyroodhouse some time after the battle of Prestonpans, and was appointed by prince Charles to command a troop of horse, chiefly raised out of the Aberdeenshire gentry, and which was called Pitsligo's

regiment. He accompanied the army through all its subsequent adventures, and having survived the disastrous affair of Culloden, was attainted by the government, and eagerly sought for by its truculent emissaries. The subsequent life of this unfortunate nobleman was a very extraordinary one, as will appear from the following anecdotes, which we extract from a memoir of his lordship, published in connexion with his "Thoughts on Man's Condition;" *Edinburgh*, 1829:—

"After the battle of Culloden, lord Pitsligo concealed himself for some time in the mountainous district of the country, and a second time experienced the kindly dispositions of the country people, even the lowest, to misfortune. The country had been much exhausted for the supply of the prince's army, and the people who gave him shelter and protection were extremely poor; yet they freely shared their humble and scanty fare with the unknown stranger. This fare was what is called *water-brose*, that is, oatmeal moistened with hot water, on which he chiefly subsisted for some time; and when, on one occasion, he remarked that its taste would be much improved by a little salt, the reply was, 'Ay, man, but sa't 's touchy,' meaning it was too expensive an indulgence for them. However, he was not always in such bad quarters; for he was concealed for some days at the house of New Miln, near Elgin, along with his friends, Mr Cummine of Pitullie, Mr Irvine of Drum, and Mr Mercer of Aberdeen, where Mrs King, Pitullie's sister, herself made their beds, and waited upon them."

"It was known in London, that about the end of April, 1746, he was lurking about the coast of Buchan, as it was supposed, with the view of finding an opportunity of making his escape to France; and it required the utmost caution on his part, to elude the search that was made for him. To such an extremity was he reduced, that he was actually obliged on one occasion to conceal himself in a hollow place in the earth, under the arch of a small bridge at Craignaud, upon his own estate, about nine miles up into the country from Fraserburgh, and about two and a half from where New Pitsligo now is, which was scarcely large enough to contain him; and this most uncomfortable place seems to have been selected for his retreat, just because there was little chance of detection, as no one could conceive it possible that a human being could be concealed in it. At this time, he lay sometimes in the daytime concealed in the mosses near Craignaud, and was much annoyed by the lapwings flying about the place, lest they should attract notice to the spot, and direct those who were in search of him in their pursuit.

As yet, the estate of Pitsligo was not taken possession of by government, and lady Pitsligo continued to reside at the castle. Lord Pitsligo occasionally paid secret visits to it in disguise. The disguise that he assumed was that of a mendicant, and lady Pitsligo's maid was employed to provide him with two bags to put under his arms, after the fashion of the *Edie Ochiltrees* of those days. He sat beside her while she made them, and she long related with wonder how cheerful he was, while thus superintending this work, which betokened the ruin of his fortune, and the forfeiture of his life.

When walking out in his disguise one day, he was suddenly overtaken by a party of dragoons scouring the country in pursuit of him. The increased exertion, from his desire to elude them, brought on a fit of asthmatic coughing, which completely overpowered him. He could proceed no farther, and was obliged to sit down by the road-side, where he calmly waited their approach. The idea suggested by his disguise and infirmity was acted upon, and, in his character of a mendicant, he begged alms of the dragoons who came to apprehend him. His calmness and resignation did not forsake him, no perturbation betrayed him, and one of the dragoons stopped, and, with great kindness of



heart, actually bestowed a mite on the venerable old man, condoling with him at the same time on the severity of his cough.

On another occasion, lord Pitsligo had sought and obtained shelter in a shoemaker's house, and shortly after, a party of dragoons were seen approaching. Their errand was not doubtful; and the shoemaker, who had recognized the stranger, was in the greatest trepidation, and advised him to put on one of the workmen's aprons and some more of his clothes, and to sit down on one of the stools, and pretend to be mending a shoe. The party came into the shop in the course of their search; and the shoemaker, observing that the soldiers looked as if they thought the hands of this workman were not very like those of a practised son of king Crispin, and fearing that a narrower inspection would betray him, with great presence of mind, gave orders to lord Pitsligo, as if he had been one of his workmen, to go to the door and hold one of the horses, which he did accordingly. His own composure and entire absence of hurry, allayed suspicion, and he escaped this danger. He used afterwards jocularly to say,— 'he had been at one time a Buchan cobbler.'

"One of the narrowest escapes which he made from discovery, when met in his mendicant's dress by those who were in search of him, was attended with circumstances which made the adventure singularly romantic and interesting. At that time, there lived in that district of the country, a fool called Sandy Anand, a well known character. The kindly feelings of the peasantry of Scotland to persons of weak intellect are well known, and are strongly marked by the name of 'the innocent,' which is given to them. They are generally harmless creatures, contented with the enjoyment of the sun and air as their highest luxuries, and privileged to the hospitality of every house, so far as their humble wants require. There is often, too, a mixture of shrewdness with their folly, and they are always singularly attached to those who are kind to them. Lord Pitsligo, disguised as usual, had gone into a house where the fool happened to be at the time. He immediately recognized him, and did not restrain his feelings, as others did in the same situation, but was busily employed in showing his respect for his lordship, in his own peculiar and grotesque manner, expressing his great grief at seeing him in such a fallen state, when a party entered the house to search for him. They asked the fool, who was the person that he was lamenting thus? What a moment of intense anxiety both to lord Pitsligo and the inmates of the house! It was impossible to expect any other answer from the poor weak creature, but one which would betray the unfortunate nobleman. Sandy, however, with that shrewdness which men of his intellect often exhibit on the most trying occasions, said, 'He kent him aince a muckle farmer, but his sheep a' dec'd in the 40.' It was looked upon as a special interposition of Providence, which put such an answer into the mouth of the fool.

"In March, 1756, and of course, long after all apprehension of a search had ceased, information having been given to the commanding officer at Fraserburgh, that lord Pitsligo was at that moment in the house of Auchiries, it was acted upon with so much promptness and secrecy, that the search must have proved successful, but for a very singular occurrence. Mrs Sophia Donaldson, a lady who lived much with the family, repeatedly dreamt on that particular night, that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Her mind became so haunted with the idea, that she got out of bed, and was walking through the room in hopes of giving a different current to her thoughts before she lay down again; when, day beginning to dawn, she accidentally looked out at the window as she passed it in traversing the room, and was astonished at actually observing the figures of soldiers among some trees near the house. So completely had all idea of a search been by that time laid asleep, that she supposed they had come to steal

poultry ; jacobite poultry yards affording a safe object of pillage for the English soldiers in those days. Under this impression, Mrs Sophia was proceeding to rouse the servants, when her sister having awakened, and inquired what was the matter, and being told of soldiers near the house, exclaimed in great alarm, that she feared they wanted something more than hens. She begged Mrs Sophia to look out at a window on the other side of the house, when, not only soldiers were seen in that direction, but also an officer giving instructions by signals, and frequently putting his fingers on his lips, as if enjoining silence. There was now no time to be lost in rousing the family ; and all the haste that could be made was scarcely sufficient to hurry the venerable man from his bed, into a small recess behind the wainscot of an adjoining room, which was concealed by a bed, in which a lady, Miss Gordon of Towie, who was there on a visit, lay, before the soldiers obtained admission. A most minute search took place. The room in which lord Pitsligo was concealed did not escape. Miss Gordon's bed was carefully examined, and she was obliged to suffer the rude scrutiny of one of the party, by feeling her chin, to ascertain that it was not a man in a lady's night-dress. Before the soldiers had finished their examination in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased lord Pitsligo's asthma so much, and his breathing became so loud, that it cost Miss Gordon, lying in bed, much and violent coughing, which she counterfeited in order to prevent the high breathings behind the wainscot from being heard. It may easily be conceived what agony she would suffer, lest, by overdoing her part, she should increase suspicion, and, in fact, lead to a discovery. The *ruse* was fortunately successful. On the search through the house being given over, lord Pitsligo was hastily taken from his confined situation, and again placed in bed ; and as soon as he was able to speak, his accustomed kindness of heart made him say to his servant, ' James, go and see that these poor fellows get some breakfast, and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning ; they are only doing their duty, and cannot bear me any ill will.' When the family were felicitating each other on his escape, he pleasantly observed, ' A poor prize, had they obtained it—an old dying man ?'

After this, he resided constantly at Auchiries, overlooked, or at least un molested by the government, till the 21st of December, 1762, when he breathed his last in peace, in the 85th year of his age. He left behind him a work entitled, " Thoughts concerning Man's condition and duties in this life, and his hopes in the world to come,"—the production evidently of a calm and highly devotional mind, but nowise remarkable in other respects.

FORBES, DUNCAN, a man whose memory is justly entitled to the veneration of his country, was born at Bunchrew, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on the 10th of November, 1685. His great-grandfather Duncan Forbes, was of the family of lord Forbes, through that of Tolquhoun, and purchased the barony of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh, in 1625. His great-grandmother was Janet Forbes, of the family of Corsindy, also descended from lord Forbes. But this early patriot was not more distinguished for honourable descent, than for public spirit and nobility of conduct, during the struggle for religion and liberty that marked the reign of Charles I., in which he took a decided part against the court ; and, being a member of parliament, and lord provost of Inverness, must have been a partisan of no small consequence. He died in 1654, leaving his estate to his eldest son, John, who inherited his offices as well as his principles. Having acted in concert with the marquis of Argyle, he was, upon the Restoration, excepted from the act of indemnity, and had a large share of the barbarous inflictions which disgraced the reign of the restored despot. He somehow, however, contrived to accumulate money, and about the year 1670, doub-

led his landed estate by purchasing the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. He died a little before the Revolution, leaving, by his wife, Ann Dunbar, a daughter of Dunbar of Hemprigs, in the county of Moray, a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duncan, who had received a liberal education on the continent, by which he was eminently qualified for performing a conspicuous part in that most auspicious of modern transactions. He was a member of the convention parliament, a decided presbyterian, and strongly condemned those temporizing measures which clogged the wheels of government at the time, and in consequence of which many of the national grievances remained afterwards unredressed. He was, of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobites, who, under Buchan and Cannon, in 1689, ravaged his estates of Culloden and Ferintosh; destroying, particularly in the latter district, where distillation was even then carried on upon an extensive scale, property to the amount of fifty-four thousand pounds Scots. In consequence of this immense loss, the Scottish parliament granted him a perpetual license to distil, duty free, the whole grain that might be raised in the barony of Ferintosh, a valuable privilege, by which Ferintosh very soon became the most populous and wealthy district in the north of Scotland. He died in 1704, leaving, by his wife, Mary Innes, daughter to the laird of Innes, two sons; John, who succeeded him in his estates, and Duncan, the subject of this memoir, besides several daughters.

Of the early habits or studies of Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, little has been recorded. The military profession is said to have been the object of his first choice, influenced by the example of his uncle John Forbes, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He had also an uncle eminent in the law, Sir David Forbes of Newhall, and, whether influenced by his example or not, we find that he entered upon the study of that science at Edinburgh, in the chambers of professor Spottiswood, in the year that his father died, 1704. The university of Edinburgh had as yet attained nothing of that celebrity by which it is now distinguished, its teachers being few in number, and by no means remarkable for acquirements; of course, all young Scotsmen of fortune, especially for the study of law, were sent to the continent. Bourges had long been famous for this species of learning, and at that university, Scotsmen had been accustomed to study. Leyden, however, had now eclipsed it, and at that famous seat of learning Duncan Forbes took up his residence in 1705. Here he pursued his studies for two years with the most unremitting diligence; having, besides the science of law, made no inconsiderable progress in the Hebrew and several other oriental languages. He returned to Scotland in 1707, where he continued the study of Scottish law till the summer of 1709, when he was, upon the 26th of July, admitted an advocate, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The closest friendship had all along subsisted between the families of Argyle and Culloden; and, the former, being at this time in the zenith of power, displayed its fidelity by bestowing upon Mr Forbes, as soon as he had taken his place at the bar, the respectable appointment of sheriff of Mid-Lothian. The duke, and his brother the earl of Hly, from the very outset of his career, intrusted him with the management of their Scottish estates, which he is said frankly to have undertaken, though, from professional delicacy, he declined receiving any thing in the shape of fee or reward, for services which ought to have brought him some hundreds a year.

Mr Forbes, from his first appearance at the bar, was distinguished for the depth of his judgment, the strength of his eloquence, and the extent of his practice, which was such as must have precluded him from performing anything like the duties of a mere factor, which the above statement evidently supposes. That



he gave his opinion, generally, when asked, upon the modes that ought to be adopted for improving the value of his grace's property, and the comfort of his vassals in the highlands, there can be no doubt; for he continued to do this, not only to the duke, but to his neighbours generally, even after the highest duties of the judge had devolved upon him; and this was probably the utmost extent of his concern with the Argyle estate at any period of his life. That he was in a high degree generous, there cannot be a doubt; but we see no reason for supposing that he was in the habit of employing his legal talents gratuitously. He was but a younger brother, and is said to have lost the greater part of his little patrimony by an unguarded or an unfortunate speculation; yet it is certain that he lived in a splendid and rather expensive manner, the first wits and the highest noblemen of the age finding their enjoyments heightened by his company; and it is equally certain that the fruits of his professional toil were all that he could depend upon for supporting a spirit that breathed nothing but honour, and a state that knew nothing but the most stubborn independence. His business, however, rapidly rose with his rising reputation, and his fortune probably kept pace with his fame, and he very soon added to his domestic felicity, by forming a matrimonial connexion with Mary Rose, daughter to the laird of Kilravock, to whom he had been warily attached almost from her earliest infancy.<sup>1</sup> She was a lady of great beauty, and highly accomplished; but she died not long after their marriage, leaving him an only son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Culloden. The early demise of this lady, for whom Mr Forbes seems to have had more than an ordinary passion, deeply affected him, and he never again entered into the married state.

Domestic calamity, operating upon a keen sensibility, has often withered minds of great promise, and cut off the fairest prospects of future usefulness. Happily, however, Mr Forbes did not resign himself to solitude, and the indulgence of unavailing sorrow. The circumstances of his family, and of his country, in both of which he felt a deep interest, did not, indeed, allow him to do so, had he been willing. The violence of party had been very great ever since the Revolution: it had latterly been heightened by the union, and had reached nearly its acme at this time, when the unexpected death of the queen opened the way for the peaceable accession of the new dynasty.

