

Hon. J. Kincaid

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Russia.

fian army entered Finland in the beginning of March, under the command of General Buxhoeven, and advanced against Helsingfors, which was occupied by a single battalion of a Swedish regiment. This small force retired into the fortress of Sveaborg, where they maintained themselves with great bravery till the 17th of April, when they were obliged to capitulate. The loss of this fortress, though inconsiderable in itself, so highly enraged the king of Sweden, that he dismissed the naval and military commanders who had been concerned in the capitulation.

On the 27th of April, some slight advantage was gained over the Russians near Rivolax, by the Swedish army under General Klincksjö; but this was only a partial gleam of success. The Russians soon overran almost all Finland, took possession of Wasa, old and new Carleby, and reduced under subjection the whole province of which Wasa is the capital. The army of Field-marshal Klincksjö, which originally consisted of 16,000 regulars, and many boors, was, by the end of the campaign, reduced to little more than 9000 men. The Russian troops were said to have committed great excesses, in consequence of which the king of Sweden addressed the following letter to the emperor of Russia.

"Honour and humanity enjoin me to make the most forcible remonstrances to your imperial majesty against the numberless cruelties and the injustice committed by the Russian troops in Swedish Finland. These proceedings are too well known and confirmed, to require from me any proof of their reality; for the blood of the ill-fated victims still cries aloud for vengeance against the abettors of such enormities. Let not your imperial majesty's heart be insensible to the representations which I find myself compelled to make to you, in the name of my faithful subjects in Finland. But what is the object of this war, as unjust as it is unnatural? It is not I suppose to excite the strongest aversion for the Russian name? Is it criminal in my subjects in Finland not to have suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance by promises as false as the principles on which they are founded? Does it become a sovereign to make loyalty a crime? I conjure your imperial majesty to put a stop to the calamities and horrors of a war which cannot fail to bring down on your own person and government the curses of divine Providence. Half of my dominions in Finland are already delivered by my brave Finnish troops; your majesty's fleet is shut up in Baltic port, without the hope of ever getting out, any otherwise than as a conquest; your flotilla of galleys has recently sustained a very severe defeat, and my troops are at this moment landing in Finland, to reinforce those who will point out to them the road to honour and to glory."

"Head-quarters, Sept. 7. 1808."

(Signed) "GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

VOL. XVIII. Part II.

Russia.

1809.

The king of Sweden continued to send reinforcements to his armies in Finland, but no advantages of any importance were obtained, and the Russians still remain in possession of a great part of that province. It was expected that the late deposition of Gustavus Adolphus, and the elevation of his uncle, the duke of Sudermania, to the Swedish throne, would have produced a change of measures; but it appears that hostilities between the Swedes and Russians have not yet terminated, though nothing of moment has lately been attempted by either party.

We have now brought to a conclusion the historical part of this article, in which we have taken a comprehensive view of the principal military and political transactions of Russia, from the establishment of the monarchy under Ruric, to the present year 1809. The military power of Alexander, so much weakened in the battles of Austerlitz, of Eylau, and of Friedland, seems not to have recovered that vigour by which it was distinguished at the commencement of his reign. The boasted successes which he has been so long expected to send to his imperial ally Napoleon, have not reached the banks of the Danube; but the concentration of the Russian forces in Polish Galicia, shews that Alexander is preparing to share in the spoil of Austria, now once more on the point of subjugation to the haughty power of France. The sanguinary battle of Aspern, fought on the plain of the Marchfeld, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d of May, though it was supposed to have paralysed the exertions of Bonaparte, had evidently so much weakened the inferior forces of the Austrians, that they could do little more than act on the defensive, and entrench themselves between Vienna and Presburg. If the afflicting intelligence that is just published, of a second battle on the 5th and 6th of July, in which the French gained a complete victory, be correct, the fate of Austria is decided; and the dismemberment of her territories will probably be the result of her intrepid but unavailing opposition to the ambitious views of Napoleon (κ.)

In our remarks on the political and civil geography of Russia, we shall begin with the population. To state this with any degree of accuracy, in an empire so extensive, and where the inhabitants are, in many places, so thinly scattered, is almost impossible. It is not surprising, therefore, that the accounts given by different writers are extremely various. The population has been commonly stated at about 25,000,000, before the last partition of Poland; and as by this event the empire was supposed to have gained about 5,000,000 of inhabitants, its whole population has been estimated at 30,000,000. According to an enumeration taken several times by government during the 18th century, the population had gradually increased from 14,000,000 to 30,000,000. Thus, the number of people was,

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Extent of  
population  
in the Rus-  
sian empire.

(κ) There is every reason to believe that the campaign between the French and Austrians is at an end. When this sheet was put to press, the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th bulletins of the French army on the Danube had arrived; and from these it appears, that the battle above alluded to, took place at Enzerdorf on the 5th, and was renewed at Wagram on the 6th; that in both these actions the Austrians were defeated with great loss; that on the 11th the contest had again begun near Znaim, but was terminated by the arrival of an Austrian general in the camp of Napoleon, and that on that day, an armistice for one month was concluded between the two emperors. This measure, which seems to have been hastened by the intelligence that the Russians were rapidly approaching in the rear of the Austrians, is probably the prelude to a peace, which can scarcely be obtained without great sacrifices on the part of Austria.

|         |          |            |
|---------|----------|------------|
| Russia. | in 1722, | 14,000,000 |
|         | 1742,    | 16,000,000 |
|         | 1762,    | 20,000,000 |
|         | 1782,    | 28,000,000 |
|         | 1788,    | 30,000,000 |

rector, and has a secretary under him. The vice-chancellor of the empire is a member of this council. The post of grand-chancellor is sometimes suffered to remain vacant.

Russia.

If these data are correct, we should, since the last partition of Poland, estimate the whole population at 35,000,000, and even this is probably below the truth. Sir John Carr, in his Northern Summer, has extended it to 40,000,000, which is perhaps not too much.

Of this population very little belongs to Asiatic Russia, to which Mr Tooke will not allow more than 4,000,000. In estimating the degree of population by the square mile in Asiatic Russia, he reckons, but upon what data it is not easy to ascertain, a little more than 16 inhabitants for the square German mile, and he allows no more than 318 to the same surface in European Russia.

There are several facts which prove that the population of the Russian empire is still on the increase. Thus, in 1803, the number of marriages was 300,470, that of the births of the same year 1,270,341, and that of the deaths only 791,973, so that the number of births exceeded that of deaths by 478,368, and the population had of course in that year increased nearly half a million (L).

In the year 1804, the number of marriages was 311,798; of births 715,334 males, and 642,233 females, making 1,357,567, and of deaths 439,137 males, and 380,681 females, making a total of 819,818; so that in the course of that year, the number of births exceeded that of deaths by 537,749.

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Govern-  
ment.

The government of Russia appears always to have been despotic; and we have no traces of any legislative power distinct from that of the sovereign, as what is called the senate, is only the supreme court of judicature. Vasilii Schuiskoy, who obtained the crown in 1606, (see N<sup>o</sup> 88.), pretended to obtain it in consequence of a free election by the senate and people; but we have seen that his coronation was produced by intrigues among the chiefs, and there appears in the Russian history no vestige of any national council, parliament, or estates of the empire, far less of a free elective diet, like that which distinguished the republic of Poland. The emperor is absolute lord, not only over all the estates of the empire, but also of the lives of his subjects. The greatest noblemen call themselves his slaves, and execute his commands with the most implicit obedience. The common people revere him as something supernatural, and never mention his name, or any thing immediately belonging to him, without marks of the most profound respect and awful veneration.

During the reign of Catharine II. the immediate administration of affairs was nominally vested in what was called her imperial majesty's council. This was composed of the principal officers and persons of the empire, namely, of general feldt-marschals, generals in chief, and actual privy-counsellors: at present they are 14 in number; the fifteenth fills the place of a chancery-di-

The cabinet, to which belongs the care of the sovereign's private affairs or concerns, as likewise the reception of petitions, consists generally of ten persons, the high-steward of the household, privy-counsellors, major-generals, and state-counsellors, with their several subordinate officers and chanceries. It also examines dispatches, passes accounts, &c. takes cognizance of the produce of silver mines, &c. Whoever is not satisfied with a decision of the senate, may appeal by petition to the cabinet; and in this respect it does the office of a supreme tribunal, in which the sovereign in person decides.

In extraordinary cases it sometimes happens that a special high court of justice is appointed, not subordinate to the senate, but immediately under the sovereign. The presidents are usually taken from the imperial colleges and other eminent stations, and likewise from among the members of the synod. Where the alleged offence is of an extremely heinous nature, the examination is first made by particular persons appointed for that purpose, and the protocol is laid before the commissioners for their judgements.

Tooke's  
View,  
vol. ii.  
p. 341.

In number of titles the emperor of Russia rivals the proudest monarchs of the east. In the reign of Catharine II. the imperial titles, when written at length, ran thus:—"By the grace of God, Catharine II. empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, of Mosco, Kief, Vladimir, Novgorod; tzarina of Kazan, tzarina of Astrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Tauridan Chersonese, lady of Pskove, and grand duchess of Smolensk; princesses of Esthonia, Livonia, Karelia, Tver, Yugoria, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and other countries; lady and grand duchess of Novgorod of the low country, of Tschernigof, Reazan, Polotsk, Rostof, Yaroslavl, Bielosero, Udoria, Obdoria, Kondia, Vitepsk, Mstislavl; sovereign of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria, of the Kartalinian and Grusinian tzars, and of the Kabardinian country, of the Tscherkassians, and of the mountain princes, and of others hereditary lady and sovereign.

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Imperial  
titles.

We probably know very little of the amount of the Russian revenues. From the most correct intelligence that Mr Tooke could procure, he has estimated them at about 46,000,000 of rubles, though it is probable that they amount to a much greater sum. Taking the ruble at an average value of four shillings, according to Mr Tooke's directions, we may compute the revenue at about 10,000,000l. sterling, all at the entire disposal of the emperor. It does not appear that this revenue is diminished by any national debt.

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Revenues.

The Russian empire appears to possess a very large disposable armed force. The following estimate made up from the reports of the different corps, inserted in the registers of the college of war, will shew the state of

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Army.

(L) It is curious to remark how many people of a very advanced age died in Russia during this year. Thus among the deaths are reckoned 1145 between 95 and 100; 158 between 100 and 105; 90 between 105 and 110; 34 between 110 and 115; 36 between 115 and 120; 15 between 120 and 125; 5 between 125 and 130; and 2 between 145 and 150.

Russia, of the Russian army at the beginning of the year 1795.

Number of men in pay.

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| 19 regiments of artillery,   | 38,110  |
| 11 regiments of grenadiers, of 4075 men each,  | 51,048  |
| 3 regiments of grenadiers, of 1000 to 3000 men each,   |         |
| 51 regiments of musketeers, composed of 10 companies of musketeers, and two companies of grenadiers, each regiment being composed of 2424 men, |         |
| 7 regiments of musketeers without grenadiers,  | 139,592 |
| 1 regiment of musketeers, of 4 battalions 4143 men,  |         |
| New arquebusers, so called,  | 5,897   |
| 12 battalions of musketeers, of 1019 men,  | 16,653  |
| 3 battalions of musketeers, of 1475 men,   |         |
| 48 battalions infantry, in garrison on the frontiers, 10 in the country,   | 82,393  |
| 9 corps of chaffeurs of 4 battalions of 988 men each, 3992,  | 25,928  |
| 3 battalions of chaffeurs,   |         |
| 5 regiments of cuirassiers of 1106 and 1125 men,   | 5,490   |
| 10 regiments of dragoons of 1882 men, two with hussars mounted,  | 23,573  |
| 8 regiments of carabineers of 1106 men, eight do. of 988 men,  |         |
| 2 regiments of hussars of 1119 men, three squadrons of hussars, one do.  | 16,352  |
| 4 regiments of chaffeurs of 1838 men,  | 7,352   |
| 5 regiments of light horse of 1047 men,  | 5,235   |
| 6 regiments of cavalry of the Ukraine, of 1047 men,  | 6,282   |
| 16 regiments of regular Kozak cavalry, Troops to guard the country,  | 30,882  |
| In the new provinces acquired from Poland in the first partition, six brigades of 1819 men,  | 23,360  |
| 3 brigades of light horse, of 1098 men, four of infantry of 1447, &c. in all,  |         |
| Invalids in garrison,  | 3,864   |
| Soldiers sons at school for service,   | 16,816  |
| Troops to assist the commissaries, &c.   | 1,258   |

Total regular troops, 541,741

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Irregular Kozak cavalry 21,625,  | 46,601  |
| Irregular troops of the Don Kozaks,  |         |
| Cavalry all in actual service 24,976,  |         |
| A great number of other irregular troops, all cavalry, as Kalmuks, Balchkirs, &c. not enrolled, but ready when called out, (they receive no pay), at least | 100,000 |

688,342

The Russian regiments are usually encamped from the end of May to the end of August. The soldiers are allowed no straw in their tents, but each man lies on the bare and often wet ground. When he mounts guard, it is for a fortnight together; but when he is taken ill, he is attended with the greatest care by the medical officers appointed by government. No expence is spar-

ed in providing hospitals, for which purpose large buildings have been constructed in the principal towns, and a proper number of physicians and surgeons attached to each. Here the patients are supplied with medicines and diet suited to the nature of their complaints. Still, however, the Russian soldiers enter the hospitals with reluctance, and leave them as soon as possible.

Notwithstanding the great population of the Russian empire, it sometimes requires the utmost stretch of arbitrary power to raise levies for recruiting the army, as the lower orders of the people are more averse to the military profession in Russia than in almost any other country. This is the more extraordinary, as the pay is tolerably good, and they are furnished in abundance with the necessaries of life. It is true that leave of absence can seldom be obtained, and each soldier is bound to serve for 25 years. The discipline is severe, and the subaltern officers may, on their own authority, inflict punishment on any private, to the extent of 20 strokes of a cane. While the soldiers remain in garrison, they are generally not allowed to marry; but when permitted to marry, there is an extra allowance for their wives and children\*.

\* Tooke's Cathedrine II. vol. ii.

There is one absurdity in the dress of the Russian soldiers, especially in that of the officers, which merits notice. Their waists are so pinched by the tightness of their clothes, and a leathern belt over the coat, as must certainly impede their respiration, and otherwise affect their health †.

† See Porter's Travels.

Of the regular troops, the imperial foot guards are the most respectable. Their uniform consists of a green coat turned up with red, with white pantaloons, and very high caps or hats, surmounted with a black feather or tuft of hair. Of the other troops, the most remarkable are the Kozaks, which form the principal cavalry of the empire. Of those there are several varieties, but the most striking are the Donsky Kozaks. The persons, air, and appointments of these troops seem completely at variance with those of the horses on which they are mounted. The men are fierce and robust, generally dressed in a blue jacket and pantaloons or loose trowsers, with a black cap surmounted by a kind of red turban. They are distinguished by formidable whiskers, and are armed with a sabre, a brace of pistols, and a long spear. Their horses are mean in shape, slouching in motion, and have every appearance of languor and debility. They are, however, extremely hardy and tractable; will travel incalculable journeys, and remain exposed, without inconvenience, to all the vicissitudes of the weather.

198 Navy.

The navy of Russia is respectable; but since her rupture with Great Britain, it has become nearly useless. It generally consists of several detached fleets, of which one belongs to the Baltic, and another to the Black sea; the former having its rendezvous at Cronstadt, the latter at Sevastopol and Kherfon. There is also generally a small squadron on the Caspian. In 1794, the Baltic fleet consisted of 40 ships of the line, and 15 frigates; while that of the Black sea was composed of 8 ships of the line, and 12 frigates. The Caspian squadron consists of three or four small frigates, and a few corvettes. Besides these fleets, there was lately at Odessa in the Black sea, a flotilla consisting of 25 very large vessels, and 60 vessels of inferior size, to serve as transports for conveying troops. The Russians are said to

Russia. be averſe to a ſeaſaring life, but the ſailors are extremely brave. In point of neatneſs, the Ruſſian ſhips are inferior to thoſe of any other European nation.

As connected with the government of the empire, we ſhall here notice the coins, weights, and meaſures, all of which are regulated by government.

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Coins. The ſtandard according to which the value of the Ruſſian coins is uſually eſtimated, is the ruble; but as the value of this coin, with reſpect to the money of other countries, varies according to the courſe of exchange between theſe countries and Ruſſia, it is neceſſary to take into account the value of the ruble as it ſtands at any particular time. When Sir John Carr was in Ruſſia in 1804, the ruble was worth only 2s. 8d. of Engliſh money, and as the courſe of exchange between Great Britain and Ruſſia is now againſt the latter country, we may perhaps eſtimate the ruble at about 2s. Keeping this in view, the following table by Mr Tooke will ſhow the value of the Ruſſian coins.

|         |   |                       |               |
|---------|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| GOLD.   | { | Imperial,             | 10 rubles.    |
|         |   | Half imperial,        | 5             |
|         | { | Ruble,                | 100 copecks.  |
|         |   | Half ruble,           | 50            |
| SILVER. | { | Quarter ruble,        | 25            |
|         |   | Twenty-copeck piece,  | 20            |
|         |   | Fifteen-copeck piece, | 15            |
|         |   | Grievnik,             | 10            |
|         |   | Five-copeck piece,    | 5             |
| COPPER. | { | Petaki,               | 5             |
|         |   | Groſch,               | 2             |
|         |   | Copeck,               | 1             |
|         |   | Denuſhka,             | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|         |   | Poluſhka,             | $\frac{1}{4}$ |

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Weights. It is not eaſy to compute the Ruſſian weights, according to the ſtandard of either avoirdupois or troy weight. The leaſt Ruſſian weight is called ſolotnik, and weighs about 68 troy grains, or a little more than one troy dram. Three ſolotniks make a *lote*, and 32 *lotes* or 96 ſolotniks, a Ruſſian pound. Thus the Ruſſian is to the troy pound, as 6528 is to 5760. Forty-five Ruſſian pounds are equal to 38 Hamburgh pounds. It is uſual in Ruſſia to eſtimate the parts of a pound by ſolotniks, and not by *lotes*; thus, any thing that weighs 7 *lotes*, is ſaid to weigh 27 ſolotniks.