With a very few exceptions, such as the Grants, the Monroes, and the Rosses, who had been gained over by the Forbesees of Culloden, the Highland clans were engaged to devote their lives and fortunes in behalf of the expatriated house of Stuart; and only waited for an opportunity of asserting the cause of the pretender. The loyal clans, and gentlemen, and particularly Forbes of Culloden, were of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobite clans; and, for their own preservation, were obliged to be continually on the watch, and frequently saw the brooding of the storm, when others apprehended no danger. This was eminently the case in the year after the accession of the house of Brunswick; and, accordingly, so early as the month of February, we find Monro of Fowlis writing to Culloden:—"I find the jacobites are werie uppish, both in Edinburgh and in England, so that, if ye go to the parliament, as I hope ye will, you will recommend to some trusty, faithful friend, to take care of your house of Culloden, and leave orders with your people at Ferintosh, to receive directions from me, or from your cousin George (my son), as you are pleased to call him, which you may be sure will be calculate to the support of your interest, in subordination to the public cause;"—and he adds, in a postscript to the same letter,—“The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the jacobites,

<sup>1</sup> Her husband is said to have composed, in her honour, the beautiful Scottish song, "Ah Chloris."

is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. They still have the trick of presuming upon the lenity of a moderate government. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes. I have accounts from very good hands from Edinburgh, that to their certain knowledge, saddles were making in that city for dragoons to serve the pretender, and that all the popish lords, and very many popish and jacobite gentlemen, are assembled there now; so that all friends and loyal subjects to his present majesty, are advised to be upon their guard from thence, against an invasion or an insurrection, which is suddenly expected, which the jacobites expect will interrupt the meeting of the parliament." In the month of March, the same year, Culloden, writing to his brother, the subject of this memoir, has the following observation:—"You say you have no news, but we abound with them in this country. The pretender is expected every moment, and his friends all ready; but since our statesmen take no notice of this, I let it alone, and wishes they may not repent it when they cannot help it."—Culloden was returned for a member of parliament, and went up the following month (April) to London, whence he again writes to his brother as follows:—"As for your Highland neighbours, their trysts and meetings, I know not what to say; I wish we be not too secure: I can assure you, the Tories here were never higher in their looks and hopes, which they found upon a speedy invasion. Whatever be in the matter, let things be so ordered that my house be not surprised."

Had those who were intrusted with the government been equally sharp-sighted, much of the evil that ensued might undoubtedly have been prevented; but they were so intent upon their places, and the pursuit of little, low intrigues, that they were caught by the insurrection, in Scotland at least, as if it had been a clap of thunder in a clear day. John Forbes's direction, however, must have been attended to; for, when his house was surrounded by the insurgents, under Mackenzie of Coul, and Mackintosh, with their retainers, his wife refused all accommodation with them, saying, with the spirit of an ancient Roman,—"she had received the keys of the house, and the charge of all that was in it, from her husband, and she would deliver them up to no one but himself." In the absence of his brother, Duncan Forbes displayed, along with Hugh Rose of Kilravock, the most indefatigable zeal, and great judgment in the disposal of the men they could command, who were chiefly the retainers of Culloden, Kilravock, Culcairn, and the Grants, and by the assistance of lord Lovat and the Frazers, finally triumphed over the insurgents in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, could excel the spirit displayed by the two brothers of Culloden, the eldest of whom, John, spent on the occasion, upwards of three thousand pounds sterling out of his own pocket, for the public service; of which, to the disgrace of the British government, he never received in repayment one single farthing.

Though they were ardent for the cause of religion and liberty, and zealous in the hour of danger, yet, when that was over, the two brothers strongly felt the impropriety of tarnishing the triumphs of order and liberality, by a violent and vindictive inquisition into the conduct of persons, for whom so many circumstances conspired to plead, if not for mercy, at least, for a candid construction of their motives. As a Scotsman and lawyer, Duncan Forbes was averse to the project of carrying the prisoners out of the country, to be tried by juries of foreigners, and he wrote to lord Ilay, when he heard of a design to appoint him lord advocate, in order to carry on these prosecutions, that he was determined to refuse that employment. He also wrote to his brother in behalf of a contribution for the poor prisoners who had been carried to Carlisle, and were there waiting for trial. "It is certainly christian," says he, "and by no means dis-

loyal, to sustain them in their indigent state until they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tried by foreign juries—so far it is well—but no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country.” To the forfeitures he was also decidedly hostile, and some of his reasons for this hostility threw a particular light upon the state of Scotland at that period. “There are,” he says, “none of the rebels who have not friends among the king’s faithful subjects, and it is not easy to guess, how far a security of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections, even of these from the government. But in particular, as this relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not two hundred gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grand children, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by a government, without thinking very ill of it, and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain. If all the rebels, with their wives and children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution, than when thousands of innocents punished with misery and want, for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature.” “To satisfy,” he adds, “any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the charges of the commission, if the saving clause in favours of the creditors takes place, I offer but two considerations that, upon enquiry, will be found incontestible. First, it is certain, that of all the gentlemen who launched out into the late rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances, and if you abate a dozen of gentlemen, the remainder upon paying their debts could not produce much money clear, nor was there any thing more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law, when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose. Besides, it is known that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the proprietors’ own name or in that of some trustee: now, it is certain, that when the commissioners of enquiry begin to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the proprietors, as will make the inquiry fruitless and the commission a charge upon the treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation.”

Such were the arguments, drawn from expediency, and the state of the country, by which forbearance on the part of the government was recommended by this excellent man, though it appears that they had little effect but to excite a suspicion of his own loyalty. In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted. In 1716, he was rewarded for his services by the office of advocate-depute, that is, he became one of the inferior prosecutors for the crown. On the 20th of March, he is found writing thus to his principal, the lord advocate:—“Yesterday I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The justice clerk shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plaguey stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other lords, to the end they might fix on a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The justice clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance;



and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of parliament, I would require his lordship to assign a dyet sooner." In 1722, with the acquiescence of the ministry, he was returned to sit in parliament for the Inverness district of burghs; and in 1725, he obtained the high and responsible appointment of lord advocate. As the office of secretary of state for Scotland was at this time discontinued, it became part of his duty to carry on, with his majesty's ministers, the correspondence regarding the improvements necessary to be made in her civil establishments, which he did, in a manner highly creditable to himself, and with the happiest effect for his country. The year in which he was appointed lord advocate, was marked by the introduction of the malt tax into Scotland, and the mob at Glasgow, known by the name of Shawfield's rabble, by which its introduction was attended. This was a riot of a very scandalous character, (the magistrates of the city being deeply implicated in fomenting it,) in which nine persons were killed outright, and the soldiers who had been brought from Edinburgh for its suppression, were chased out of the city, and were glad to take refuge in Dumbarton castle. General Wade, who was in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to the Highlands, was immediately ordered to Glasgow with all the troops he could muster, and he was accompanied by the lord advocate in person, who first committed the whole of the magistrates to their own tolbooth, and afterwards, under a strong guard, sent them to Edinburgh, where they were thrown into the common jail, and it was certainly intended to proceed against them before the justiciary court. Doubts, however, were entertained of the legality of the proceedings, and whether the lord advocate had not exceeded his powers in committing the whole magistracy of a city, upon the warrant of a justice of peace, to their own jail; public feeling at the same time recovering strongly in their favour, they were by the justiciary admitted to bail, nor was their case ever again called.

In 1734, he lost his brother, John Forbes, in consequence of whose death, he fell heir to the extensive and valuable estate of Culloden. In 1736, a disgraceful affair, termed the Porteous mob, occurred in Edinburgh, in consequence of which, it was resolved to deprive the city of her privileges. Mr Forbes, on this occasion, exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the city, and was successful in procuring many modifications to be made upon the bill before it passed the two houses of parliament. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which Forbes was able to achieve, or the means by which he accomplished it. The period might properly be called the dark age of Scottish history, though it contained at the same time, the germs of all the good that has since sprung up in the land. The pretensions of the house of Stuart were universally received, either with favour from direct affection to their cause, or at least without disfavour, the result of a justifiable disgust at the political status into which the country had been thrown by the union, and the unpopularity of the two first Brunswick princes. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains, by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was to abate nothing, and to enforce everything, under the direction of English counsels and of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brimful cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive;

for with only one or two occasional exceptions, his papers prove that he had scarcely an associate, either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments.<sup>1</sup> However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand; and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities, and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and they are thus ably summed up in the work just quoted:—

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their talents or characters gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as lord advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats of justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains “that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the crown, stopt upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It’s a pity, that when we have argued the juries out of their mistaken notions of popularity, the behaviour of the court should give any handle to their relapsing.” He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this subject as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom.—But, ex-

<sup>1</sup> We here pursue a train of remarks in the Edinburgh Review of the Culloden papers, an ample collection of the letters, &c. of the lord president, published in 1816.

cept when rebellion or riot were raging, we cannot discover, from his papers, that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance, except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice, by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction, that whatever he proposed was right—and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry, (and who by the bye is said to have been the first person who introduced the philibeg into the highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the lord advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people, can only be fairly estimated, by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the exposure of which, even a private gentleman, of the most delicate honour, and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country, by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men, who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue, their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

Having thus freed himself from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom. Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps natural that it should do so. For, though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement, that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies, and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the northern part a burden on the southern.



His exertions in prosecution of this great object were long and unceasing. We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore, we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely, both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was, that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a memorial to government) of seeing "a commendable spirit of launching out into new branches" excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called, by more than one of his correspondents, "his ain bairns;"—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr Scroope, in which he says that one of his proposals "was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine."

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in pushing his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell, with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation, and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation; errors, which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man, who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice—being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture, by promoting the use of malt, he presented to government a long detailed scheme, for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

"The cause," says he, "of the mischief we complain of, is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest families, even of labouring people, particularly in burroughs, make their morning's meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale, which heretofore was their accustomed drink: and the same drug supplies all the labouring women with their afternoon's entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny."

The remedy for this, is, to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, "if they belong to that class of mankind in this country, whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty." The obvious difficulty attending this scheme strikes him at once; and he removes it by a series of provisions, calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, "the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;" and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken. "These provisions," the worthy author acknowledges, "are pretty severe;" and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected, that he is not the only person, (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt tax), who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time, and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations, is to insure the use of our own produce, and the encouragement of our own industry; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless, when compared with many excise regula-

tions of the present day; and still more so, when contrasted with certain parts of the recent system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example, chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes's views were as sound upon these subjects, as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded; and that, if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation, we should oftener see the folly of many things which appear to us correct, merely because they are common.

Being appointed president of the court of session in 1737, he applied himself with great zeal to a duty which has conferred lasting service on his country, that of improving the regulations of his court. Previously, the chief judge, by having it in his power to postpone a cause, or to call it at his pleasure, was enabled sometimes to choose a particular time for its decision, when certain judges whom he knew to have made up their minds, were absent. Forbes put an end to this flagrant error in the constitution of the court, by rendering it impossible for the judges to take up a case except as it stood on the roll. He also exerted himself to prevent any accumulation of undetermined causes.

The character of the highlanders and the improvement of the highlands, had all along been objects of the first magnitude with the lord president, nor did he lose sight of them, when his elevation to the first place in Scottish society brought him to be conversant with others equally important. Viewing the aspect of the political horizon, and aware that the clans in such times as appeared to be approaching, could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of political agitators, he digested a plan (the very same for which Chatham received so much applause for carrying into effect), for embodying the most disaffected of them into regiments, under colonels of tried loyalty, but officered by their own chieftains, who would thus be less liable to be tampered with by the emissaries of the Stuarts, and be insensibly led to respect an order of things which, it might be presumed, they disliked, chiefly because they did not comprehend it, and from which as yet they did not suppose they had derived any benefit. This proposal the lord president communicated to the lord justice clerk, Milton, who reported it to lord Ilay, by whom it was laid before Sir Robert Walpole, who at once comprehended and admired it. When, however, he laid it before the council, recommending it to be carried into immediate effect, the council declared unanimously against it. "Were the plan of the Scottish judge," said they, "adopted, what would the patriots say? Would they not exclaim, Sir Robert Walpole had all along a design upon the constitution? He has already imposed upon us a standing army, in addition to which he is now raising an army of barbarians, for the sole purpose of enslaving the people of England." Walpole was too well acquainted with the temper of the patriots, as they called themselves, not to feel the full force of this reasoning, and the measure was given up, though he was fully convinced that it was conceived in wisdom, and would have been infallibly successful in its operation.

Though his advice was neglected, the event showed that his suspicions were well founded. The disturbed state of Europe encouraged the jacobites, particularly in the highlands, to sign an association for the restoration of the pretender, which was sent to him at Rome, in the year 1742. During the following years, there was a perpetual passing and repassing between the court of France, the pretender, and the association, without the knowledge of the most vigilant observers on the part of the government. So cautiously, indeed, did the highland chieftains conduct themselves, that even the lord president, who was intimately acquainted with their characters and propensities, seems to have been perfectly unaware of any immediate rising, when he was acquainted by a letter from Macleod of Macleod, that Charles was actually arrived, and had by

young Clanronald summoned himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald to join his standard. The truth was, both Macleod and Macdonald had pledged themselves to prince Charles; but a French army to accompany him, and military stores, were positive parts of the engagement, which, not being fulfilled, led them to hesitate, and they were willing to fortify their hesitation by the advice of the president, whom they had long found to be an excellent counsellor, and whose views upon the subject they were probably anxious in a covert way to ascertain. Macleod of course wrote to the president, that such a person was on the coast, with so many Irish or French officers, stating them greatly beyond the real number, and he adds, "His views, I need not tell you, was to raise all the highlands to assist him—Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours, to follow the same prudent method, and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not a man north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt—As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us; but this we leave in your own breast as you are a much better judge of what is or what is not proper to be done. I have wrote to none other, and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly—Sir Alexander is here and has seen this scrawl—Young Clanronald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence." The above letter was dated August 3d, 1745, and speaks of Charles as only on the coast, though he had in reality landed, and the assurance of young Clanronald's prudence was a perfect farce. It was indeed, for obvious reasons, the aim of the rebels to lull the friends of government in their fatal security, and we have no doubt that Clanronald acting upon this principle, gave the assurance to Macleod and Macdonald for the very purpose of being communicated to the lord president, and it has been supposed that the misstatements in this letter laid the foundation for that pernicious counsel which sent Sir John Cope to the north, leaving the low country open to Charles, in consequence of which he overcame at once the most serious difficulties he had to contend with, want of provisions and want of money, made himself master of the capital of Scotland, and, to the astonishment of himself, as well as of all Europe, penetrated into the very heart of England.

Being now certain that there was danger, though its extent was cautiously concealed from him, the lord president, after pointing out to the marquis of Tweeddale, who at that time was a principal manager in Scottish affairs, a few things necessary to be done in order to give full effect to his exertions, hastened to the north, and arrived at Culloden house on the 13th of August, six days before Charles unfurled his standard in Glenfinnin, and while many of his most devoted admirers were yet at a great loss whether to come forward to his assistance, or to remain undeclared till circumstances should enable them more accurately to calculate probabilities. To all these nothing could have been more unwelcome than the presence of the lord president, to whom they, almost to a man, were under personal obligations. Lovat waited upon and dined with his lordship the very day after his arrival, and requested his advice, assuring him that his wishes, as well as his interest, still led him to support the present royal family. Macleod of Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye also wrote to him, immediately on his arrival, in a loyal strain, though their presence was certainly expected at the unfurling of the insurgent standard at Glenfinnin, which was so soon to take place. The letters are not so very explicit as might have been wished, and, till the advice and the presence of the



lord president encouraged them, these gentlemen were undoubtedly not cordial for the government. Lovat most certainly was not, and had Charles, according to his advice, come east by Inverness, he would no doubt have joined him on the instant. But the clans having rushed down into the Lowlands, while Sir John Cope, with the whole regular troops that were in Scotland, came north, added weight to the lord president's remonstrances, and for a time neutralized all who were not previously committed, till the unfortunate affair of Gladsmuir gave a new impulse to their hopes. Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod were assured by a special messenger, that their past conduct was not imputed to any want of zeal for the cause or want of affection to the person of Charles, who considered their services to be now more useful to him than ever, and was ready to receive them as his best friends. Lovat had a message of the same kind, and, sure that now his right master, as he called him, would prevail, set himself to forward the marching of his Frasers without delay. Still he continued his correspondence with the president, and laboured hard to keep up the farce of loyalty, as did Macleod of Macleod, at the very moment when he was pledging his faith to that arch hypocrite to send his Macleods to join the Frasers, the Mackintoshes and the Mackenzies at Corryarrack, within a given number of days. Happily for Macleod, he was greatly under the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose judgment the lord president had completely opened upon the subject, and he not only did not fulfil his engagement with Lovat, but actually raised and headed his men to fight on the opposite side.

The Frasers, in the mean time, formed a scheme for seizing upon the house of Culloden, and either killing or making the president a prisoner. The execution of this plot was intrusted to the laird of Foyers, who made the attempt on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of October, the day when the clans were engaged upon honour to assemble at the pass of Corryarrack, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Charles at Edinburgh. The president, however, who, had arms been his profession, would probably have been as celebrated a soldier as he was a lawyer, knew his situation, and the men he lived among, better than to suffer himself to be so surprised. The castle itself was naturally strong; several pieces of cannon were planted upon its rampart; and it was occupied by a garrison, able and willing to defend it; so that, leaving behind them one of their number wounded, the assailants were obliged to content themselves with carrying off some sheep and cattle, and robbing the gardener and the house of an honest weaver, who, it would appear, lived under the protection of the president. Like all other projectors of wicked things which fail in the execution, Lovat seems to have been very much ashamed of this affair, and he was probably the more so, that the Macleods, the Macdonalds, &c., who, that same day, were to have joined his clan at Corryarrack, had not only not kept their word, but were actually on the road to take their orders from the president, which compelled him once more to send, in place of troops, an apology to Charles, with an abundance of fair promises, in which he was at all times sufficiently liberal. The president had assured him, that, by killing and eating his sheep in broad daylight, the men who had made the attack upon his house were all known, but that if they did no more harm he forgave them; only he wished they would send back the poor gardener and weaver their things, and if they sent not back the tenant his cattle, they knew he must pay for them. Lovat, with well-affecting concern, and high eulogiums upon his lordship's goodness, declares the actors in this villanous attempt to have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and that he has ordered his son and Gortuleg to send back all the plunder, particularly his lordship's sheep, which he was ready to give double value

for, rather than that his lordship should want them, and, in case they should not be found, offered to divide with him one hundred fat wedders, seeing that he was under greater obligations to him and his family than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, he ever possessed, were worth; "And I beg, my lord," he adds, "that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of those rogues, or any in my country go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swore to Gortuleg that, if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and *see them seized and hanged*. So, my dear lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance, so long as I live in this country; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example, so let monarchies, government, and commonwealths, take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear lord, let us live in good friendship and peace together." It was but a short time when, after the retreat from England, Charles was met at Glasgow by a messenger from Lovat, requesting him to send north a party to seize Inverness, and, if possible, secure the lord president, who, he affirmed, had done him more harm than any man living, having, by his influence, prevented more than ten thousand men from joining him. Circumstances of another kind than Lovat's advice or request, brought Charles to Inverness, and the lord president, along with lord Loudon, was under the necessity of taking refuge in the island of Skye, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden, when he returned to reap, as many other good men have done, neglect and ingratitude for all his services. Of these services and of this neglect, the reader will not be displeased to find the following graphic description from his own pen. It is a letter to Mr George Ross, then at London, inclosing letters on the same subject to Mr Pelham, Mr Scroope, and the duke of Newcastle, date, Inverness, May 13th, 1746.

"Dear George, my peregrinations are now over. Some account of my adventures you surely have had from different hands; to give an exact one is the work of more time than I can at present afford. The difficulties I had to struggle with were many; the issue, on the main, has been favourable; and, upon a strict review, I am satisfied with my own conduct. I neither know nor care what critics, who have enjoyed ease, in safety, may think. The commissions for the independent companies I disposed of in the way that, to me, seemed the most frugal and profitable to the public; the use they have already been of to the public is very great, preventing any accession of strength to the rebels, before they marched into England, was no small service; the like prevention, in some degree, and the distraction of their forces, when the duke was advancing, was of considerable use; and now they are, by the duke, employed, under the command of E. Loudon, in Glengarry, and must be the hands by which the rebels are to be hunted in their recesses. My other letter of this date gives the reason why the returns of the officers' names, &c. was not sooner made. I hope the certificate will be sufficient to put them upon the establishment, and to procure the issuing of money for them. The returns of the several companies in the military way E. Loudon will take care of. What distressed us most in this country, and was the real cause why the rebels came to head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been enough called for and expected. Had these come in time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented them looking at us on this side Drumochter. The men were prepared, several hundreds assembled in their own counties, and some hundreds actually on the march; but unluckily the ship that brought the few arms that were sent, and the sum of money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the very day on which

the rebels made themselves master of the barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarmed men from distances, it was even unsafe to land the arms and the money; so we were forced to suffer them remain on board and to retreat with the force we had to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy. Another ill consequence, the scrimping us of money had, was that,—as there were a great many contingent services absolutely necessary, and as all the money that could be raised upon lord Loudon's credit and mine was not sufficient to answer these extraordinary services,—we were obliged to make free with the cash remitted for the subsistence of the companies. This at the long run will come out as broad as it is long when accounts are made up and allowances made for the contingent expense, but in the meantime it saddles us with the trouble of settling and passing an account.

“If any one will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I laid out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without hesitation; and of that I say nothing at present. But when the expedient proposed by the marquis of Tweeddale of taking bills to be drawn on Mr Pelham failed, I had no resource but to take up money where I could find it, from well disposed persons, on my own proper notes. That money so picked up was at the time of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen with great reason expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun, and I should hope now that the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw upon Mr Pelham or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed one thousand five hundred pounds sterling.—— I am heartily tired of this erratic course I have been in, but as the prevention of any future disturbance, is a matter of great moment, and which requires much deliberation and some skill, if those on whom it lies to frame the scheme, for that purpose, imagine I can be of any use to them, I should not grudge the additional fatigue of another journey; but it is not improbable their resolutions may be already taken,” &c. There is in this letter an honest feeling, and a frankly expressed conviction of the value of his services; and though possessed with a prophetic anticipation of their being latterly to be overlooked, an equally open and straight forwardly expressed determination to continue them as long as they should be useful to his country, strongly indicative of that high minded devotion to the best interests of his species, which peculiarly characterized this great man. At the same time, there is manifested the most delicate feeling with regard to the money part of the transaction. What portion, and that was a large one, had been advanced from his own treasury he makes for the present no account of; but he pleads in the most gentlemanly manner in behalf of those who had assisted him at the time, and could scarcely be expected to have the same disinterested regard to the public service, and the same degree of philosophic patience. They expect with reason, he remarks, to be paid, and he interposes in the most delicate manner, his own repugnance to be dunned, as the most pressing of all arguments in their favour. Surely never was so small a request, and so exceedingly well founded, so modestly prepared, yet never perhaps did a reasonable one meet with a more careless reception. Upwards of a month elapsed before he had an answer from George Ross, with a bill for five hundred pounds, which perhaps was not for his own use. It has been generally said that he never received one farthing, and to his generous spirit, if he received only this small portion, which we dare not affirm he did, taken in connexion with the manner in which he did receive it, it must have been nearly, if not more mortifying than if he had not. His grace of New-



castle took no notice of his letter till he was under the necessity of writing to him upon another subject, two months afterwards, and then in the most cold and formal manner imaginable. Of any reply from Pelham and Scroope we have not found a vestige, and would fondly hope that courtiers as they were, they had so much grace remaining as to be unable to put pen to paper upon a business so disgraceful.

To a mind so pure and so gentle as was that of president Forbes, this ingratitude on the part of the government must have been exceedingly painful; but we do not believe that it was the only or the principal thing that weighed down his spirit. To the morality of courts and the gratitude of courtiers he was in theory at least no stranger, and as a prudent and practical man, must have been in some measure prepared to grapple with them; but for the base duplicity and the ingratitude of his friends and neighbours, many of whom had betrayed his confidence in the grossest manner, he could scarcely be prepared, and they must have affected him deeply. These, while they wrung his heart with the most pungent feelings of sorrow, furnished to the ignorant, the suspicious, and the envious, fruitful topics of detraction and misrepresentation, against which, he must have been aware, the best intentions and the most upright actions have too often been found to afford no protection. The care of the highlands had been imposed upon him for many years, he had been a father and a friend to almost every principal family they contained, and with few exceptions, these families had in return made the strongest professions of loyalty to the government, and of friendship and affection to himself. This they had done too, with such apparent sincerity, as induced him to report them perfectly loyal, at the very moment they were signing associations, purchasing arms, and ready to appear in the field against the government. How must he have felt to see the very men he had saved from total destruction, procured them the favourable notice of the government, and even high and honourable situations, rushing, from mistaken views of their own or their country's interests, upon the ruin of both! It was this, we have no doubt, gave the secret but incurable wound, which, though he continued to perform the duties of his station with inflexible firmness, and with imperturbable patience, brought him by slow degrees to an untimely grave.

Though the lord president continued to discharge his office with his usual fidelity and diligence, and though he uttered no complaints, it had long been matter of grief to his friends to observe his health rapidly declining, and in the month of November, it was judged necessary to send for his son from England, who arrived only in time to receive his last advice and blessing. He died on the 10th day of December, 1747, in the sixty-second year of his age. The same day he died, the following memorandum was made by his son: "My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was—'My dear John, you have just come in time to see me die. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune; partly through my own extravagance, and partly through the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroope, too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into parliament. I left some notes with the two William Forbesees in case I had not seen you. They are two affectionate lads, and will be able to help you in some affairs better than you would have done

yourself. John Hossack will help you in your affairs in the north. My heart bleeds for poor John Steel; I recommended him to you. When I was in the north I paid some considerably large sums that I never dreamed of before, towards defraying the charges occasioned by the rebellion. There is but one thing I repent me of in my whole life,—not to have taken better care of you. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! I trust in the blood of Christ. Be always religious, fear and love God. You may go, you can be of no service to me here." This shows how deeply this first of patriots felt the unrequited sacrifices he had made for his country, though he had never allowed these feelings to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. His fears were certainly not without foundation, for his estate, in consequence of the sacrifices he had made, was encumbered with debts to the amount of thirty thousand pounds sterling; and for several years after his death, there did not appear to be any possibility of going on with it, but by selling the one half to preserve the other. Matters, however, proceeded at Culloden much better than was expected. In 1749, the government bestowed a pension of four hundred pounds sterling a-year upon John Forbes, the lord president's son, a worthy man, but possessed of no great talents for public business; and warned by the example, and profiting by the prudent advice of his father, he spent his days in retirement, probably with a higher enjoyment of life than if he had been surrounded with all the splendours of the most exalted station, and in less than thirty years, had not only cleared his estate of all encumbrances, but added to it considerably, by the purchase of contiguous lands, and thus, in his case, were verified the words of inspiration, "The good man is merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed."

Though the signal services of the lord president Forbes were overlooked by those who ought most highly to have esteemed them, and whose proper province it was to have rewarded them, they were not lost sight of by his grateful countrymen, all of whom seem to have regarded his death as a national calamity. He had been a public character upwards of thirty years, during which, scarcely one motion had been made for the public benefit but what had originated with, or had received its most powerful support from him. In the infant manufactures of his country he took unceasing interest, and his upright and pure spirit breathed into her tribunals of justice an order and an equitable impartiality to which they were before total strangers, and which to this day happily never has forsaken them. Besides the new order of court, as to the hearing of causes, which he had the merit of introducing, and which has been already alluded to, he wrought great and happy changes in the manner of the judges. Before his time, the senators often delivered their opinions with a warmth that was highly indecorous, detracting greatly from the dignity of the court and the weight and authority of its decisions: this, by the candour, the strict integrity, and the nice discernment, combined with that admirable command of temper, which marked his character, he was enabled completely to overcome, and to introduce in its place a dignified urbanity and a gentlemanly deference among the members of court to the opinions of each other, which succeeding lords president have found no difficulty to sustain.

The following character has been drawn of him by a late historian, with which we shall conclude this memoir. "In person, the lord president Forbes was elegant and well formed, his countenance open and animated, his manner dignified, but easy and prepossessing. His natural talents were of the very first order, enlarged by an excellent education, completely disciplined and fully matured by habits of intense study, and of minute, and at the same time extensive observation; and they were all employed most honourably and con-

scientifically in the real business of life. His learning was profound and extensive, beyond that of his compeers; and, in forcible, manly, and persuasive eloquence at the Scottish bar, he had no competitor. Yet with all this vast and visible superiority, he was never dogmatical. His was not the paltry ambition that could gratify itself by uttering tiny conceits or sparkling witticisms; nor did he ever, like too many who have shone in his profession, attempt to dispose of an unmanageable subject by heaping upon it a mountain of words, or enveloping it in a whirlwind of bombast and nonsense; every thing like artifice he held in abhorrence; and truth and justice being at all times the objects he aimed at, the law of kindness was ever on his lips, and an impress of candour and sincerity gave an oracular dignity to every sentiment which he uttered. Of the volume of inspiration, which he could consult with advantage in the original tongues, he was a diligent student; and that he had experienced its transforming influence in no mean degree was evident from the tone of his mind, and the whole tenor of his life and conversation. Like another of Scotland's most eminent benefactors, John Knox,—with whom alone, from the magnitude and for the difficulty of his services, though they were considerably dissimilar, he deserves to be compared—he probably felt himself called upon rather for active personal exertion than for those efforts of mind, which can be well and successfully made only in the seclusion of the closet, and through the medium of the press; of course his writings are not numerous, but they exhibit, particularly his *Thoughts on Religion, Natural and Revealed*, strong traces of a pure, a pious, and an original mind. In private life he was every thing that is amiable—as a husband and a father, affectionately tender—as a friend, generous in the extreme, often distressing himself that he might fully and seasonably perform the duties implied in the character. His neighbours he was always ready to oblige; and merit of every description found in him a prompt, a steady, and a disinterested patron. He was sprung from a family whose hospitality had been proverbial for ages; and when his health, which was generally delicate, and his numerous avocations would permit, few men could enjoy a bottle and a friend with a more exquisite relish. To be of his party, in these moments of relaxation, was a felicity eagerly coveted by the greatest and the wittiest men of his age; and to sum up all in one word, such was the sterling worth of his character, that he was universally feared by the bad, and as universally loved by the good of all parties.<sup>7</sup>

FORBES, PATRICK, an eminent prelate, was by birth laird of Corse and O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire, and descended from Sir Patrick Forbes, (third son of James, second lord Forbes,) armour-bearer to king James II., from whom, in 1482, he got a charter of the barony of O'Neil. From the same branch of the noble family of Forbes are descended the Forbeses, baronets of Craigievar, and the Forbeses, earls of Granard, in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan (nephew of the author of the *History of Scotland*), who was then schoolmaster of Stirling. He next studied philosophy under Andrew Melville at Glasgow, and when that eminent reformer and learned man was removed to be principal of St Andrews, Forbes followed him thither, and was his pupil in Hebrew and theology. Such was the progress he made in these studies, and such his gravity, wisdom, and blamelessness of life, that at an uncommonly early age he was solicited to become a professor in the college. His father, however, suddenly recalled his son, in order that he might settle in life as a country gentleman; and he soon after married Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston, in Fife. He lived for some time in rural retirement near Montrose, where his learning and piety attracted a great concourse



of visitors, especially of the clergy. At the death of his father, he removed hence to the family seat of Corse, where, to use the quaint phrase of his Latin biographer, Garden, he at once cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing the duties of a clergyman every Sunday, before his domestics.