A Ruſſian pood weighs 40 Ruſſian pounds, or 3840 ſolotniks, and is by Mr Tooke reckoned at 36 Engliſh pounds avoirdupois.

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Meaſures. The meaſures of Ruſſia, as in other countries, may be divided into meaſures of length and meaſures of capacity. The former are eaſily eſtimated in Engliſh meaſure, as the Engliſh foot was adopted by Peter the Great, and is now the ſtandard for the whole empire. It is alſo divided into 12 inches, but every inch is divided into 10 lines, and each line into 10 ſcruples. Twenty-eight Engliſh inches make an arſhine, and three arſhines one ſajéne, or Ruſſian fathom, equal to 7 feet Engliſh.

A Ruſſian verſt is equal to 3500 Engliſh feet; and a geographical mile contains 6 verſts, 475 ſajénes, and 7.25 arſhines.

Superficial meaſure is ſometimes eſtimated by ſquare verſts and ſajénes, but more commonly by deſaétines; each of which is equal to 2400 ſquare ſajénes, or 117,600 Engliſh ſquare feet.

Russia. Of dry meaſures of capacity, the ſmalleſt is the *gar-niſza*, *oſmuka*, or *oſmuſhka*, which is a meaſure capable of holding 5 Ruſſian pounds of dried rye, and is uſed chiefly in meaſuring out corn for horſes. A poltchetverick contains  $614\frac{1}{2}$  Paris cubic inches, or half a pood of dried rye. A poloinina contains 8 poltchetvericks, or four tchetvericks. A tonne of corn at Reval holds 5964 French cubic inches; at Rlga, 6570; at Narva, 8172; and in Viborg it is equal to the weight of 6 pood. A Riga lof meaſures 3285 French cubic inches, and is equal to 27 cans; and a laſt is equal to 24 tonnes.

Of liquid meaſure the vedro contains 610 French cubic inches, and is equal to 5 Riga cans; a kruſhka or oſlin is  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and a tchetverk  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a vedro: a ſtoff is about 60 French cubic inches; 19 vedro make 1 hogſhead, or 6 ankers, and 57 vedro amount to 152 Engliſh gallons, each containing 233 French cubic inches.

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Laws. We have ſeen that in the earlier periods of Ruſſian hiſtory, the empire was regulated by no other laws than the will of the ſovereign, as promulgated in his *ukazeſ*; and that even the firſt Ruſſian code of laws, viz. thoſe publiſhed by Ivan IV. in the 16th century, contain rather the arbitrary orders of that monarch, than ſuch regulations as might have been the reſult of the deliberations of a national aſſembly. The code of Ivan was greatly improved by Alexei Mikhailovitch; but the late empreſs has the merit of giving to the empire a new and rational code, chiefly drawn up by her own hands. Of the precise nature of the laws contained in this code very little is known, as all converſation on the laws of the empire is either forbidden, or is conſidered as indelicate. It is not indeed of much conſequence to aſcertain the preſent exiſting laws, as they are ſubject to continual alterations.

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Adminiſtration of Juſtice. In 1775, the late empreſs made a complete new modelling of the internal government in a form of great ſimplicity and uniformity. By that reglement ſhe ſubdivided the whole empire into governments, as we have already mentioned, placing over each, or where they are of leſs extent, over two contiguous governments, a governor-general with very conſiderable powers. She ſubdivided each government into provinces and diſtricts; and for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, erected in them various courts of law, civil, criminal, and commercial, analogous to thoſe which are found in other countries. She eſtabliſhed likewiſe in every government, if not in every province, a tribunal of conſcience, and in every diſtrict a chamber for the protection of orphans. Amidſt ſo many wiſe institutions, a chamber for the adminiſtration of her imperial majeſty's revenues was not forgotten to be eſtabliſhed in each government, and a tribunal of police in each diſtrict. The duty of the governor-general, who is not properly a judge, but the guardian of the laws, is to take care that the various tribunals in his government diſcharge their reſpective duties, to protect the oppreſſed, to enforce the adminiſtration of the laws; and when any tribunal ſhall appear to have pronounced an irregular ſentence, to ſtop the execution till he make a report to the ſenate, and receive her majeſty's orders. It is his buſineſs likewiſe to ſee that the taxes be regularly paid; and, on the frontiers of the empire, that the proper number of troops be kept up, and that they be attentive to their duty.

This



Russia.

This regimen contains other institutions as well as many directions for the conducting of law-suits in the different courts, and the administration of justice, which do her majesty the highest honour; but the general want of morals, and what we call a sense of honour, in every order of men through this vast empire, must make the wisest regulations of little avail. Russia is perhaps the only nation in Europe where the law is not an incorporated profession. There are no seminaries where a practitioner may be educated. Any man who will pay the fees of office may become an attorney, and any man who can find a client may plead at the bar. The judges are not more learned than the pleaders. They are not qualified for their offices by any kind of education, nor are they necessarily chosen from those who have frequented courts, and been in the practice of pleading. A general, from a successful or an equivocal campaign, may be instantly placed at the head of a court of justice; and in the absence of the imperial court from St Petersburg, the commanding officer in that city, whoever he may be, presides *ex officio* in the high court of justice. The other courts generally change their presidents every year. Many inconveniences must arise from this singular constitution; but fewer, perhaps, than we are apt to imagine. The appointment to so many interior governments makes the Russian nobility acquainted with the gross of the ordinary business of law-courts; and a statute or imperial edict is law in every case. The great obstacles to the administration of justice are the contrariety of the laws, and the venality of the judges. From inferior to superior courts there are two appeals; and in a great proportion of the causes the reversal of the sentence of the inferior court subjects its judges to a heavy fine, unless they can produce an edict in full point in support of their decision. This indeed they seldom find any difficulty in doing; for there is scarcely a case so simple that edicts may not be found clear and precise for both parties; and therefore the judges, sensible of their safety, are very seldom incorruptible. To the principle of honour, which often guides the conduct of judges, in other nations, they are such absolute strangers, that an officer has been seen sitting in state and distributing justice from a bench to which he was chained by an iron collar round his neck, for having the day before been detected in conniving at smuggling. This man seemed not to be ashamed of the crime, nor did any one avoid his company in the evening.

Few crimes are capital in Russia; murder may be atoned for by paying a sum of money; nay, the civil magistrate takes no cognizance of murder, without having previously received information at the suit of some individuals. Criminals were punished with torture and the most cruel deaths till the reign of Catharine I. when a more merciful system took place; and this the late empress confirmed by law.

The usual punishments for crimes of inferior magnitude are, imprisonment, and banishment to the deserts of Siberia; and for crimes of greater moment, that most dreadful of all corporal punishments, the *knout*. The exact nature of this punishment has not been well understood in this country. We shall therefore explain it, from the information of one of our latest travellers in Russia.

The apparatus for inflicting the punishment of the

knout consists principally of a whip, composed of a wooden handle about a foot long, very strong, and bound tightly round with leather, and having attached to it a stout and weighty thong, longer than the handle, and formed of a tapering strip of buffalo's hide, well dried, and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick, fastened to the handle in the manner of a flail. Besides this, the executioner is furnished with a pair of iron pincers for the purpose of flitting the nose, and another instrument shaped like a round brush, strongly set with iron teeth, for marking the forehead, or any other part of the body, according to the terms of the sentence.

The infliction of the punishment, in a case where it was peculiarly severe, (*viz.* that of a servant who had murdered his master) is thus described by Mr Ker Porter.