At the time when Patrick Forbes entered into public life, the reformed church of Scotland had not settled down into any regular system of ecclesiastical polity, and sometimes things were allowed to be done which would now be considered as at least eccentric, if not indecent. At the same time, the profession of a clergyman, though holding forth little pecuniary advantage, was invested with so much popular power, as to be highly inviting. We hence find, in the instances of Erskine of Dun, Bruce of Kinnaird, and others, that it had temptations even for gentlemen of good estates. It appears that, in the loose system of polity then acted upon, the laird of Corse, merely because he was a devout man, and possessed of some territorial influence, was repeatedly intreated to perform the duties of a clergyman, as if it had been supposed that any little deficiency in point of clerical ordination, that could be urged against him, would be fully compensated by his weight as the laird of Corse. He accordingly did act temporarily as a minister, during the time when the clergymen who had attended the prescribed general assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, were suffering exile from their parishes. Instead of this exciting episcopal interference, we are told that Patrick Blackburn, bishop of Aberdeen, no sooner heard of the excellent ministrations of the laird of Corse, than he, in concurrence with the synod of his diocese, intreated him to take ordination, and become the minister of his own parish. Although this request was made oftener than once, Forbes steadily resisted it, alleging as a reason his sense of the weight of the priestly duties, and of the difficulty of the times. These things, however, being conveyed by some malevolent person to the ear of the primate, (Gladstones, archbishop of St Andrews,) that dignitary sent an order, prohibiting Corse from preaching any more until he should take ordination. Having no alternative, the laird returned to his former practice of family worship, attending the church every Sunday as a private individual, and afterwards exercising upon a portion of the Scriptures before his servants. He went on thus for seven years, and was so far from exciting schism by his well-meant exertions, that no one in the neighbourhood was a more regular or respectful attendant upon parochial ordinances. At length, the neighbouring gentlemen and even the clergy frequented the family worship at Corse, where they heard most able elucidations of the epistles of St Paul, and also those commentaries on the Revelations, of which an abridgment was afterwards published.

At the end of the period alluded to, the minister of Keith, though a pious and worthy man, fell into a fit of melancholy, and, after suffering for some time, made an attempt upon his own life. He had hardly inflicted the fatal wound, when he was overtaken by deep remorse, and, having sent for the laird of Corse, was immediately attended by that devout man, who proceeded to reason with him in so earnest a manner as to open his soul fully to a sense of spiritual influences. The unfortunate man, with his dying breath, renewed the request which had so often been proffered to Forbes, that he would consent to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish; which request, taking place under such impressive circumstances, and enforced at the same time by the eloquence of the neighbouring clergymen and gentry, at length prevailed, and the laird of Corse immediately became minister of Keith. He was at this time forty-eight years of age.

In 1618, Forbes was appointed bishop of Aberdeen, with the sincere approbation of all classes of the people. Attached from principle to the episcopal

form of church government, he concurred in the five articles of Perth, which were that year imposed upon the Scottish church. It does not appear, however, that bishop Forbes used any severe means to carry these articles into practice, for we are informed by Burnet [*Life of Bedell*] that, by his remarkable prudence, he "greatly allayed, and almost conquered, not only the distempered judgments, but the perverse and turbulent humours of divers in his diocese." In his whole conduct as a bishop, he appears to have been uniformly influenced by an honest and conscientious regard to the obligations of the character which he had assumed, and what he conceived to be the best means of promoting the interests of piety and virtue. He was not only careful to fix worthy clergymen in his diocese, but to make proper provision for their support and that of their successors. He succeeded in recovering many of the revenues which, in the tumults of the reforming period, had been lost or neglected, and he used all proper methods with heritors and titulars of teinds, and others, to make augmentation of stipends; which he had no sooner effected in some cases, than he dissolved the pernicious union of parishes, and established a clergyman in each. Even from his own income, limited as it must have been, he bestowed much upon the poorer clergy. He was very strict in examining those who applied for ordination, and thus secured for future times a superior body of clergy. He was also indefatigable in visiting and inspecting his clergy, a duty which he generally performed in a somewhat singular manner. "It was his custom," says Burnet, "to go without pomp or noise, attended only by one servant, that he might the more easily be informed of what belonged to his cure. When he was told of the weakness or negligence of any of his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church, on Saturday, in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were; and as they appeared to him, he encouraged or admonished him."

Sometime after his promotion to the bishopric, he was appointed chancellor of King's college, Aberdeen, which institution he raised from a state of utter desolation and neglect, to be one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. He fully repaired the buildings; he increased the library, revived the professorships of divinity, canon law, and physic; and procured the addition of a new professorship in divinity. At length, finding himself drawing near his latter end, he sent for all the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the sacrament along with him, and two days after, March 28th, 1635, breathed his last, with the most pious expressions of hope, and full of religious consolation. At his funeral, which took place in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, Dr Barron preached an appropriate sermon to a numerous auditory, which was afterwards published.<sup>1</sup>

This great ornament of the episcopal church in Scotland is characterized in the manner of the time, as a man of singularly clear genius, solid judgment, the highest prudence, piety, and integrity, of much authority in counsel, and invincible fortitude and constancy of mind. Bishop Burnet informs us, that he "scarce ever suffered any man of merit to ask any thing at his hands, but anticipated them; while those whose characters would not bear a severe scrutiny never dared to solicit him. He had a quick eye and sprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expressions, which were grave and majestic, and of peculiar insinuation and grace. In parliament, he was elected one of the lords of the articles, and his judgment there, and in council, was considered as an oracle."

<sup>1</sup> The only works of bishop Forbes, which have been published, are his *Commentary on the Revelation*, printed at London in 1613, (republished in Latin after his death, by his son,) and a treatise entitled *Exercitationes de verbo Dei, et Dissertatio de Versionibus Vernaculis.*

FORBES, JOHN, second son of bishop Forbes, was born, May 2nd, 1593, and received the rudiments of his religious and literary education under the care of his father. In 1607, he was sent to King's college, Aberdeen, where he studied philosophy. Afterwards, he spent some years on the continent, studying theology, first at Heidelberg, under the celebrated Pareus, and subsequently at Sedan, and other celebrated universities in upper and lower Germany. He devoted much of his attention to the writings of the fathers, and made great progress in the study of Hebrew, both of which branches of knowledge, he considered as of the first importance to a theologian. The learning which he thus acquired enabled him, in 1618, to maintain a public dispute against the archbishop and the Lutherans at Upsal. Returning next year to Scotland, he was, at the following synod of the diocese of Aberdeen, called to the profession of the gospel, and, soon after, was elected professor of divinity in King's college. By the death of his elder brother, in 1625, he became heir apparent of his father as laird of Corse and O'Neil, to which honour he afterwards duly acceded. At the breaking out of the covenanting insurrection in 1638, Forbes published an admonition, in which he pointed out the evils likely to arise from the bond into which the nation was plunging itself, and loudly and earnestly implored that peace might be preserved. It is well known that this advice was not followed, although the people of the northern provinces generally abstained from entering into the covenant. In summer, that year, a deputation of the covenanters, headed by the earl of Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen, for the purpose of arguing the inhabitants into an acceptance of their bond; but owing to the exertions of Forbes, and other preachers and professors, they met with little success. The Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, maintained a disputation against the deputies of the covenant, with such spirit and effect as forms a curious episode in the history of the civil war. They were warmly thanked by the king for their loyalty, and attracted the respectful notice of the church party in England, on account of their pro-episcopal arguments. In a grateful letter addressed to them by the king, from Whitehall, January 31st, 1639, the name of Forbes stands first in the list. But the covenanters were now too warmly engaged in their opposition to the king, to pay much attention to argument. Early in 1639, instead of a deputation to argue, an army came to coerce; so that, finding no longer any safety in Aberdeen, the bishop and two of the doctors took shipping for England, while Forbes retired to his house of Corse. After the pacification of Berwick, he returned to the city, and preached for some time in one of the vacant pulpits. Hostilities, however, were soon after renewed, and as the covenanters were resolved to urge the bond upon every public person, Forbes, as well as others, was summoned before the synod of Aberdeen, to answer for his recusancy. It was in vain that he urged his conscientious objections: the times were not such as to allow of a refined toleration, and he was deposed for contumacy. He appears to have now devoted himself, in the library of King's college, to the composition of his great work, the "Historico-Theological Institutions," which he was about to finish, when the solemn league and covenant occasioned a fresh application to men of his class, and he was obliged, with great reluctance, to leave his native country, April 5th, 1644. He resided for two years in Holland, and there completed and published his "Institutions," which was by far the most learned and valuable work of the kind that had then been offered to the public. Returning to his native country in 1646, he lived for some time in unmolested retirement at Corse, where he busied himself in making some considerable additions to the work above mentioned, which were not published during the author's life-time. After a life, which his biographer has called a continual preparation for death,



this learned, pious, and virtuous man expired, April 29th, 1648, at the immature age of fifty-five. He had, by his wife, who was a native of Middleburg, two sons, of whom one survived him, and was the heir of his learning and virtue, as well as of his estates. The friends of Dr Forbes desired that he should be buried in the cathedral beside his father; but this was forbidden by the party then in power, and the mourners were obliged to carry his body to an ordinary church-yard, where it lies without any monument. It is painful to add another instance of the narrow spirit to which religious hostility was carried, in an age otherwise characterized by so much zealous piety. While professor, Forbes had purchased a house at Aberdeen, where King's college is situated, and made it over for the use of his successors; but having forgot to secure his life-rent in it, he was afterwards deprived of it by the prevailing party.<sup>1</sup>

FORBES, SIR WILLIAM, of Pitsligo, an eminent banker and citizen, was born at Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1739. He was descended by the father's side, from a younger branch of the ancient and respectable family of Forbes of Monmusk, the proprietors, at the close of the seventeenth century, of the noble barony of that name, on the banks of the Don, in Aberdeenshire; and by his paternal grandmother, from the still older and more dignified family of the lords Pitsligo, in the same county. His mother was also a branch of the family of Forbes of Monmusk, one of the first families in Scotland who were invested with the badge of Nova Scotia baronets, which still is worn by their descendants.

His father, who was bred to the bar, and was rising into eminence in that profession, died when he was only four years of age, leaving his mother, then a young woman, with two infant sons, and very slender means of support. She lived at first at Milne of Forgue, on the estate of Bogny in Aberdeenshire, with the proprietor of which territory she was connected through her mother, and afterwards fixed her residence at Aberdeen, with her two sons, where she remained for several years, superintending their education. While there, the younger son, who is represented as having been a most engaging boy, died, to the inexpressible grief of his mother, leaving her remaining hopes to centre on Sir William, then her only child.

Though reared in confined and straitened circumstances, Sir William had not only the benefit of an excellent education, but was under the immediate care and superintendence of the most respectable gentlemen in Aberdeenshire. His guardians were lord Forbes, his uncle lord Pitsligo, his maternal uncle Mr Morrison of Bogny, and his aunt's husband Mr Urquhart of Meldrum, who were not only most attentive to the duties of their trust, but habituated him from his earliest years to the habits and ideas of good society, and laid the foundation of that highly honourable and gentlemanlike character which so remarkably distinguished him in after life.

It has been often observed, that the source of every thing which is pure and upright in subsequent years, is to be found in the lessons of virtue and piety instilled into the infant mind by maternal love; and of this truth the character of Sir William Forbes affords a signal example. He himself uniformly declared, and solemnly repeated on his death bed, that he owed every thing to the upright character, pious habits, and sedulous care of his mother. She belonged to a class formerly well known, but unhappily nearly extinct in this country, who, though descended from ancient and honourable families, and in-

<sup>1</sup> The works of Dr Forbes are, 1. *Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scotiana*, Aberdeen, 4to, 1629. 2. *Joannis Forbesii a Corse Institutiones Historico-Theologicæ*, Amstel. folio, 1645. 3. Annotations to the Latin translation of his father's Commentaries on the Apocalypse, Amstel. 4to, 1646. 4. Ten Books of Moral Theology. His whole works were collected and published in two volumes folio, at Amsterdam, in 1703. with a life prefixed, by Mr George Garden.

timate with the best society in Scotland, lived in privacy, and what would now be deemed poverty, solely engaged in the care of their children, and the discharge of their social and religious duties. Many persons are still alive, who recollect with gratitude and veneration these remnants of the olden times; and in the incessant care which they devoted to the moral and religious education of their offspring, is to be found the pure and sacred fountain from which all the prosperity and virtue of Scotland has flowed.

Both Sir William's father and his mother were members of the Scottish episcopal church; a religious body which, although exposed to many vexations and disabilities since the Revolution in 1688, continued to number among its members many of the most respectable and conscientious inhabitants of the country. To this communion Sir William continued ever after to belong, and to his humane and beneficent exertions, its present comparatively prosperous and enlarged state may be in a great measure ascribed. It is to the credit of that church, that it formed the character, and trained the virtues, of one of the most distinguished and useful men to whom the Scottish metropolis has given birth.

As soon as the education of her son was so far advanced as to permit of his entering upon some profession, his mother, lady Forbes, removed to Edinburgh in October, 1753, where an esteemed and excellent friend, Mr Farquharson of Haughton, prevailed on the Messrs Coutts soon after to receive him as an apprentice into their highly respectable banking house—among the earliest establishments of the kind in Edinburgh, and which has for above a century conferred such incalculable benefit on all classes, both in the metropolis and the neighbouring country. The mother and son did not in the first instance keep house for themselves, but boarded with a respectable widow lady; and it is worthy of being recorded, as a proof of the difference in the style of living, and the value of money between that time and the present, that the sum paid for the board of the two was only forty pounds a year.

At Whitsunday, 1754, as Sir William was bound an apprentice to the banking house, she removed to a small house in Forrester's Wynd, consisting only of a single floor. From such small beginnings did the fortune of this distinguished man, who afterwards attained so eminent a station among his fellow citizens, originally spring. Even in these humble premises, this exemplary lady not only preserved a dignified and respectable independence, but properly supported the character of his father's widow. She was visited by persons of the very first distinction in Scotland, and frequently entertained them at tea parties in the afternoon; a mode of seeing society which, although almost gone into disuse with the increasing wealth and luxury of modern manners, was then very prevalent, and where incomparably better conversation prevailed, than in the larger assemblies which have succeeded. At that period also, when dinner or supper parties were given by ladies of rank or opulence, which was sometimes, though seldom the case, their drawing rooms were frequented in the afternoon by the young and the old of both sexes; and opportunities afforded for the acquisition of elegance of manner, and a taste for polite and superior conversation, of which Sir William did not fail to profit in the very highest degree.

It was an early impression of Sir William's, that one of his principal duties in life consisted in restoring his ancient, but now dilapidated family; and it was under this feeling of duty, that he engaged in the mercantile profession. The following memorandum, which was found among his earliest papers, shows how soon this idea had taken possession of his mind:—"The slender provision which my father has left me, although he had, by great attention to business and frugality, been enabled in the course of that life, to double the pittance

which originally fell to him out of the wreck of the family estate, rendered it absolutely necessary for me to attach myself to some profession, for my future support and the restoration of the decayed fortunes of my family."—In pursuance of this honourable feeling, he early and assiduously applied to the profession which he had embraced, and by this means, was enabled ultimately to effect the object of his ambition, to an extent that rarely falls to the lot even of the most prosperous in this world.

His apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which he continued to live with lady Forbes in the same frugal and retired manner, but in the enjoyment of the same dignified and excellent society which they had embraced upon their first coming to Edinburgh. After its expiry, he acted for two years as clerk in the establishment, during which time his increasing emoluments enabled him to make a considerable addition to the comforts of his mother, whose happiness was ever the chief object of his care. In 1751, his excellent abilities and application to business, induced the Messrs Coutts to admit him as a partner, with a small share in the banking house, and he ever after ascribed his good fortune in life, to the fortunate connexion thus formed with that great mercantile family. But without being insensible to the benefits arising from such a connexion, it is perhaps more just to ascribe it to his own undeviating purity and integrity of character, which enabled him to turn to the best advantage those fortunate incidents which at one time or other occur to all in life, but which so many suffer to escape from negligence, instability, or a mistaken exercise of their talents.

In 1763, one of the Messrs Coutts died; another retired from business through ill health, and the two others were settled in London. A new company was therefore formed, consisting of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter Blair, and Sir Robert Herries; and although none of the Messrs Coutts retained any connexion with the firm, their name was retained out of respect to the eminent gentlemen of that name who had preceded them. The business was carried on on this footing till 1773, when the name of the firm was changed to that of Forbes, Hunter, & Co., which it has ever since been; Sir Robert Herries having formed a separate establishment in St James street, London. Of the new firm, Sir William Forbes continued to be the head from that time till the period of his death; and to his sound judgment and practical sagacity in business, much of its subsequent prosperity was owing. His first care was to withdraw the concern altogether from the alluring but dangerous speculations in corn, in which all the private bankers of Scotland were at that period so much engaged, and to restrict their transactions to the proper business of banking. They commenced issuing notes in 1783, and rapidly rose, from the respect and esteem entertained for all the members of the firm, as well as the prudence and judgment with which their business was conducted, to a degree of public confidence and prosperity almost unprecedented in this country.

In 1770, he married Miss Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of Dr (afterwards Sir James) Hay; a union productive of unbroken happiness to his future life, and from which many of the most fortunate acquisitions of partners to the firm have arisen. This event obliged him to separate from his mother, the old and venerated guide of his infant years, as her habits of privacy and retirement were inconsistent with the more extended circle of society in which he was now to engage. She continued from that period to live alone. Her remaining life was one of unbroken tranquillity and retirement. Blessed with a serene and contented disposition, enjoying the kindness, and gratified by the rising prosperity and high character which her son had obtained; and fortunate in seeing the fortunes of her own and her husband's family rapidly reviving under his successful exertions, she lived happy and contented to an extreme old age, calmly



awaiting the approach of death, to which she neither looked forward with desire nor apprehension. After a life of unblemished virtue and ceaseless duty, she expired on the 26th December, 1789.

The benevolence of Sir William Forbes's character, his unwearied charity and activity of disposition, naturally led to his taking a very prominent share in the numerous public charities of Edinburgh. The first public duty of this kind which he undertook, was that of a manager of the charity work-house, to which he was appointed in 1771. At this period the expenditure of that useful establishment was greater than its income, and it was necessary for the managers to communicate for several years after with the magistrates and other public bodies, as to providing for the deficits, and the state and management of the poor. Sir William Forbes was one of the sub-committee appointed by the managers to arrange this important matter, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing up the reports and memorials respecting that charity, which during the years 1772 and 1773, were printed and circulated to induce the public to come forward and aid the establishment; a duty which he performed with equal ability and success. The means of improving this institution, in which he ever through life took the warmest interest, occupied about this period a very large share of his thoughts, and in 1777, he embodied them in the form of a pamphlet, which he published in reference to the subject, abounding both in practical knowledge and enlightened benevolence.

Another most important institution, about the same period, was deeply indebted to his activity and perseverance for the successful termination of its difficulties. The late high school having become ruinous, and unfit for the increasing number of scholars who attended it, a few public-spirited individuals formed a committee in conjunction with the magistrates of the city, to build a new one. Of this committee, Sir William Forbes was chairman; and besides contributing largely himself, it was to his activity and perseverance that the success of the undertaking was mainly to be ascribed. The amount subscribed was £2,300, a very large sum in those days, but still insufficient to meet the expenses of the work. By his exertions the debt of £1,100 was gradually liquidated, and he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of the edifice destined to be the scene of the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott, and many of the greatest men whom Scotland has produced.

He was admitted a member of the Orphan Hospital directory on the 8th of August, 1774, and acted as manager from 1783 to 1788, and from 1797 to 1801. He always took a warm interest in the concerns of that excellent charity, and devoted a considerable part of his time to the care and education of the infants who were thus brought under his superintendence. He was become a member of the Merchant Company in 1784, and in 1786 was elected master; an office which though held only for a year, was repeatedly conferred upon him during the remainder of his life. He always took an active share in the management of that great company, and was a warm promoter of a plan adopted long after, of rendering the annuities to widows belonging to it a matter of right, and not favour or solicitation. The same situation made him a leading member of the committee of merchants, appointed in 1772, to confer with Sir James Montgomery, then lord advocate, on the new bankrupt act, introduced in that year, and many of its most valuable clauses were suggested by his experience. In that character he took a leading part in the affairs of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, which is governed by the officers of the Merchant Company, and was elected governor of that charity in 1786. The same causes made him governor of Watson's hospital during the year that he was president or assistant of the Merchant Company, and president of the governors of Gillespie's hospital, when that

charity was opened in 1802. He faithfully and assiduously discharged the duties connected with the management of these hospitals during all the time that he was at their head, and devoted to these truly benevolent objects a degree of time which, considering his multifarious engagements in business is truly surprising, and affords the best proof how much may be done even by those most engaged, by a proper economy in that important particular.

From the first institution of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society in 1783, he was a constituted member of both, and took an active share in their formation and management. From 1785 downwards he was constantly a manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to ameliorate the situation and assuage the sufferings of the unfortunate inmates of that admirable establishment. At his death he left £200 to the institution, to be applied to the fund for the benefit of patients.

In 1787, he was appointed one of the trustees for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries, of which his friend Mr Arbuthnot was secretary, and he continued for the remainder of his life to be one of its most active and efficient members.

One of the greatest improvements which Edinburgh received was the formation of the South Bridge in 1784, under the auspices and direction of his friend Sir James Hunter Blair. In the management and guidance of this great work that enterprising citizen was mainly guided by the advice of his friend Sir William Forbes, and he was afterwards one of the most active and zealous trustees, who under the 25. Geo. III. c. 28. carried into full execution after his death that great public undertaking. In selecting the plan to be adopted, the more plain design which afforded the accommodation required was preferred to the costly and magnificent one furnished by the Messrs Adams: and with such judgment and wisdom was the work carried into effect, that it was completed not only without any loss, but with a large surplus to the public. Of this surplus £3000 was applied to another very great improvement, the draining of the Meadows, while the ten *per cent* addition to the land tax, which had been levied under authority of the act as a guarantee fund, and not being required for the purposes of the trust, was paid over to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the community. When these results are contrasted with those of similar undertakings of the present age, the sagacity of the subject of this memoir and his partner, Sir James Hunter Blair, receives a new lustre, far above what was reflected upon them, even at the time when the benefits of their exertions were more immediately felt.

In 1785, he was prevailed on to accept the situation of chairman of the sub-committee of delegates from the Highland counties, for obtaining an alteration of the law passed the year before, in regard to small stills within the Highland line. Nearly the whole labour connected with this most important subject, and all the correspondence with the gentlemen who were to support the desired alteration in parliament, fell upon Sir William Forbes. By his indefatigable efforts, however, aided by those of the late duke of Athol, a nobleman ever alive to whatever might tend to the improvement of the Highlands, the object was at length attained, and by the 25. Geo. III. this important matter was put upon an improved footing.

Ever alive to the call of humanity and the sufferings of the afflicted, he early directed his attention to the formation of a Lunatic Asylum in Edinburgh; an institution the want of which was at that time severely felt by all, but, especially the poorer classes of society. Having collected the printed accounts of similar institutions in other places, he drew up a sketch of the intended establishment and an advertisement for its support, in March, 1788. Though a sufficient sum

could not be collected to set the design on foot at that time, a foundation was laid, on which, under the auspices of his son, the late Sir William, and other benevolent and public spirited individuals, the present excellent structure at Morningside was ultimately reared.

The late benevolent Dr Johnston of Leith having formed, in 1792, a plan for the establishment of a Blind Asylum in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes, both by liberal subscription and active exertion, greatly contributed to the success of the undertaking. He was the chairman of the committee appointed by the subscribers to draw up regulations for the establishment, and when the committee of management was appointed, he was nominated vice president, which situation he continued to hold with the most unwearied activity till the time of his death. Without descending farther into detail, it is sufficient to observe that, for the last thirty years of his life, Sir William was either at the head, or actively engaged in the management of all the charitable establishments of Edinburgh, and that many of the most valuable of them owed their existence or success to his exertions.

Nor was it only to his native city that his beneficent exertions were confined. The family estate of Pitsligo, having been forfeited to the crown in 1746, was brought to sale in 1758, and bought by Mr Forbes, lord Pitsligo's only son, His embarrassments, however, soon compelled him to bring the lower barony of Pitsligo to sale, and it was bought by Mr Garden of Troup: Sir William Forbes being the nearest heir of the family, soon after purchased 70 acres of the upper barony, including the old mansion of Pitsligo, now roofless and deserted. By the death of Mr Forbes in 1781, Sir William succeeded to the lower barony, with which he had now connected the old mansion house, and thus saw realized his early and favourite wish of restoring to his ancient family, their paternal inheritance.

The acquisition of this property, which, though extensive, was, from the embarrassments of the family, in a most neglected state, opened a boundless field for Sir William's active benevolence of disposition. In his character of landlord, he was most anxious for the improvement and happiness of the people on his estates, and spared neither time nor expense to effect it. He early commenced their improvement on a most liberal scale, and bent his attention in an especial manner to the cultivation of a large tract of moss which still remained in a state of nature. With this view he laid out in 1783, the village of New Pitsligo, and gave every assistance, by lending money, and forbearance in the exaction of rent, to the incipient exertions of the feuars. Numbers of poor cottars were established by his care on the most uncultivated parts of the estate, most of whom not only paid no rent for the land they occupied, but were pensioners on his bounty: a mode of proceeding which, although it brought only burdens on the estate at first, has since been productive of the greatest benefit by the continual application of that greatest of all improvements to a barren soil, the labour of the human hand. The value of this property, and the means of improvement to the tenantry, were further increased by the judicious purchase, in 1787, of the contiguous estates of Pittullie and Pittendrum, which by their situation on the sea-shore, afforded the means of obtaining in great abundance sea-ware for the lands. The liberal encouragement which he afforded soon brought settlers from all quarters: the great improvements which he made himself served both as a model and an incitement to his tenantry: the formation of the great road from Peterhead to Banff which passed through the village of New Pitsligo, and to which he largely contributed, connected the new feuars with those thriving sea ports; and before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which at his acquisition of the estate was a bar-



ren waste, a thriving population of three hundred souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.

In order to encourage industry on his estate, he established a spinning school at New Pitsligo, introduced the linen manufacture and erected a bleach-field: undertakings which have since been attended with the greatest success. At the same time, to promote the education of the young, he built a school house, where the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established a teacher; and in order to afford to persons of all persuasions the means of attending that species of worship to which they were inclined, he built and endowed not only a Chapel of Ease, with a manse for the minister, connected with the established church, but a chapel, with a dwelling house for an episcopal clergyman, for the benefit of those who belonged to that persuasion. Admirable acts of beneficence, hardly credible in one who resided above two hundred miles from this scene of his bounty, and was incessantly occupied in projects of improvements or charity in his own city.

To most men it would appear, that his support and attention to these multifarious objects of benevolence, both in Edinburgh and on his Aberdeenshire estates, would have absorbed the whole of both his fortune and his time, which could be devoted to objects of beneficence. But that was not Sir William Forbes's character. Indefatigable in activity, unwearied in doing good, he was not less strenuous in private than in public charity; and no human eye will ever know, no human ear ever learn, the extensive and invaluable deeds of kindness and benevolence which he performed, not merely to all the unfortunate who fell within his own observation, but all who were led by his character for beneficence to apply to him for relief. Perhaps no person ever combined to so great a degree the most unbounded pecuniary generosity with delicacy in the bestowal of the gift, and discrimination in the mode in which it was applied. Without giving way to the weakness of indiscriminately relieving all who apply for charity, which so soon surrounds those who indulge in it with a mass of idle or profligate indigence, he made it a rule to inquire personally, or by means of those he could trust, into the character and circumstances of those who were partakers of his bounty: and when he found that it was really deserved, that virtue had been reduced by suffering, or industry blasted by misfortune, he put no bounds to the splendid extent of his benefactions. To one class in particular, in whom the sufferings of poverty is perhaps more severely felt than by any other in society, the remnants of old and respectable families, who had survived their relations, or been broken down by misfortune, his charity was in a most signal manner exerted; and numerous aged and respectable individuals, who had once known better days, would have been reduced by his death to absolute ruin, if they had not been fortunate enough to find in his descendents, the heirs not only of his fortune but of his virtue and generosity.