“The poor wretch, attended by part of the police, had been walked through the streets, in order to shew him to the populace, and to strike them with horror at his guilt. As soon as the procession arrived in front of the troops, a circle was formed, and preparations made for the instant commencement of the execution. A paper being read aloud in the Russian language, which, most probably was an account of his crime and sentence; he was speedily stripped of his cloaths, leaving on his person only a pair of loose trowsers. In the midst of this silent groupe (and awful indeed was their silence) stood, firm and well secured, a block of wood, about three feet high, having three cavities in the top, to receive the neck and arms. Being fully prepared for his dreadful punishment, the unhappy man crossed himself, repeating his *gospodian pomelia* with the greatest devotion. The executioner then placed him with his breast to the board, strongly binding him to it by the neck and the upper parts of his arms, passing the rope close under the bend of both knees. Thus bowed forward, the awful moment approached. The first stroke was struck, and each repeated lash tore the flesh from the bone. A few seconds elapsed between each; and for the first ten or twelve, the poor sufferer roared most terribly; but soon becoming faint and sick, the cry died away into groans; and in a few minutes after, nothing was heard but the bloody splash of the knout, on the senseless body of the wretched man.

“After full an hour had been occupied in striking these dreadful blows (and more than 200 were given him), a signal was made from the head officer of the police, and the criminal was raised a little from the block. Not the smallest sign of life seemed to remain; indeed, so long did it appear to have fled, that during the half of the lashing, he had sunk down as low as the ligatures which bound him would allow. The executioner took the pale and apparently lifeless body by the beard, while his assistant held an instrument like a brush with iron teeth, and placing it a little below his temple, struck it with the utmost force, and drove its pointed fangs into the flesh. The opposite temple and forehead received the same application. The parts thus pierced, were then rubbed with gunpowder, to remain, should the mangled sufferer survive, a perpetual mark of his having undergone the punishment.

“You would suppose that rigour had exhausted all her torments, that justice was now appeased: But no; another punishment yet remained, to deprive the nose of its nostrils. The inflicting pincers, something like mon-

strous

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ments.205  
The knout.

Russia. frous curling irons, were inserted up the nose of him whom I supposed dead (and indeed I only endured the latter part of the sight, from having imagined that these inflictions were directed to one already past the sense of pain); the performer of this dreadful sentence, aided by his companion, actually tore each from his head in a way more shocking than can be described. The acuteness of this last torture, brought back sense to the torpid body:—What was my horror, to see the writhings of the poor mangled creature; and my astonishment, as soon as he was unbound, to see him rise by the assistance of the men, and walk to a cart ready to return him to his prison. From whence, if he did not die, he was immediately to be conveyed to Siberia, there to labour for life. His lost strength seemed to revive every moment, and he sat in the vehicle perfectly upright, being covered with his kaftan, which he himself held upon his shoulders, talking very composedly with those who accompanied him\*.

\* Porter's  
Travelling  
Sketches,  
vol. ii.  
p. 21.  
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Religion.

The established religion of Russia is that of the Greek church, which differs little from the Roman Catholic persuasion, except in a few rites and ceremonies. The people are very strict in the observance of the external forms of worship, as attendance on mass, keeping numerous fasts, performance of domestic devotions morning and evening, confession, receiving the sacrament, &c. To build churches is considered as a meritorious act, and hence even the small towns abound in these religious edifices; and as, from the severity of the winter, it is necessary to heat the churches during that season, it is not uncommon to see two churches in the same churchyard; one used for winter, and the other for summer worship. The clergy are held in great honour; and every one meeting a priest kisses his hand, in return for which he receives his blessing with the sign of the cross. From the external ceremonies of the Greek church, we shall select those of baptism, marriage, and burial.

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Baptism.

As soon as a child is born, the priest repairs to the chamber of the mother, and offers up a thanksgiving for her and her infant. On the eighth day the child is carried to the church, and receives its name, in addition to which is given that of the saint to which the day is dedicated. Thirty-two days after this the purification of the mother takes place, after which succeeds the baptism itself. The child is dipped three times, and then immediately anointed on several parts of the body, and signed with the cross. Seven days after unction, the body of the child is washed, and its head is shorn in the form of the cross; and, in general, a little cross of gold or other precious material, is suspended from its neck.

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Marriage  
ceremony.

The marriage ceremony in the Greek church consists of three parts. The first office is that of the espousals or betrothing. The parties pledge themselves to be true to each other, by the interchange of rings; and the priest before whom the vows are made, presents lighted tapers to the contracting pair. The liturgy being said, the priest places the parties who come to be betrothed, before the door which leads into the sanctuary, while two rings are laid on the holy table. The priest makes the sign of the cross three times on the heads of the betrothed couple; and then touching their foreheads with the lighted tapers, presents one to each. Then follows the benediction, with a few short prayers, after which

Russia. the priest takes the rings, and gives one to the man, and the other to the woman, with a short address, which he repeats thrice to each, signs them on the forehead with the rings, and puts these on the forefingers of their right hands. The espoused couple then exchange their rings, and after a long prayer from the priest, are dismissed.

The second rite is called the matrimonial coronation, as in this the bride and bridegroom are crowned, to indicate their triumph over all irregular desires. The betrothed parties enter the sanctuary with lighted tapers in their hands, the priest preceding with the censor singing the nuptial psalm, in which he is accompanied by the choristers. After being assured of the inclination of each party to receive the other in wedlock, the priest gives them the holy benediction, and after three invocations, takes the crowns, and places one on the head of the bridegroom, and the other on that of the bride. After this is read St Paul's epistle on the duties of marriage, with some other portions of Scripture, and several prayers. The cup is then brought, and blessed by the priest, who gives it thrice both to the bride and bridegroom, after which he takes them by the hand, and leads them in procession, attended by bridemen and maids, three times round a circular spot, turning from west to east. The crowns are now taken off their heads, and after proper addresses, and a short prayer, the company congratulate the parties; these salute each other, and the ceremony of coronation is terminated by a holy dismissal.

The third rite is called that of dissolving the crowns, and takes place on the eighth day. It consists of little more than a prayer for the comfort and happiness of the married pair, after which the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's house.

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Funeral  
service. On the death of a person, after the usual offices of closing the eyes and mouth, and washing the body, are performed, the priest is sent for to perfume the deceased with incense, while prayers and hymns are said and sung beside the corpse. The body is watched for a longer or shorter time, according to the rank of the deceased; and when all things are ready for the interment, those relations who are to act as mourners and pall-bearers, are called together. Before the coffin is closed, the ceremony of the kiss must be performed, as the last respect paid to the body. The priest first, and then the relations and friends, take their farewell, by kissing the body of the deceased, or the coffin in which it is contained. The funeral service then begins with the priest pouring his incense from the holy censer on the coffin and the attendants, after which he gives the benediction, and the choristers chant suitable responses. The coffin is then carried into the church, the priests preceding with a lighted taper, and the deacon with the censer. When the procession reaches the sanctuary, the body is set down; the 91st psalm is sung, followed by several anthems and prayers. The corpse is then laid into the grave, while the funeral anthem to the Trinity is sung over it; and the ceremony of sprinkling earth on the coffin, usual in most countries, is performed. After this oil is poured from a lamp on the coffin, and incense again diffused. The grave is next covered in, and the ceremony ends with a prayer to the Saviour for the rest and eternal happiness of the deceased.

Those who wish for a more minute account of these and

Russia. and other ceremonies of the Greek church, may consult Mr Ker Porter's *Travelling Sketches*, vol. i. letters 8, 9, and 10.

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Greek hierarchy.

The hierarchy of the Russians consists of three metropolitans, seven archbishops, and 18 bishops. We have seen that there was originally at the head of the church a patriarch, who possessed all the power of the Roman pope. This office was abolished by Peter I. The whole number of ecclesiastics belonging to the church of Russia, is computed at 67,900, and the number of churches at 18,350.

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Monasteries.

There are several monasteries and convents in the Russian empire, where the monks and nuns, as in Roman Catholic countries, lead a life of seclusion and indolence, though their inhabitants are not subject to such severe restrictions as those of the Catholic persuasion. The heads of the monasteries are called *archimandrites*, or *hegumens*, the former being nearly synonymous with abbot, the latter with prior. The superior of a nunnery is called *hegumena*. The principal religious order is that of St Basil; and the chief monasteries are those of St Alexander Nefsky at St Petersburg, and Divitchy at Mosco.

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Toleration.

Formerly no religion, except the Greek, was tolerated in Russia; but, since the reign of Peter I. all religions and sects are tolerated throughout the empire. It was indeed with great difficulty that Peter could be prevailed on to allow the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; but this is now not only tolerated, but is dignified by the establishment of Russian Catholic bishops. Even the despised Jews are permitted to hold their synagogues, and the Mahometans their mosques.

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Language.

The Russian language is a dialect of the ancient Gothic, and is extremely difficult of pronunciation by a southern European; though in the mouth of the politer Russians, it appears by no means deficient in melody. It is very difficult to acquire, as it abounds with extraordinary sounds and numerous anomalies. The characters amount to at least 36, some of which resemble those of the Greek language, while others are peculiar to the Rus. Among other singularities there is one character to express *sch*, and another *schh*, which latter sound is said to be scarcely capable of enunciation, except by the most barbarous of the Russian natives. See PHILOLOGY, N° 220.