Both Sir William's father and mother were of episcopalian families, as most of those of the higher class in Aberdeenshire at that period were; and he was early and strictly educated in the tenets of that persuasion. He attended chier baron Smith's chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd, of which he was one of the vestry, along with the esteemed Sir Adolphus Oughton, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. In 1771, it was resolved to join this congregation with that of two other chapels in Carrubber's Close and Skinner's Close, and build a more spacious and commodious place of worship for them all united. In this undertaking, as in most others of the sort, the labouring oar fell on Sir William Forbes; and by his personal exertions, and the liberal subscriptions of himself and his friends, the Cowgate chapel was at length completed, afterwards so well

known as one of the most popular places of worship in Edinburgh. At this period it was proposed by some of the members of the congregation, instead of building the new chapel in the old town, to build it at the end of the North Bridge, then recently finished after its fall, near the place where the Theatre Royal now stands. After some deliberation the project was abandoned, "as it was not thought possible that the projected new town could come to any thing"—a most curious instance of the degree in which the progress of improvement in this country has exceeded the hopes of the warmest enthusiasts in the land.

Being sincerely attached to the episcopalian persuasion, Sir William had long been desirous that the members of the English communion resident in this country should be connected with the episcopal church of Scotland: by which alone they could obtain the benefit of confirmation, and the other solemn services of that church. He was very earnest in his endeavours to effect this union: and although there were many obstacles to overcome, he had succeeded in a great degree during his own lifetime in bringing it to a conclusion. On this subject he had much correspondence with many leading men connected with the church of England, archbishop Moore, bishop Porteous, and Sir William Scott, as well as bishop Abernethy Drummond, and the prelates of the Scottish episcopal church. In 1793, it was arranged that Mr Bauchor, vicar of Epsom, should, on the resignation of bishop Abernethy Drummond, be elected bishop, and the congregation of the Cowgate chapel were to acknowledge him as bishop. The scheme, however, was abandoned at that time, from a certain degree of jealousy which subsisted on the part of the established church of Scotland: but it was renewed afterwards, when that feeling had died away; and to the favourable impressions produced by his exertions, seconded as they subsequently were by the efforts of his son, afterwards lord Medwyn, the happy accomplishment of the union of the two churches, so eminently conducive to the respectability and usefulness of both, is chiefly to be ascribed.

His son-in-law, the late able and esteemed Mr M'Kenzie of Portmore, having prepared a plan for establishing a fund in aid of the bishops of the Scottish episcopal church, and of such of the poorer clergy as stood in need of assistance, he entered warmly into the scheme, and drew up the memoir respecting the present state of the episcopal church, which was circulated in 1806, and produced such beneficial results. He not only subscribed largely himself, but by his example and influence was the chief cause of the success of the subscription, which he had the satisfaction of seeing in a very advanced state of progress before his death.

He was, from its foundation, not only a director of the Cowgate chapel, but took the principal lead in its affairs. A vacancy in that chapel having occurred in 1800, he was chiefly instrumental in bringing down the Rev. Mr Alison, the well known author of the *Essay on Taste*, then living at a remote rectory in Shropshire, to fill the situation. Under the influence of that eloquent divine, the congregation rapidly increased, both in number and respectability, and was at length enabled in 1818, through the indefatigable exertions of lord Medwyn, by their own efforts, aided by the liberality of their friends, to erect the present beautiful structure of St Paul's chapel in York place. At the same time, Sir William Forbes, eldest son of the subject of this memoir, effected by similar exertions the completion of St John's chapel in Prince's Street; and thus, chiefly by the efforts of a single family, in less than half a century, was the episcopal communion of Edinburgh raised from its humble sites in Blackfriars' Wynd and Carrubber's Close, and placed in two beautiful edifices, raised at an expense of above £30,000, and which must strike

the eye of every visitor from South Britain, as truly worthy of the form of worship for which they are designed.

Sir William had known Mr Alison from his infancy : and from the situation which the latter now held in the Cowgate chapel, they were brought into much closer and more intimate friendship, from which both these eminent men derived, for the remainder of their lives, the most unalloyed satisfaction. Mr Alison attended Sir William during the long and lingering illness which at length closed his beneficent life, and afterwards preached the eloquent and impressive funeral sermon, which is published with his discourses, and pourtrays the character we have here humbly endeavoured to delineate in a more detailed form.

When the new bankrupt act, which had been enacted only for a limited time, expired in 1783, Sir William Forbes was appointed convener of the mercantile committee in Edinburgh, which corresponded with the committees of Glasgow and Aberdeen, of which provost Colquhoun and Mr Milne were respectively conveners ; and their united efforts and intelligence produced the great improvement upon the law which was effected by that act. By it the sequestration law, which under the old statute had extended to all descriptions of debtors, was confined to merchants, traders, and others properly falling under its spirit ; the well known regulations for the equalization of arrestments and poindings within sixty days, were introduced ; sequestrations, which included at first only the personal estate, were extended to the whole property ; and the greatest improvement of all was introduced, namely, the restriction of what was formerly alternative to a system of private trust, under judicial control. Sir William Forbes, who corresponded with the London solicitor who drew the bill, had the principal share in suggesting these the great outlines of the system of mercantile bankruptcy in this country ; and accordingly, when the convention of royal burghs who paid the expense attending it, voted thanks to the lord advocate for carrying it through parliament, they at the same time (10th July, 1783.) directed their preses to “ convey the thanks of the convention to Sir William Forbes, Ilay Campbell, Esq., solicitor-general for Scotland, and Mr Milne, for their great and uncommon attention to the bill.”

On the death of Mr Forbes of Pitsligo, only son of lord Pitsligo, in 1782, whose estate and title were forfeited for his accession to the rebellion in 1745, Sir William Forbes, as the nearest heir in the female line of the eldest branch of the family of Forbes, claimed and obtained, from the Lyon court, the designation and arms of Pitsligo. He was the heir of the peerage under the destination in the patent, if it had not been forfeited.

Hitherto Sir William Forbes's character has been considered merely as that of a public-spirited, active, and benevolent gentleman, who, by great activity and spotless integrity, had been eminently prosperous in life, and devoted, in the true spirit of Christian charity, a large portion of his ample means and valuable time to the relief of his fellow creatures, or works of public utility and improvement ; but this was not his only character : he was also a gentleman of the highest breeding, and most dignified manners ; the life of every scene of innocent amusement or recreation ; the head of the most cultivated and elegant society in the capital ; and a link between the old Scottish aristocratical families, to which he belonged by birth, and the rising commercial opulence with which he was connected by profession, as well as the literary circle, with which he was intimate from his acquirements.

In 1768, he spent nearly a twelvemonth in London, in Sir Robert, then Mr, Herries' family ; and such was the opinion formed of his abilities even at that early period, that Sir Robert anxiously wished him to settle in the metropolis in busi-



ness ; but though strongly tempted to embrace this offer, from the opening which it would afford to London society, of which he was extremely fond, he had sufficient good sense to withstand the temptation, and prefer the more limited sphere of his own country, as the scene of his future usefulness. But his residence in London at that time had a very important effect upon his future life, by introducing him to the brilliant, literary, and accomplished society of that capital, then abounding in the greatest men who adorned the last century ; Dr Johnson, Mr Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Gibbon, Mr Arbuthnot, and a great many others. He repeatedly visited London for months together at different times during the remainder of his life, and was nearly as well known in its best circles as he was in that of his own country. At a very early period of his life he had conceived the highest relish for the conversation of literary men, and he never afterwards omitted an occasion of cultivating those whom chance threw in his way ; the result of which was, that he gradually formed an acquaintance, and kept up a correspondence, with all the first literary and philosophical characters of his day. He was early and intimately acquainted with Dr John Gregory, the author of the "Father's Legacy to his Daughters," and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Scotland at that period, both when he was professor of medicine at Aberdeen, and after he had been removed to the chair of the theory of medicine in Edinburgh ; and this friendship continued with so much warmth till the death of that eminent man, that he named him one of the guardians to his children ; a duty which he discharged with the most scrupulous and exemplary fidelity. At a still earlier period he became intimate with Mr Arbuthnot ; and this friendship, founded on mutual regard, continued unbroken till the death of that excellent man, in 1803. His acquaintance with Dr Beattie commenced in 1765, and a similarity of tastes, feelings, and character, soon led to that intimate friendship, which was never for a moment interrupted in this world, and of which Sir William has left so valuable and touching a proof in the life of his valued friend, which he published in 1805. So high an opinion had Dr Beattie formed, not only of his character, but judgment and literary acquirements, that he consulted him on all his publications, and especially on a "Postscript to the second edition of the Essay on Truth," which he submitted before publication to Dr John Gregory, Mr Arbuthnot, and Sir William.

He formed an acquaintance with Mrs Montague, at the house of Dr Gregory in Edinburgh, in 1766 ; and this afforded him, when he went to London, constant access to the drawing-room of that accomplished lady, then the centre not only of the whole literary and philosophical, but all the political and fashionable society of the metropolis. He there also became acquainted with Dr Porteus, then rector of Lambeth, and afterwards bishop of London, not only a divine of the highest abilities, but destined to become a prelate of the most dignified and unblemished manners, with whom he ever after kept up a close and confidential correspondence. Sylvester Douglas, afterwards lord Glenberrie, was one of his early and valued friends. He also was acquainted with Dr Moore, then dean, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury ; and Bennet Langton, a gentleman well known in the highest literary circles of London. Sir Joshua Reynolds early obtained a large and deserved share of his admiration and regard, and has left two admirable portraits of Sir William, which convey in the happiest manner the spirit of the original ; while Dr Johnson, whose acquaintance with him commenced in 1773, on his return from his well known tour in the Hebrides, conceived such a regard for his character, that he ever after, on occasion of his visits to London, honoured him with no common share of kindness and friendship. With Mr Boswell, the popular author of the "Life of Johnson," he was of course through his whole career on intimate terms. Miss Bowdler,

well known for her valuable writings on religious subjects; lord Hailes, the sagacious and enlightened antiquary of Scottish law; Mr Garrick, and Mr Burke, were also among his acquaintances. But it is superfluous to go farther into detail on this subject; suffice it to say, that he was an early member of the Literary Club in London, and lived all his life in terms of acquaintance or intimacy with its members, which contained a list of names immortal in English history; Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Warton, Edward Gibbon.

The friendship and acquaintance of such men necessarily led Sir William Forbes into a very extensive and interesting literary correspondence, a species of composition then much more usual than at this time, and which, if it sometimes engrossed time which might have been employed to more advantage, always exhibited a picture of thoughts and manners which future ages will look for in vain in the present generation of eminent men. His papers accordingly, contain a selection of interesting letters from great men, such as it rarely fell to the lot of any single individual, how fortunate or gifted soever, to accumulate. He was employed after the death of his esteemed and venerable friend, Mr Carr, of the Cowgate chapel, by his bequest, in the important duty of arranging and preparing the sermons for publication, which were afterwards given to the world; and he prepared, along with Dr Beattie and Mr Arbuthnot, the simple and pathetic inscription, which now stands over the grave of that excellent man, at the west end of St Paul's chapel, Edinburgh.

His intimate acquaintance with the first literary characters of the day, and the extensive correspondence which had thus fallen into his hands, probably suggested to Sir William Forbes the idea of writing the life of Dr Beattie, one of his earliest and most valued friends, and whose eminence was not only such as to call for such an effort of biography, but whose acquaintance with all the eminent writers of the time, rendered his life the most favourable opportunity for portraying the constellation of illustrious men who shed a glory over Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. He executed this work accordingly, which appeared in 1805, shortly before his death, in such a way as to give the most favourable impression of the distinction which he would have attained as an author, had his path in general not lain in a more extended and peculiar sphere of usefulness. It rapidly went through a second edition, and is now deservedly ranked high among the biographical and historical remains of the last century. Independent of the value and interest of the correspondence from the first characters of the day which it contains, it embraces an admirable picture of the life and writings of its more immediate subject, and is written in a lucid and elegant style, which shows how well the author had merited the constant intercourse which he maintained with the first literary characters of the age. Of the moral character of the work, the elevated and Christian sentiments which it conveys, no better illustration can be afforded, than by the transcript of the concluding paragraph of the life of his eminent friend; too soon, and truly, alas! prophetic of his own approaching dissolution:

“Here I close my account of the Life of Dr Beattie; throughout the whole of which, I am not conscious of having, in any respect, misrepresented either his actions or his character; and of whom to record the truth is his best praise.

“On thus reviewing the long period of forty years that have elapsed since the commencement of our intimacy, it is impossible for me not to be deeply affected by the reflection, that of the numerous friends with whom he and I were wont to associate, at the period of our earliest acquaintance, all, I think, except three, have already paid their debt to nature; and that in no long time,

(how soon is only known to Him, the great Disposer of all events) my grey hairs shall sink into the grave, and I also shall be numbered with those who have been. May a situation so awful make its due impression on my mind! and may it be my earnest endeavour to employ that short portion of life which yet remains to me, in such a manner, as that, when that last dread hour shall come, in which my soul shall be required of me, I may look forward with trembling hope to a happy immortality, through the merits and mediation of our ever blessed Redeemer!"

Nor was Sir William Forbes's acquaintance by any means confined to the circle of his literary friends, how large and illustrious soever that may have been. It embraced also, all the leading fashionable characters of the time; and at his house were assembled all the first society which Scotland could produce in the higher ranks. The duchess of Gordon, so well known by her lively wit and singular character; the duke of Athol, long the spirited and patriotic supporter of Highland improvements; Sir Adolphus Oughton, the respected and esteemed commander-in-chief, were among his numerous acquaintances. Edinburgh was not at that period as it is now, almost deserted by the nobility and higher classes of the landed proprietors, but still contained a large portion of the old or noble families of the realm; and in that excellent society, combining, in a remarkable degree, aristocratic elegance, with literary accomplishments, Sir William Forbes's house was perhaps the most distinguished. All foreigners, or Englishmen coming to Scotland, made it their first object to obtain letters of introduction to so distinguished a person; and he uniformly received them with such hospitality and kindness as never failed to make the deepest impression on their minds, and render his character nearly as well known in foreign countries as his native city.

Of the estimation in which, from this rare combination of worthy qualities, he was held in foreign countries, no better proof can be desired than is furnished by the following character of him, drawn by an Italian gentleman who visited Scotland in 1789, and published an account of his tour at Florence in the following year.—“Sir William Forbes is descended from an ancient family in Scotland, and was early bred to the mercantile profession, and is now the head of a great banking establishment in Edinburgh. The notes of the house to which he belongs circulate like cash through all Scotland, so universal is the opinion of the credit of the establishment. A signal proof of this recently occurred, when, in consequence of some mercantile disasters which had shaken the credit of the country, a run took place upon the bank. He refused the considerable offers of assistance which were made by several of the most eminent capitalists of Edinburgh, and by his firmness and good countenance soon restored the public confidence. He has ever been most courteous and munificent to strangers; nor do I ever recollect in any country to have heard so much good of any individual as this excellent person. His manners are in the highest degree both courteous and dignified; and his undeviating moral rectitude and benevolence of heart, have procured for him the unanimous respect of the whole nation. An affectionate husband, a tender and vigilant father, his prodigious activity renders him equal to every duty. He has not hitherto entered upon the career of literature or the arts; but he has the highest taste for the works of others in these departments, and his house is the place where their professors are to be seen to the greatest advantage. He possesses a very fine and well chosen selection of books, as well as prints, which he is constantly adding to. Nothing gives him greater pleasure than to bring together the illustrious men of his own country and the distinguished foreigners who are constantly introduced to his notice; and it was there accordingly, that I met with



Adam Smith, Blair, Mackenzie, Ferguson, Cullen, Black, and Robertson; names sufficient to cast a lustre over any century of another country."—*Lettere sur Inghilterra, Scozia et Olanda*, ii. 345.

Besides his other admirable qualities, Sir William Forbes was accomplished in no ordinary degree. He was extremely fond of reading, and notwithstanding his multifarious duties and numerous engagements, found time to keep up with all the publications of the day, and to dip extensively into the great writers of former days. He was a good draughtsman, and not only sketched well from nature himself, but formed an extensive and very choice collection of prints both ancient and modern. He was also well acquainted with music, and in early life played with considerable taste and execution on the flute and musical glasses. His example and efforts contributed much to form the concerts which at that period formed so prominent a part of the Edinburgh society; and his love for gayety and amusement of every kind, when kept within due bounds, made him a regular supporter of the dancing assemblies, then frequented by all the rank and fashion of Scotland, and formed in a great measure under his guidance and auspices.

Friendship was with him a very strong feeling, founded on the exercise which it afforded to the benevolent affections. He often repeated the maxim of his venerated friend and guardian, lord Pitsligo,—“It is pleasant to acquire knowledge, but still more pleasant to acquire friendship.”—No man was ever more warm and sincere in his friendships, or conferred greater acts of kindness on those to whom he was attached; and none left a wider chasm in the hearts of the numerous circles who appreciated his character.

He was extremely fond of society, and even convivial society, when it was not carried to excess. The native benevolence of his heart loved to expand in the social intercourse and mutual good will which prevailed upon such occasions. He thought well of all, judging of others by his own singleness and simplicity of character. His conversational powers were considerable, and his store of anecdotes very extensive. He uniformly supported, to the utmost of his power, every project for the amusement and gratification of the young, in whose society he always took great pleasure, even in his advanced years; inso-much, that it was hard to say whether he was the greatest favourite with youth, manhood, or old age.

No man ever performed with more scrupulous and exemplary fidelity the important duties of a father to his numerous family, and none were ever more fully rewarded, even during his own lifetime, by the character and conduct of those to whom he had given birth. In the “*Life of Dr Beattie*,” ii. 136, and 155, mention is made of a series of letters on the principles of natural and revealed religion, which he had prepared for the use of his children. Of this work, we are only prevented by our limits from giving a few specimens.

He was intimately acquainted with lord Melville, and by him introduced to Mr Pitt, who had frequent interviews with him on the subject of finance. In December, 1790, he was, at Mr Pitt's desire, consulted on the proposed augmentation of the stamps on bills of exchange, and many of his suggestions on the subject were adopted by that statesman.

No man could have more successfully or conscientiously conducted the important banking concern entrusted to his care. The large sums deposited in his hands, and the boundless confidence universally felt in the solvency of the establishment, gave him very great facilities, if he had chosen to make use of them, for the most tempting and profitable speculations. But he uniformly declined having any concern in such transactions regarding the fortunes of others entrusted

to his care as a sacred deposit, to be administered with more scrupulous care and attention than his private affairs. The consequence was, that though he perhaps missed some opportunities of making a great fortune, yet he raised the reputation of the house to the highest degree for prudence and able management, and thus laid the foundation of that eminent character which it has ever since so deservedly enjoyed.

One peculiar and most salutary species of benevolence, was practised by Sir William Forbes to the greatest extent. His situation as head of a great banking establishment, led to his receiving frequent applications in the way of business for assistance, from young men not as yet possessed of capital. By a happy combination of caution with liberality in making these advances, by inquiring minutely into the habits and moral character of the individuals assisted, and proportioning the advance to their means and circumstances, he was enabled, to an almost incredible extent, to assist the early efforts of industry, without in the least endangering the funds committed by others to his care. Hundreds in every rank in Edinburgh were enabled, by his paternal assistance, to commence life with advantage, who otherwise could never have been established in the world; and numbers who afterwards rose to affluence and prosperity, never ceased in after years to acknowledge with the warmest gratitude, the timely assistance which first gave the turn to their heretofore adverse fortunes, and laid the foundation of all the success which they afterwards attained.

The benevolence of his disposition and the warmth of his heart seemed to expand with the advance of life and the increase of his fortune. Unlike most other men, he grew even more indulgent and humane, if that were possible, in his older than his earlier years. The intercourse of life, and the experience of a most extensive business, had no effect in diminishing his favourable opinion of mankind, or cooling his ardour in the pursuit of beneficence. Viewing others in the pure and unsullied mirror of his own mind, he imputed to them the warm and benevolent feelings with which he himself was actuated; and thought they were influenced by the same high springs of conduct which directed his own life. It was an early rule with him to set aside every year a certain portion of his income to works of charity, and this proportion increasing with the growth of his fortune, ultimately reached an almost incredible amount. Unsatisfied even with the immense extent and growing weight of his public and private charities, he had, for many years before his death, distributed large sums annually to individuals on whom he could rely to be the almoners of his bounty; and his revered friend, bishop Jolly, received in this way £100 a year, to be distributed around the remote village of Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire. These sums were bestowed under the most solemn promise of secrecy, and without any one but the person charged with the bounty being aware who the donor was. Numbers in this way in every part of the country partook of his charity, without then knowing whose was the hand which blessed them; and it frequently happened, that the same persons who had been succoured by his almoners, afterwards applied to himself; but on such occasions he invariably relieved them if they really seemed to require assistance; holding, as he himself expressed it, that his public and private charities were distinct; and that his right hand should not know what his left hand had given.

Lady Forbes having fallen into bad health, he was advised by her physician to spend the winter of 1792-3 in the south of Europe; and this gave him an opportunity of enjoying what he had long desired, without any probable prospect of obtaining—a visit to the Italian peninsula. He left Scotland in autumn, 1792; and returned in June, 1793. His cultivated taste made him enjoy this tour in the very highest degree; and the beneficial effect it produced

on lady Forbes's health, permitted him to feel the luxury of travelling in those delightful regions without any alloy. In going up the Rhine, he was arrested by a sentinel, while sketching the splendid castellated cliffs of Ehrenbreitzen; and only liberated on the commanding officer at the guard-house discovering that his drawings had nothing of a military character. The English society at Rome and Naples was very select that year, and he made many agreeable acquaintances, both in the Italian and British circles; to which he always afterwards looked back with the greatest interest. During the whole tour he kept a regular journal, which he extended when he returned home, at considerable length.

He was frequently offered a seat in parliament, both for the city of Edinburgh, and the county of Aberdeen; but he uniformly declined the offer. In doing so, he made no small sacrifice of his inclinations to a sense of duty; for no man ever enjoyed the society of the metropolis more than he did; and none had greater facilities for obtaining access to its most estimable branches, through his acquaintance with Dr Johnson, the Literary Club, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. But he felt that the attractions of this refined and intellectual society might withdraw him too much from his peculiar and allotted sphere of usefulness in life; and, therefore, he made a sacrifice of his private wishes in this particular to his conscientious feelings: a proceeding which, though strictly in unison with what his character would lead us to expect, is a greater instance of self-denial, than most men under similar temptations could have exerted.

His high character, extensive wealth, and old, and once ennobled family, naturally pointed him out as the person, in all Scotland, most worthy of being elevated to the peerage. In 1799, accordingly, his friend lord Melville wrote to him, that Mr Pitt proposed to recommend to his majesty to bestow an Irish peerage upon him. Though highly flattered by this unsolicited mark of regard in so high a quarter, his native good sense at once led him to see the disadvantages of the glittering offer. After mentioning it to lady Forbes, who entirely concurred with him, he resolved, however, to lay the matter before his eldest son, the late Sir William, whom he justly considered as more interested in the proposed honour, than he could be at his advanced years. He communicated the proposal, accordingly, to Mr Forbes, without any intimation of his opinion, and desired him to think it maturely over before giving his answer. Mr Forbes returned next day, and informed him, that personally he did not desire the honour; that he did not conceive his fortune was adequate to the support of the dignity; and that, although he certainly would feel himself bound to accept the family title of Pitsligo, if it was to be restored, yet, he deemed the acceptance of a new title too inconsistent with the mercantile establishment with which his fortunes were bound up, to render it an object of desire. Sir William informed him that these were precisely his own ideas on the subject; that he was extremely happy to find that they prevailed equally with one so much younger in years than himself; and that he had forbore to express his own ideas on the subject, lest his parental influence should in any degree interfere with the unbiassed determination of an individual more particularly concerned than himself. The honour, accordingly, was respectfully declined; and at the same time so much secrecy observed respecting a proposal, of which others would have been ready to boast, that it was long unknown to the members even of his own family, and only communicated shortly before his death, by the late Sir William, to his brothers, lord Medwyn, and George Forbes, Esq., on whose authority the occurrence is now given.

So scrupulous were his feelings of duty, that they influenced him in the



minutest particulars, which by other men are decided on the suggestion of the moment, without any consideration. An instance of this occurred at Rome, in spring, 1793. Sir William was at St Peter's when high mass was performed by cardinal York. He naturally felt a desire to see the last descendant of a royal and unfortunate family, in whose behalf his ancestors had twice taken the field; and was in the highest degree gratified by seeing the ceremony performed by that notable individual. After the mass was over, it was proposed to him to be presented to the cardinal; but though very desirous of that honour, he felt at a loss by what title to address him, as he had taken the title of Henry IX., by which he was acknowledged by France and the pope. To have called him, "your majesty," seemed inconsistent with the allegiance he owed, and sincerely felt, to the reigning family in Britain; while, to have addressed him as "your eminence," merely, might have hurt the feelings of the venerable cardinal, as coming from the descendant of a house noted for their fidelity to his unfortunate family. The result was, that he declined the presentation; an honour which, but for that difficulty, would have been the object of his anxious desire.

But the end of a life of so much dignity and usefulness, the pattern of benevolence, refinement, and courtesy, was at length approaching. He had a long and dangerous illness in 1791, from which, at the time, he had no hopes of recovery; and which he bore with the resignation and meekness which might have been expected from his character. Though that complaint yielded to the skill of his medical friends, it left the seeds of a still more dangerous malady, in a tendency to water in the chest. In 1802, he had the misfortune to lose lady Forbes, the loved and worthy partner of his virtues; which sensibly affected his spirits, though he bore the bereavement with the firmness and hope which his strong religious principles inspired. In May, 1806, shortly after his return from London, whither he had been summoned as a witness on lord Melville's trial, he began to feel symptoms of shortness of breath; and the last house where he dined was that of his son, lord Medwyn, on occasion of the christening of one of his children, on the 28th of June, 1806. After that time, he was constantly confined to the house; the difficulty of breathing increased, and his sufferings for many months were very severe. During all this trying period, not a complaint ever escaped his lips. He constantly prayed for assistance to be enabled to bear whatever the Almighty might send; and at length death closed his memorable career, on the 12th November, 1806; when surrounded by his family, and supported by all the hopes and consolations of religion, amidst the tears of his relations, and the blessings of his country.

Sir William Forbes was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, the late Sir William, a man of the most amiable and upright character, who having been cut off in the middle of his years and usefulness, was succeeded by his son, the present Sir John Stuart Forbes. The subject of our memoir left two sons, Mr. John Hay Forbes (lord Medwyn) and Mr George Forbes, and five daughters, four of whom were married: lady Wood, wife of Sir Alexander Wood; Mrs Macdonald of Glengarry; Mrs. Skene of Rubislaw; and Mrs Mackenzie of Portmore. We close this notice of Sir William Forbes in the words of Sir Walter Scott, who, in his notes to "Marmion," remarks of him, that he was "unequalled, perhaps, in the degree of individual affection entertained for him by his friends, as well as in the general esteem and respect of Scotland at large;" and who, in that noble poem, commemorates his virtues with equal truth and tenderness:—

"Far may we search, before we find  
A heart so manly and so kind!"

FORDYCE, DAVID, professor of philosophy in the Marischal college, Aberdeen, and author of several esteemed works, was one of the twenty-one children of provost Fordyce of that city, and whose wife was a sister of Alexander and Thomas Blackwell, whose lives have appeared previously in this work. The father of the Blackwells was professor of divinity, Dr Thomas Blackwell became professor of Greek, and his widow founded a chemical chair, in Marischal college, which has thus become identified with the history of both the Fordyces and the Blackwells. David Fordyce was born in 1711, and was the second son of his parents. To quote the only accessible authority respecting him<sup>1</sup>—After being educated at the grammar-school of his native city, he was entered of Marischal college in 1724, where he went through a course of philosophy under professor Daniel Jarden, and of mathematics under Mr John Stewart. He took his degree of A.M. in 1728, when he was but little more than seventeen years old. Being intended for the church, his next application was to the study of divinity, under the professor of that branch, Mr James Chalmers, a man of great learning and piety, and ancestor of the individuals who have so long carried on the Aberdeen Journal newspaper. Mr Fordyce studied divinity with great ardour, and in time obtained a license as a preacher of the gospel, though he was not so fortunate as to procure a living. In 1742, he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Marischal college, a chair which then demanded a greater range of accomplishments than now. It was the duty of Mr Fordyce, not only to deliver the usual philosophic lectures, but to give instructions in a similar manner on natural history, chronology, Greek and Roman antiquities, mechanics, optics, and astronomy; and it is acknowledged that he acquitted himself of this laborious task in a very respectable manner. The connexion of some of his colleagues with the literary system of the metropolis appears to have introduced Mr Fordyce to the celebrated Dodsley, by whom he was employed to write the article "Moral Philosophy" for the *Modern Preceptor*; a task which he performed in so creditable a manner, that it was afterwards found necessary to publish his work in an independent form, under the title of "The Elements of Moral Philosophy." It appeared in 1754, and was undoubtedly the most elegant and useful compendium of moral science which had then been given to the public. Previously to this, Mr Fordyce had attracted some notice as an author, though without his name, in "Dialogues concerning Education," the first volume of which was published in 1745, and the second in 1748. It is a work of very considerable merit, but somewhat tinged by the fopperies of the school of Shaftesbury, although entirely free from its more injurious notions. He was engaged in other literary designs, and afforded the promise of rising to great eminence in the world, when he was cut off by a premature death. In 1750, he made a tour through France, Italy, and other countries, with a particular view to visit Rome, and was returning home in 1751, when he unhappily lost his life, in the forty-first year of his age, by a storm on the coast of Holland.<sup>2</sup> His death is pathetically noticed by his brother, Dr James Fordyce, in his "Addresses to the Deity," and an epitaph from the same pen, conceived in a somewhat bombastical style, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796.

<sup>1</sup> An unpublished article of the *Biographia Britannica*, quoted in Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> The posthumous works of this ingenious person were, "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching," 12mo, which is a work of considerable utility to young divines, and has been repeatedly printed, along with his brother, Dr James Fordyce's sermon on "The Eloquence of the Pulpit;" and "The Temple of Virtue, a Dream," which was given to the world in 1757, with some additions by the same distinguished relative.