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Present state of literature in Russia.

Since the accession of the emperor Alexander, the literature of Russia has undergone a material improvement. Incredible indeed, was the pressure of the rigorous genius-destroying restrictions and prohibitory edicts under the reign of Paul, of the state of whose mind, continually tormented with suspicion, but in other respects endowed with many good qualities, so striking a picture has been drawn by Kotzebue, in *The Most Remarkable Year of his Life*, of which a Russian translation has been published. During that inauspicious season, only a few plants sprang up here and there in the garden of Russian literature, chiefly in Petersburg, and for the glorification of imperial institutions. Among these, for instance, may be reckoned the Cabinet of Peter the Great, written in the Russian language by Joseph Bieliajeu, under-librarian to the Academy of Sciences, and splendidly printed in 1800, at the expence of the academy, in three large quarto volumes. It is intended to be a catalogue of the books, natural curiosities, works of art, medals, pictures, and other treasures,

which the academy founded by Peter the Great possesses; but it is to be feared, that this list itself will swell to a library, if the succeeding parts should be written in the same spirit as the first three. The first volume contains only the relics of Peter the Great, with five plates, comprehending even the productions of his turning lathe, which are preserved, as is well known, in a separate apartment. The second volume gives some, but extremely defective accounts of the Academic Library, in which there are 2964 Russian works (and among them not fewer than 305 Russian romances!) and 1350 MSS. (236 of them Chinese, and 410 relating to the history of Russia). In the third volume, the cabinet of medals is illustrated. It is really astonishing how many curiosities and exquisite works of art have from every part of Europe been collected in St Petersburg, especially under the reign of Catharine II. What treasures of art and literature are to be found only in the imperial hermitage! Here, for instance, is the most valuable and complete collection of ancient engraved gems, of which the celebrated collection of the duke of Orleans composes only a small part. Here the libraries of Voltaire and Diderot are placed, containing their MSS. and manuscript notes on the margins of the books. M. Von Köhler, a German, is the keeper of these treasures; and the antiquarian writings which he has published in the French and German languages, sufficiently prove him to be a proper person for such an office. It is, however, an unfortunate circumstance for the rest of Europe, that it is difficult to learn what has been swallowed up by these repositories on the banks of the Neva. It is therefore to be lamented, that the splendid description of the Michaelowitzian palace has since the death of Paul been discontinued. From what Kotzebue has said concerning it in the second volume of the account of his exile, one may guess what immense quantities of curiosities it contained. At present only three large engravings of the external views of the now deserted palace, are to be obtained at the price of 40 rubles. Of Gottschiza too, the favourite residence of Paul, and which the new emperor has presented to the empress dowager, we have a view in six large sheets, engraved before the death of the late emperor, and giving us at least a general idea of the plan of the extensive pleasure grounds, &c.

There is no longer any doubt that the new university of Dorpat, which has already cost the nobility of Esthonia and Livonia more than 100,000 rubles, will at length be established by authority. Several learned men were invited from foreign countries to fill the professional chairs, and some of them had arrived in the beginning of 1802. The military academy, which has likewise been erected at Dorpat, has received great favour and support from the emperor. Full permission is now again granted to visit foreign schools and universities; and in consequence, about 70 Livonians, Esthonians, and Courlanders, now prosecute their studies at the university of Jena; and proportionate numbers at the universities of Germany.

The book-trade, which had been entirely annihilated, has for the most part broken the iron fetters imposed by the licensers; it is indeed a highly beneficial change, that no Tumanskow, and other Russian zealots, but Germans, are appointed to examine German books. Here, however, many things still require to be corrected.

Russia.

Russia.

ed. The new emperor, notwithstanding his almost incredible activity, cannot at once discover all the abuses and improper applications of some of the laws, nor by an *emmenoï ukase*, open to every innoxious book (as was the case with respect to Kotzebue's *Most Remarkable Year*) the gate that had been shut against it by the licensers. For Kotzebue's work would not have been permitted to pass, if the procurator-general in St Petersburg had not laid a copy before the emperor himself, and received a particular *ukase* in its favour. Another great impediment to literature is, that all books must be imported by sea; and consequently during the winter no new publications can be procured from abroad. The greatest difficulty in procuring books, however, arises from the circumstance that a Russian *ukase* always remains in full force till it be expressly repealed by another. Previous to the reign of Paul, the examination and licensing of books was entrusted to the chief magistrates of the respective capitals; but Paul appointed inferior licensers for that purpose, and the same regulation continues, unless altered by a particular *ukase*. Under Paul, nothing was permitted to be printed in the large printing-office of Reval, except advertisements, playbills, hymns for the Reval hymn book, and the weekly newspaper, the articles contained in which were subjected to a strict previous examination; and the same restrictions continued to be enforced in 1802, though repugnant to the emperor's intentions, because no *emmenoï ukase* had been published to abolish them. A wine merchant in Reval was desirous of having some tickets printed, for the purpose of distinguishing his different sorts of wine. At first the licenser would not permit any of the French wines to have their names printed, and when at last he relented with respect to this point, the printing of the words *St Uber's wine*, and *bishop*, a well-known drink composed of wine and oranges, was deemed by him quite inadmissible, because *St* denotes saintship, and ought not to be profaned by being affixed to a wine bottle, and because *bishop* denotes an ecclesiastical dignity, and of course should not be exposed to a similar profanation\*.

\* *Monthly Magazine*, vol. xiii. p. 215.

A new school of practical jurisprudence has lately been established at St Petersburg. Here there are four professors who give lectures on the law of nature and nations, on the Roman law, on ethics, and on the history of Russia, besides a course of lectures on the commission of legislation. All the lectures are in the Russian language.

The Academy of Sciences at St Petersburg has formed the plan of a rule for the manner of writing Russian words with foreign characters, and foreign words with Russian characters. This plan consists of a vocabulary, drawn up by a committee of the academy, and composed of two alphabets, German and French, by means of which the proper orthography and pronunciation of words in the Russian language are rendered intelligible to foreigners.

For a fuller account of the language and literature of Russia, we may refer our readers to Tooke's *View of the Russian Empire*, vol. iii. p. 572. and his *Life of Catharine II.* vol. iii. p. 394.

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State of the Russian Stage.

Notwithstanding the partiality of the court of St Petersburg for dramatic exhibitions, no idea was entertained of erecting a Russian theatre in the capital till the year 1756. Feodor Wolchof, the son of a merchant

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of Yaroslavl had, in 1749, erected a theatre in his native city, in consequence of the delight with which he had been inspired on witnessing the exhibitions of the German players at the capital. Accordingly, when he returned home, he fitted up a large saloon in his father's house for a theatre, and painted it himself; then mustering a small company, consisting of his four brothers and some other young persons, he represented sometimes the sacred pieces of the bishop Dimitri Rostoffschy, sometimes the tragedies of Sumarokof and Lomonosoff, which had just appeared; and at other times, comedies and farces of his own composition. The undertaking of Wolchof met with the greatest encouragement. Not satisfied with lavishing applause upon him, the neighbouring nobility furnished him in 1750 with the requisite funds for erecting a public theatre, where money was taken for admission. The report of this novelty reached St Petersburg, and in 1752 the empress Elizabeth sent for Wolchof's company. He was placed, with several of his young actors, in the school of the cadets, to improve himself in the Russian language, and in particular to practise declamation.

At length, in 1756, the first Russian theatre was formally established by the exertions of Sumarokof, and the actors paid by the court. A German company appeared in 1757, but it was broken up by the arrival of an Italian opera. The opera Buffa formed in 1759 at Mosco had no better success; its failure was favourable to that which remained at St Petersburg, and which received so much the more encouragement. The fireworks displayed on the stage after the performance, afforded great amusement to the public, and drew together more company than the music. At the coronation of the empress Catharine II. the Russian court theatre accompanied her to Mosco, but soon returned to St Petersburg, where it has been fixed ever since. The taste for dramatic exhibitions had at this period become so general, that not only the most distinguished persons of the court of the two capitals performed Russian plays, but Italian, French, German, and even English theatres arose, and maintained their ground for a longer or shorter time. Catharine the Great, desirous that the people should likewise participate in this pleasure, ordered a stage to be erected in the great place in the wood of Brumberg. There both the actors and the plays were perfectly adapted to the populace that heard them. What will seem extraordinary is, that this performance sometimes attracted more distinguished amateurs; and it is perhaps the only theatre where spectators have been seen in carriages of four and six horses. But what is still more surprising is, to see actors ennobled as a reward for their talents, as was the case in 1762, with the two brothers Feodor and Gregory Wolchof. The former died the following year, while still very young. His reputation as a great tragic and comic actor will perhaps one day be considerably abated; but the Russians will ever recollect with gratitude that he was the real founder of the Russian stage.

They will likewise remember the services of Sumarokof as a tragic poet. He first showed of what the Russian language, before neglected, was susceptible. Born at Mosco in 1727, of noble parents, he zealously devoted himself to the study of the ancient classic authors and of the French poets. This it was that roused his poetic talents. His early compositions were all on the

Russia. the subject of love. His countrymen admired his songs, and they were soon in the mouth of every one. Animated by this success, Sumarakof published by degrees his other poetical productions. Tragedies, comedies, plays, operas, epitaphs, madrigals, odes, enigmas, elegies, satires; in a word, every species of composition that poetry is capable of producing, flowed abundantly from his pen, and filled not less than ten octavo volumes. His tragedy *Choruf* was the first good play in the Russian language. It is written in Alexandrine verses, in rhyme, like his other tragedies, as *Hamlet*, *Sinaw*, and *Trumor*, *Ariflona*, *Senira*, *Ngaropolk*, and *Dimisa*, the false *Dimitri*, &c.; and this first performance shewed, that in the plan, the plot, the character, and style, he had taken *Corneille*, *Racine*, and *Voltaire*, for his models. Though Sumarakof possessed no very brilliant genius, he had, however, a very happy talent of giving to his tragedies a certain originality, which distinguished them from those of other nations. He acquired the unqualified approbation of his countrymen by the selection of his subjects; almost all of which he took from the Russian history, and by the energy and boldness which he gave to his characters. But his success rendered him so haughty and so vain, that he could not endure the mildest criticism. Jealous of the fame acquired by *Lomonoff*, another Russian poet, he fought every opportunity of discouraging him; and it was a great triumph to Sumarakof to observe that the public scarcely noticed the first dramatic essays of that writer, and that they were soon consigned to oblivion.

Sumarakof has likewise written a great number of comedies, in which the manner of *Moliere* is discoverable. In spite of their original and sometimes low humour, they were not much liked. The principal are, *The Rival Mother* and *her Daughter*; *The Imaginary Cuckold*; *The Malicious Man*, &c. He has composed some operas; among others, *Cephalus* and *Procris*, set to music by *d'Araja*, master of the imperial chapel, and represented for the first time at *St Petersburg* during the carnival of 1755. The performers of both sexes were children under the age of 14\*.

The state of agriculture in the Russian empire is of course extremely various. Husbandry is scarcely known in the northern parts of the governments of *Olonetz* and *Archangel*; but in the central parts of the empire has been pursued from the earliest ages. The Russian plough is light and simple, and scarcely pierces the ground to the depth of two inches; but in the southern provinces a heavier kind is used, resembling the German. In what is called the summer field the corn is sown and reaped in the same year; while in the winter field the corn is sown in autumn, and the produce reaped in the ensuing summer. The former yields what is called summer wheat, and rye, barley, millet, buck-wheat, flax, hemp, pease, &c. the latter only wheat or rye; and the winter field is commonly left fallow to the following spring. In general agriculture is conducted with great negligence, yet the harvests are abundant. Even in the neighbourhood of *St Petersburg*, there are large marshes which might be easily drained, and converted into fertile land. In the north, rye is most generally cultivated; but in the middle and southern regions, wheat; in the government of *Ekatarinoflaff* the *Arnautan* wheat is beautiful, the flour yellowish, the return commonly

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fifteen fold: nor is Turkish wheat, or maize unknown in *Taurida*. Barley is a general production, and is converted into meal, as well as oats, of which a kind of porridge is composed. Rice succeeds well in the vicinity of *Kislear*. Potatoes are unaccountably neglected, except in the north. This invaluable root bears the cold of *Archangel*, and yields from 30 to 50 fold. Flax and hemp form great objects of Russian cultivation. Madder, woad, and saffron, grow wild in the south. The hop is also cultivated, and is found wild near the *Uralian* chain, and in *Taurida*. Tobacco has been produced since the year 1763, chiefly from Turkish and Persian seed. In the gardens are cultivated cabbages (of which a great number is consumed in the form of *four-kroust*), and other plants common in Europe. The government of *Mosco* produces abundance of excellent asparagus, and sugar-melons abound near the *Don* and the *Volga*. Large orchards are seen in the middle and southern parts of Russia, yet quantities of fruit are imported. What is called the *Kirefkoï* apple often weighs four pounds, is of an agreeable flavour, and will keep a long time. A transparent sort from *China* is also cultivated, called the *Nalivni*, melting and full of juice. The culture of the vine has been attempted in the south, and will certainly succeed in *Taurida*. Bees are not known in *Siberia*, but form an object of attention in the *Uralian* forests, where proprietors carry their hives to a considerable height in large trees, and they are secured from the bear by ingenious contrivances described by *Mr Tooke*. Mulberry trees and silk are not unknown in the south of European Russia, especially in *Taurida* and the *Krimæa*. In the *Krimæa*, camels are very commonly used for draught, a custom which seems peculiar to that province.

The arts in Russia have received very considerable improvement within the last 50 years. Most of the arts that relate to luxuries are exercised at *St Petersburg*, to such an extent, and in such perfection, as to render it unnecessary to import these articles from other countries. The chief works of this kind are those of gold and silver goods. Here are 44 Russian and 139 foreign, consequently in all 183 workers in gold, silver, and trinkets, as masters; and besides them several gilders and silversmiths. The pomp of the court, and the luxury of the rich and great, have rendered a taste in works of this kind so common, and carried the art itself to such a pitch, that the most extraordinary objects of it are here to be met with. Several of them are wrought in a sort of manufactory; in one set of premises are all the various workmen and shops for completing the most elegant devices, ornamental and useful, from the rough bullion. Even the embroiderers in gold and silver, though they are not formed into a company, are yet pretty numerous. The works they produce are finished in so high a taste, that quantities of them are sold in the shops that deal in English or French goods, and to which they are not inferior. This business, which is a perpetual source of profit to a great number of widows and young women of slender incomes, forms a strong objection to the declamations against luxury. Perhaps the remark is not unnecessary, that *sham laces* and embroidery cannot here be used, even on the stage. Next to these may be ranged the host of milliners, who are mostly of French descent; and here, as in *Paris*, together with their industry, are endowed with a variety of agreeable

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State of the arts.

\* Monthly Magazine, vol. xxi. p. 115. 216 Agriculture.

Russia. agreeable and profitable talents. Their numbers are daily increasing; and the greater their multitude, the better they seem to thrive. Their works are neat, elegant, and modish; but they certainly bear an enormous price: a *marchande des modes*, if she understand her business, is sure to make a fortune. The generality of them, after completing this aim, return to their native country.

The coachmaker's trade is likewise here in a flourishing state. The great concerns in which this business is carried on in all its parts, from the simple screw to the finest varnish; the solidity and durability, the elegance and the taste of the carriages they turn out, the multitude of workmen, and, in short, the large sums of money that are employed in them, which would otherwise be sent abroad for these vehicles, render this business one of the most consequential of the residence. In the judgement of connoisseurs, and by the experience of such as use them, the carriages made here yield in nothing to those of Paris or London; and in the making of varnish the Russians have improved upon the English: only in point of durability the carriages are said to fall short of those built by the famous workmen of the last-mentioned nation; and the want of dry timber is given as the cause of this failure. With all these advantages, and notwithstanding the great difference in price, increased by the high duties of those carriages which come from abroad, yet these are yearly imported to a great amount. The Russians have, however, succeeded in appropriating the greater part of this business to themselves. The shape of their carriages is in the height of the mode; the varnish is excellent, and the whole outward appearance elegant and graceful; but for durability, the reputation of the Russian workmen is inferior to that of the Germans settled in this country. This censure applies to all the Russian works of art; their exterior is not to be found fault with, but they are deficient in the solidity which so much recommends the work of foreign artists. The Russians have indeed to contend with an obstacle that renders it almost impossible for them to employ so much time, labour, and expence, on their work, as are requisite for bringing it to the utmost perfection. This is the general prejudice in favour of British commodities, which is nowhere carried to so high a pitch as it was in Russia a few years ago. The Russian workman, therefore, naturally endeavours to impose his work upon the customer for foreign; and where this is not practicable, he is obliged to sacrifice solidity to outward appearance, for which alone he can expect to be paid. A chariot made by a German coachmaker will cost 600 or 700 rubles, whereas a Russian chariot can be bought for half the money; and it sometimes happens that the latter is even more durable than the former.