FORDYCE, GEORGE, a distinguished physician and lecturer on medicine, was born at Aberdeen, November 18, 1736, and was the only and posthumous child of Mr George Fordyce, a brother of the other three distinguished persons of the same name recorded in the present work, and the proprietor of a small landed estate, called Broadford, in the neighbourhood of that city. His mother, not long after, marrying again, he was taken from her, when about two years old, and sent to Foveran, at which place he received his school education. He was removed thence to the university of Aberdeen, where he was made M. A., when only fourteen years of age. In his childhood he had taken great delight in looking at vials of coloured liquids, which were placed at the windows of an apothecary's shop. To this circumstance, and to his acquaintance with the learned Alexander Garden, M. D., many years a physician in south Carolina, and latterly in London, but then apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary in Aberdeen, he used to attribute the resolution he very early formed to study medicine. He was in consequence sent, when about fifteen years old, to his uncle, Dr John Fordyce, who, at that time, practised medicine at Uppingham, in Northamptonshire. With him, he remained several years, and then went to the university of Edinburgh, where, after a residence of about three years, he received the degree of M. D. in October, 1758. His inaugural dissertation was upon catarrh. While at Edinburgh, Dr Cullen was so much pleased with his diligence and ingenuity, that, besides showing him many other marks of regard, he used frequently to give him private assistance in his studies. The pupil was ever after grateful for this kindness, and was accustomed to speak of his preceptor in terms of the highest respect, calling him often "his learned and revered master." About the end of 1758, he came to London, but went shortly after to Leyden, for the purpose, chiefly of studying anatomy under Albinus. He returned, in 1759, to London, where he soon determined to fix himself as a teacher and practitioner of medicine. When he made known this intention to his relations, they highly disapproved of it, as the whole of his patrimony had been expended upon his education. Inspired, however, with that confidence which frequently attends the conscious possession of great talents, he persisted in his purpose, and, before the end of 1759, commenced a course of lectures upon chemistry. This was attended by nine pupils. In 1764, he began to lecture also upon *Materia Medica* and the practice of physic. These three subjects he continued to teach nearly thirty years, giving, for the most part, three courses of lectures on each of them every year. A course lasted nearly four months; and, during it, a lecture of nearly an hour was delivered six times in the week. His time of teaching commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten; his lecture upon the three above mentioned subjects being given, one immediately after the other. In 1765 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1770 he was chosen physician to St Thomas's hospital, after a considerable contest with Sir William (then Dr) Watson; the number of votes in his favour being 109, in that of Dr Watson 106. In 1774 he became a member of the Literary Club; and in 1776 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1787 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. No circumstance can demonstrate more strongly the high opinion entertained of his abilities by the rest of the profession in London, than his reception into that body. He had been particularly active in the dispute, which had existed about twenty years before, between the fellows and licentiates, and had, for this reason, it was thought, forfeited all title to be admitted into the fellowship through favour. But the college, in 1787, were preparing a new edition of their *Pharmacopœia*; and there was confessedly no one of their own number well acquainted with pharmaceutical chemistry. They wisely, therefore, suppressed their resentment of his former



conduct, and, by admitting him into their body, secured his assistance in a work which they were unable to perform well themselves. In 1793 he assisted in forming a small society of physicians and surgeons, which afterwards published several volumes, under the title of "Medical and Chirurgical Transactions;" and continued to attend its meetings most punctually till within a month or two of his death. Having thus mentioned some of the principal events of his literary life, we shall next give a list of his various medical and philosophical works; and first, of those which were published by himself. 1. Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation. He had given a course of lectures on these subjects to some young men of rank; soon after the close of which, one of his hearers, the late Mr Stuart Mackenzie, presented him with a copy of them, from notes he had taken while they were delivered. Dr Fordyce corrected the copy, and afterwards published it under the above mentioned title. 2. Elements of the practice of Physic. This was used by him as a text-book for a part of his course of lectures on that subject. 3. A Treatise on the Digestion of Food. It was originally read before the College of Physicians, as the Guelstonian Lecture. 4. Four Dissertations on Fever. A fifth, which completes the subject, was left by him in manuscript, and afterwards published. His other works appeared in the Philosophical Transactions, and the Medical and Chirurgical Transactions. In the former are eight papers by him, with the following titles: 1. Of the Light produced by Inflammation. 2. Examination of various Ores in the Museum of Dr W. Hunter. 3. A New Method of assaying Copper Ores. 4. An Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies on being melted or heated. 5. An Account of an Experiment on Heat. 6. The Cronian Lecture on Muscular Motion. 7. On the Cause of the additional Weight which Metals acquire on being calcined. 8. Account of a New Pendulum, being the Bakerian Lecture.—His papers in the Medical and Chirurgical Transactions are: 1. Observations on the Small-pox, and Causes of Fever. 2. An Attempt to improve the Evidence of Medicine. 3. Some Observations upon the composition of Medicines. He was, besides, the inventor of the experiments in heated rooms, an account of which was given to the Royal Society by Sir Charles Bladgen; and was the author of many improvements in various arts connected with chemistry, on which he used frequently to be consulted by manufacturers. Though he had projected various literary works in addition to those which have been mentioned, nothing was left by him in manuscript, except the Dissertation on Fever already spoken of, and two introductory lectures, one to his Course of Materia Medica, the other to that of the Practice of Physic. This will not appear extraordinary to those who knew what confidence he had in the accuracy of his memory. He gave all his lectures without notes, and perhaps never possessed any; he took no memorandum in writing of the engagements he formed, whether of business or pleasure, and was always most punctual in observing them; and when he composed his works for the public, even such as describe successions of events, found together, as far as we can perceive, by no necessary tie, his materials, such at least as were his own, were altogether drawn from stores in his memory, which had often been laid up there many years before. In consequence of this retentiveness of memory, and of great reading and a most inventive mind, he was, perhaps, more generally skilled in the sciences, which are either directly subservient to medicine, or remotely connected with it, than any other person of his time. One fault in his character as an author, probably arose, either wholly or in part, from the very excellence which has been mentioned. This was his deficiency in the art of literary composition; the knowledge of which he might have insensibly acquired, to a much greater degree than was possessed by him,

had he felt the necessity in his youth of frequently committing his thoughts to writing, for the purpose of preserving them. But, whether this be just or not, it must be confessed, that, notwithstanding his great learning, which embraced many subjects no way allied to medicine, he seldom wrote elegantly, often obscurely and inaccurately; and that he frequently erred with respect even to orthography. His language, however, in conversation, which confirms the preceding conjecture, was not less correct than that of most other persons of good education. As a lecturer, his delivery was slow and hesitating, and frequently interrupted by pauses not required by his subject. Sometimes, indeed, these continued so long, that persons unaccustomed to his manner, were apt to fear that he was embarrassed. But these disadvantages did not prevent his having a considerable number of pupils, actuated by the expectation of receiving from him more full and accurate instruction than they could elsewhere obtain. His person is said to have been handsome in his youth; but his countenance, from its fulness, must have been always inexpressive of the great powers of his mind. His manners too were less refined, and his dress in general less studied, than what most persons in this country regard as proper for a physician. From these causes, and from his spending no more time with his patients than what was sufficient for his forming a just opinion of their ailments, he had for many years but little private employment in his profession; and never, even in the latter part of his life, when his reputation was at its height, enjoyed nearly so much as many of his contemporaries. It is worthy of mention, however, that the amount of his fees, during the year immediately preceding his decease, was greater, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, than it had ever been before in the same space of time. He had always been fond of the pleasures of society; and in his youth, to render the enjoyment of them compatible with his pursuits after knowledge, he used to sleep very little. He has often, indeed, been known to lecture for three hours in a morning without having undressed himself the preceding night. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to sustain, for a considerable time, without apparent injury, this debilitating mode of life. But at length he was attacked with gout, which afterwards became irregular, and for many years frequently affected him with excruciating pains in his stomach and bowels. In the latter part of his life also, his feet and ancles were almost constantly swollen; and, shortly before his death, he had symptoms of water in the chest. But these he disregarded, and uniformly attributed his situation, which for several weeks previous to his death he knew to be hopeless, to the presence of the first-mentioned disease. Death ultimately relieved him from his sufferings, May 25, 1802, when he was in the 64th year of his age. By his wife, who was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Esq., conservator of Scots privileges in the United Netherlands, and whom he had married in 1762, he left four children, two sons and two daughters.

FORDYCE, JAMES, D.D., author of the *Sermons to Young Women*, was a younger brother of the subject of a separate article, and the fourth son of his parents. He was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and received the education requisite for a minister of the Scottish church at the Marischal college. In 1752, he was appointed minister of Brechin, but soon after was removed to Alloa, where at first he had many prejudices to encounter, though his popular manners and captivating style of pulpit oratory enabled him very speedily to overcome them. During his brief residence in this parish, he published three occasional sermons, which attracted much notice; and in 1760, he increased his fame to a great degree by a discourse "On the Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures," which he preached before the General Assembly, and afterwards gave to the public. The novelty of this sermon in a country where all the best sermons were

evangelical, and the elegance of its style and sentiments, produced a great impression throughout the country. The preacher soon after went to London, and notwithstanding the difference between the Scottish Confession of Faith and the tenets of the English dissenters, offered himself on a vacancy at the meeting in Carter Lane, but without success. About this time, he received the degree of D. D. from the university of Glasgow, and was invited by the meeting in Monkwell Street to be co-pastor with Dr Lawrence, then aged and infirm. This invitation he accepted, and upon Dr Lawrence's death, which happened soon after, he became sole pastor, and entered into the enjoyment of a very respectable income. During his ministry in this place, he acquired a higher degree of popularity than probably ever was, or ever will be attained by the same means. The strong force of his eloquence drew men of all ranks and all persuasions to hear him. His action and elocution were original, and peculiarly striking, being not a little assisted by his figure, which was tall beyond the common standard, and by a set of features which in preaching displayed great variety of expression and animation. Besides his regular attendants, who subscribed to his support, his meeting was frequented by men curious in eloquence; and it is said, that the celebrated David Garrick was more than once a hearer, and spoke of Dr Fordyce's skill in oratory with great approbation. With respect to his theological sentiments, he appears to have possessed that general liberality which is civil to all systems, without being attached to any. From his printed works, it would be easier to prove that he belonged to no sect, than that he held the principles of any. As to the matter, morality appears to have been his chief object; and as to the manner, he ardently studied a polish and a spirit, which was then seldom met with in English pulpits, although it had not been unusual in those of France.

In 1771, Dr Fordyce married Miss Henrietta Cunmyngs; and in 1775, he was involved in an unhappy dispute with his coadjutor, Mr Toller, son-in-law to Dr Lawrence. This misunderstanding originated in some omission of ceremonial politeness between the two reverend gentlemen, and from the want of mutual concession, the breach widened, till reconciliation became impossible. Dr Fordyce appears, indeed, to have been of an irritable temper, which led him on this occasion to be guilty of an act which ultimately he had reason deeply to regret, as it proved most injurious to his own interest. For, on undertaking to perform the whole duty of the chapel, he possessed sufficient influence to have Mr Toller ejected from the pastoral charge. The consequence was, that the congregation became dissatisfied, split into parties, and gradually dispersed, when Dr Fordyce was obliged to resign the ministry. It is true, that bad health and the infirmities of old age had their share in constraining him to this step, but the congregation had previously almost entirely deserted the chapel, which was soon after shut up. Finding himself no longer useful as a preacher, Dr Fordyce, in the year 1783, left London, and retired first to Hampshire, and finally to Bath, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1796, in the 76th year of his age. We have, in the following letter from Mrs Fordyce, a very interesting and instructing narrative of this melancholy event, while it presents, at the same time, a lively picture of Dr Fordyce's piety and of some of the more amiable traits of his character.

"My dear sir, being now able to sit up, I can only say, that had the state of my health, when your last soothing but affecting letter came to hand, admitted of my writing at all, such a letter from a favourite friend, would have impelled me to give it an immediate reply. Accept, dear sir, of my gratitude for what it contained, especially for that sympathy I so much stand in need of; it is the balm of true friendship; and though it reaches me from various



quarters, still the wound bleeds, and will continue to bleed, till God shall heal it by that re-union of souls which must take place ere long.

“Hardly two people accost each other without an eulogium on his character, and a sigh for his death—but death it was not. To all human appearance, he was translated. We spent a most agreeable evening together in my dressing-room, in which he was fond of sitting, on account of the fine air of the vale behind and the prospect: for he still kept his relish for all that was beautiful in nature. We were both engrossed with William Cowper’s sermon to the Jews.

“I read the hymns and psalms in the little pamphlet.—‘Ah!’ said he, ‘this carries me back to Monkwell Street, where we sang it together with my beloved flock; the strain shall be exalted when next we sing it.’ Then turning to me he said, ‘we have read enough for to night—before you call for supper, let us have some music.’ My niece is a very fine performer—she immediately sat down to accompany him in some of his favourite airs on the piano-forte; and a very fine cadence she sung, so delighted him, that he made her do it over again, and turning to me, he said, ‘How many things have we to be grateful for! The musical ear is a gift peculiar to some, withheld from others; there are many things in life richly to be enjoyed; all that leads up to God we may delight in; but whatever has no reference to him, we should avoid. There are books called religious offices, preparations for the sacrament, and preparations for death, &c.; but for my own part, I never could think that such preparations consisted in such times being set apart for offices, and then returning to the world, as having done with heaven for the time being. A man is not truly prepared for death, unless by the tenor of his life he feels himself so wholly given up to God, that his mind is in heaven, before he goes hence; and he can only bring himself to that, by the perpetual silent reference in all his words, thoughts, and actions, to his Creator, which I have so often mentioned to you.’ I replied, ‘That indeed, doctor, is the test or criterion, to judge himself by, for a man dare have no reference or appeal for his actions to God, if his deeds condemn him to his own conscience.’—‘God be praised,’ said he, ‘if I should leave you, I desire you may avail yourself of them.’ In addition to religion and the Scriptures, there are books, friendships and music: I would name more, but these are sufficient;—cast yourself on God through your Redeemer. He will care for you and raise you up friends.’ I aimed at changing the conversation, and said, ‘But you are better, my dear.’ ‘I am certainly easier,’ he replied, and have had less pain and better symptoms for two or three weeks past; and I assure you, my beloved, I am not tired of life at all: for though the Almighty knows I have been long ready for the summons, yet if it is his pleasure to let the lamp of life burn on a little longer, I am satisfied, and I am his.’

“He sat his usual time after supper, which he partook of in a moderate way, without any disrelish. About eleven he rang for the servants, who with my niece and myself attended him every night to his bed-chamber. To my unspeakable joy, it seemed to cost him much less effort than common to mount the stairs; which formerly was so painful a task, that at every landing place a chair was set for him to rest on, ere he could ascend to the next. He joined us all in observing with gratitude and wonder, that he should gain more ease by living longer. He and I conversed in a very pleasing style on various subjects till about one o’clock, and then he urged my going to bed, lest I should be hurt by such late hours. He also forbade me to get up in the night, as anxiety about him had often made me do, unless I should hear him call me; he made me promise I would not, after which we embraced. I left him very happy, comfortable, and serene; I might add even cheerful. We both

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