Joinery is exercised as well by the Russians as the Germans; but the cabinet-maker's art, in which the price of the ingenuity far exceeds the value of the materials, is at present solely confined to some foreigners, among whom the Germans distinguish themselves to their honour. The artists of that nation occasionally execute masterpieces, made at intervals of leisure under the influence of genius and taste, and for which they find a ready sale in the residence of a great and magnificent court. Thus, not long since one of these made a cabinet, which for invention, taste, and excellency of

workmanship, exceeded every thing that had ever been seen in that way. The price of this piece of art was 7000 rubles; and the artist declared, that with this sum he should not be paid for the years of application he had bestowed upon it. Another monument of German ingenuity is preserved in the Academy of Sciences, in the model of a bridge after a design of the state counsellor Von Gerhard. This bridge, which would be the most magnificent work of the kind, if the possibility of its construction could be proved, consists of 11 arches, a drawbridge for letting vessels pass, distinct raised footways, landing places, &c. The beauty of the model, and the excellency of its execution, leave every thing of the sort very far behind. The empress Catharine II. rewarded the artificer with a present of 4000 rubles; and he was ever after employed by the court.

Both these works of art have been, however, far excelled by a writing desk made by Röntgen, a native of Neuwied, and a Moravian, who lived several years in St Petersburg, and embellished the palaces of the empress and principal nobility with the astonishing productions of his art. In this writing desk the genius of the inventor has lavished its riches and its fertility in the greatest variety of compositions: all seems the work of enchantment. On opening this amazing desk, in front appears a beautiful group of bas-reliefs in bronze superbly gilt; which, by the slightest pressure on a spring, vanishes away, giving place to a magnificent writing-flat inlaid with gems. The space above this flat is devoted to the keeping of valuable papers or money. The bold hand that should dare to invade this spot would immediately be its own betrayer; for, at the least touch of the table part, the most charming strains of soft and plaintive music instantly begin to play upon the ear, the organ whence it proceeds occupying the lower part of the desk behind. Several small drawers for holding the materials for writing, &c. likewise start forward by the pressure of their springs, and shut again as quickly, without leaving behind a trace of their existence. If we would change the table-part of the bureau into a reading desk, from the upper part a board springs forward, from which, with incredible velocity, all the parts of a commodious and well contrived reading desk expand, and take their proper places. The inventor offered this rare and astonishing piece to the empress Catharine II. for 20,000 rubles; but she generously thought that this sum would be barely sufficient to pay for the workmanship; she therefore recompensed his talents with a farther present of 5000 rubles. Her majesty presented this matchless piece of art to the Academy of Sciences, in whose museum it still remains\*.

The Russian skill in architecture is evinced by the magnificent buildings which adorn the city of St Petersburg, and more especially by the Taurida palace. Here is seen the largest hall of which we have any account. This prodigious hall was built after the unassisted design of Prince Potemkin, and unites to a sublime conception, all the graces of finished taste. It is supported by double rows of colossal doric pillars, opening on one side into a vast pavilion, which forms the emperor's winter garden. This garden is very extensive, the trees chiefly orange, of an enormous size, sunk in the earth in their tubs, with fine mould covering the surface between them. The walks are gravelled; wind and undulate in a very delightful manner; are neatly turfed, and

\* *Tooke's Catherine II. vol. 2. p. 50.*

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 † Carr's  
 Northern  
 Summer,  
 p. 331.  
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 Manufac-  
 tures.

and lined with roses and other flowers. The whole pavilion is lighted by lofty windows, and from the ceiling are suspended several magnificent lustres of the richest cut glass. In the enormous hall of which this garden forms a part. Prince Potemkin gave the most sumptuous entertainment ever recorded since the days of Roman voluptuousness †.

Among the Russian manufactories, the imperial establishments are so much distinguished for the magnitude of their plan, and the richness and excellence of their productions, that they may enter into competition with the most celebrated institutions of the same kind in any other country. The tapestry manufactory, which weaves both hangings and carpeting, produces such excellent work, that better is not to be seen from the Gobelines in Paris. The circumstance that at present only native Russians are employed, enhances the value and curiosity of the establishment. No where, perhaps, is the progress of the nation in civilization more striking to the foreigner than in the spacious and extensive work rooms of this manufactory. The porcelain manufactory likewise entertains, excepting the modellers and arcenists, none but Russian workmen, amounting in all to the number of 400, and produces ware that, for taste of design and beauty of execution, approaches near to their best patterns. The clay was formerly brought from the Ural, but at present it is procured from the Ukraine, and the quartz from the mountains of Oionetz. It is carried on entirely at the expence of government, to which it annually costs 15,000 rubles in wages, and takes orders. But the price of the porcelain is high; and the general prejudice is not in favour of its durability. The Fayence manufactory has hitherto made only ineffectual attempts to drive out the queen's ware of England; but the neat and elegant chamber-stoves made there, give it the consequence of a very useful establishment. Almost all the new built houses are provided with the excellent work of this manufactory, and considerable orders are executed for the provinces.

A bronze manufactory, which was established for the use of the construction of the Isaak church, but works now for the court and private persons, merits honourable mention, on account of the neatness and taste of its executions.

The stone-cutting works of Peterhof are remarkable for the mechanism of their construction. All the instruments, saws, turning lathes, cutting and polishing engines, are worked by water under the floor of the building. Fifty workmen are here employed in working foreign, and especially Russian sorts of stone, into slabs, vases, urns, boxes, columns, and other ornaments of various kinds and magnitudes. Many other imperial fabrics for the use of the army, the mint, &c. are carried on in various places; but the description of them would lead us beyond our limits.

The number of private manufactories at present subsisting in St Petersburg amounts to about 100. The principal materials on which they are employed, some on a larger and others on a smaller scale, are leather, paper, gold and silver, sugar, silk, tobacco, distilled waters, wool, glass, clay, wax, cotton and chintz. Leather, as is well known, is among the most important of their manufactures for the export trade; accordingly here are 16 tan-works. The paper manufactories amount to the like number, for hangings and general use.

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 Twelve gold and silver manufactories sell threads, laces; edgings, fringes, epaulets, &c. There are 8 sugar works; 7 for silk goods, gauze, cloths, hose, stuffs, and several others. Here must not be forgotten the great glass-houses set on foot by Prince Potemkin, where all the various articles for use and ornament, of that material, are made; but particularly that for looking-glasses, where they are manufactured of such extraordinary magnitude and beauty, as to exceed any thing of the kind produced by the famous glass-houses of Murano and Paris. Among many others which we cannot here particularize, are not fewer than five letter founderies, one manufactory for clocks and watches, &c.

In giving a general view of the commerce of the Russian empire, it will be necessary that we should first enumerate the exports and imports, with their average amount, and we shall then be able, by comparing these, to form a just estimate of the commercial advantages enjoyed by the empire. Mr Tooke has furnished us with the following statements of the annual exports from St Petersburg, on an average of ten years, from 1780 to 1790. During that time there were annually exported,

|                             |           |            |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Iron,                       | 2,655,038 | poods.     |
| Saltpetre,                  | 19,528    | do.        |
| Hemp,                       | 2,498,950 | do.        |
| Flax,                       | 792,932   | do.        |
| Napkins and linen,          | 2,907,876 | arschines. |
| Sail cloth and flem,        | 214,704   | pieces.    |
| Cordage,                    | 106,763   | poods.     |
| Hemp oil and linseed oil,   | 167,432   | do.        |
| Linseed,                    | 192,328   | do.        |
| Tobacco,                    | 52,645    | do.        |
| Rhubarb,                    | 129       | do.        |
| Wheat,                      | 105,136   | do.        |
| Rye,                        | 271,976   | do.        |
| Barley,                     | 35,864    | do.        |
| Oats,                       | 200,000   | do.        |
| Matts, 1456                 |           |            |
| Planks, 1,193,125           |           |            |
| Boards, 85,647              |           |            |
| Rosin,                      | 7,487     | do.        |
| Pitch,                      | 9,720     | do.        |
| Tar,                        | 37,336    | do.        |
| Train oil,                  | 81,386    | do.        |
| Wax,                        | 10,467    | do.        |
| Tallow, and tallow candles, | 943,618   | do.        |
| Potashes,                   | 31,712    | do.        |
| Isinglass,                  | 5,516     | do.        |
| Caviar,                     | 8,958     | do.        |
| Horse hair,                 | 5,685     | do.        |
| Horse tails, 69,722         |           |            |
| Hogs bristles,              | 29,110    | do.        |
| Russia matts, 106,045       |           |            |
| Goats skins, 292,016        |           |            |
| Hides and sole leather,     | 144,876   | do.        |
| Pieces of peltry, 621,327   |           |            |
| Ox tongues, 9982            |           |            |
| Ox bones, 73,350            |           |            |

It will be seen from the above table, that a very great proportion of the exports of Russia consists of raw materials, or of the unmanufactured products of the country. Indeed the employment of the nation, considerably as it has increased since the time of Peter I. is still directed more to production than to manufacture. This

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 Commerce.

Russia. is the natural progress of every human society advancing towards civilization; and Russia must continue to confine itself to the production and to the commerce in products, till the degree of its population, and the employment of its inhabitants, be adequate to the manufacturing of its raw materials.

The buying up of the foregoing articles, and their conveyance from the remote and midland regions of the empire, form an important branch of the internal commerce. The greater part of these products is raised on the fertile shores of the Volga; and this inestimable river, which, in its course, connects the most distant provinces, is at the same time the channel of business and industry almost to the whole empire. Wherever its water laves the rich and fruitful coast, diligence and industry have fixed their abode, and its course marks the progress of internal civilization. St Petersburg, though at a distance of from 5000 to 6000 versts from the rich mines of Siberia, receives, through the medium of this river, the stores of its enormous magazines, the greater part of which are brought thither from the most eastern districts of Siberia, almost entirely by water. The Selenga receives and transfers them to the Baikal, whence they proceed by the Angara to the Yenissy, and pass from that river along the Oby into the Tobol. Hence they are transported over a tract of about 400 versts by land, to the Tchuffovaiya; from this river into the Kamma, and thence into the Volga, from which they pass through the sluices at Vishney-Volotshok into the Volkhof, and from that river into the Ladoga lake, from which lastly, after having completed a journey through two quarters of the globe, they arrive by the Neva, at the place of their destination. This astonishing transport is rendered still more interesting by the consideration that these products, thus conveyed to St Petersburg from the neighbourhood of the north-eastern ocean, remain here but for a few weeks, for the purpose of again setting out on a second, and perhaps a longer voyage, or, after being unshipped in distant countries, of returning hither under an altered form, and by a tedious and difficult navigation, coming back to their native land. Thus, how many scythes of the Siberian boors may have gone this circuitous course!

The number of vessels which, taking the average of ten years, from 1774 to 1784, came by the Ladoga canal to St Petersburg, was 2861 barks, 797 half-barks, 508 one masted vessels, 1113 chaloups; in all 5339. If to these we add 6739 floats of barks, we shall have a total of 12,078.

The value in money of these products is, by the want which Russia experiences of wrought commodities, and by the increasing luxury, so much lessened, that the advantage on the balance is proportionally very small. A list of the articles of trade with which St Petersburg annually furnishes a part of the empire, would afford matter for the most interesting economical commentary.

The annual imports brought to St Petersburg, on an average of ten years from 1780 to 1790, will appear from the following table.

|                                 | Rubles.   |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Silken stuffs to the amount of, | 2,500,000 |
| Woollen stuffs,                 | 2,000,000 |
| Cloth,                          | 2,000,000 |
| Cotton stuffs,                  | 534,000   |

|   | Rubles. | Russia. |
|---|---------|---------|
| Silk and cotton stockings 10,000 dozen pairs. |         |         |
| Trinkets,                                     | -       | 700,000 |
| Watches, 2,000.                               | -       |         |
| Hardware,                                     | -       | 50,000  |
| Looking glasses,                              | -       | 50,000  |
| English stone-ware,                           | -       | 43,800  |
| English horses, 250.                          | -       |         |
| Coffee, 26,300 poods.                         | -       |         |
| Sugar, 372,000 poods.                         | -       |         |
| Tobacco, 5,000 poods.                         | -       |         |
| Oranges and lemons,                           | -       | 101,500 |
| Fresh fruit,                                  | -       | 65,000  |
| Herrings, 14,250 tons.                        | -       |         |
| Sweet oil,                                    | -       | 20,000  |
| Porter and English beer,                      | -       | 262,000 |
| French brandy, 50,000 ankers.                 | -       |         |
| Champagne and Burgundy, 4000 pipes.           | -       |         |
| Other wines, 250,000 hogshheads.              | -       |         |
| Mineral waters,                               | -       | 12,000  |
| Paper of different kinds.                     | -       | 42,750  |
| Books,  | -       | 50,150  |
| Copper-plate engravings,                      | -       | 60,200  |
| Alum, 25,500 poods.                           | -       |         |
| Indigo, 3,830 poods.                          | -       |         |
| Cochineal, 1335 poods.                        | -       |         |
| Glass and glass wares,                        | -       | 64,000  |
| Scythes, 325,000, &c. &c.                     | -       |         |

A considerable part of these commodities remains for consumption at St Petersburg, while the rest is conveyed by land carriage to various parts of the empire. Land-carriage is preferred on these occasions, as the passage of the river up the stream would be tedious and expensive. The carts or sledges made use of in this conveyance are generally drawn by one horse, and have each its own driver; though sometimes on long journeys there is only one driver to every three carts. They commonly go in caravans of from 25 to 100 carts.

According to the above tables, we are now enabled to state the value of the exports and imports, and the balance of trade, at St Petersburg, and from these to deduce pretty just conclusions with respect to the commerce of the whole empire. By the most probable estimation on this same average of 10 years from 1780 to 1790, the statement will stand as follows.

|  |         |                    |
|--|---------|--------------------|
| Exports,   | -       | 13,261,942 rubles. |
| Imports,   | -       | 12,238,319 do.     |
|  |         | <hr/>              |
|  | Profit, | 1,023,623 rubles.  |
| To this profit we must add for<br>coined and uncoined gold and<br>silver, annually imported in the<br>last three years, viz. from 1788<br>to 1790, |         | 337,064 rubles.    |
|  |         | <hr/>              |
| making a total profit of,  |         | 1,360,687 rubles.  |

Thus the amount of the whole commerce of St Petersburg during the above period of ten years, was annually 25,837,325 rubles. If we admit, upon the most probable computation, that the whole annual commerce of the empire amounts to about 50,000,000 of rubles, it will follow that more than the half is shared by St Petersburg.

The



Russia. The proportion which the other principal sea ports of the Russian empire share in the general commerce, will appear from the following table, drawn up for the year 1793.

|                 | Rubles.    |
|-----------------|------------|
| St Petersburg,  | 23,757,954 |
| Riga,           | 8,985,929  |
| Archangel,      | 2,525,208  |
| Taganrok,       | 428,087    |
| Eupatoria,      | 334,398    |
| Narva,          | 238,555    |
| Otchakof,       | 209,321    |
| Pernau,         | 189,131    |
| Cronstadt,      | 157,365    |
| Kherfon,        | 147,822    |
| Vyborg,         | 124,832    |
| Reval,          | 109,897    |
| Theodosia,      | 54,281     |
| Friedrichshamm, | 31,374     |
| Kertsch,        | 9,960      |
| Onega,          | 9,552      |
| Arensburg,      | 9,346      |
| Yenikaly,       | 4,322      |
| Sevastopol,     | 858        |

(M) 37,328,192

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State of general trade in Russia. The commerce of St Petersburg is carried on chiefly by commission in the hands of factors. This class of merchants, which consists almost entirely of foreigners, forms the most respectable and considerable part of the persons on the exchange. In the year 1790, of the foreign counting houses, not belonging to the guilds, were 28 English, 7 German, 2 Swiss, 4 Danish, several Prussian, 6 Dutch, 4 French, 2 Portuguese, 1 Spanish, and 1 Italian. Besides these, were 12 denominated burghers, and of the first guild 106, with 46 foreign merchants, and 17 belonging to other towns, though several cause themselves to be enrolled in these guilds who are not properly merchants.

The Russian merchants from the interior of the empire repair, at a stated time, to St Petersburg, where they bargain with the factors for the sale of their commodities. This done, they enter into contracts to deli-

ver the goods according to the particulars therein specified, at which time they commonly receive the half or the whole of the purchase-money, though the goods are not to be delivered till the following spring or summer by the barks then to come down the Ladoga canal. The quality of the goods is then pronounced on by sworn *brackers* or *forters*, according to the kinds mentioned in the contract. The articles of importation are either disposed of by the Russian merchants through the resident factors, or the latter deliver them for sale at foreign markets; in both cases the Russian, to whose order they came, receives them on condition of paying for them by instalments of 6, 12, and more months. The Russian merchant, therefore, is paid for his exports beforehand, and buys such as are imported on credit; he risks no damages by sea, and is exempted from the tedious transactions of the custom-house, and of loading and unloading.

The clearance of the ships, the transport of the goods into the government warehouses, the packing and unpacking, unloading and dispatching of them,—in a word, the whole of the great bustle attendant on the commerce of a maritime town is principally at Cronstadt, and that part of the residence called Vassiliostrof. Here are the exchange, the custom-house; and in the vicinity of this island, namely on a small island between that and the Petersburg island, the hemp warehouses and magazines, in which the riches of so many countries are bartered and kept. In all the other parts of the city, the tumult of business is so rare and imperceptible, that a stranger who should be suddenly conveyed hither, would never imagine that he was in the chief commercial town of the Russian empire. The opulent merchants have their dwellings and counting houses in the most elegant parts of the town. Their houses, gateways, and courtyards, are not, as in Hamburg and Riga, blocked up and barricadoed with bales of goods and heaps of timber. Here, besides the counting house, no trace is seen of mercantile affairs. The business at the custom-house is transacted by one of the clerks, and people who are hired for that purpose, called *expeditors*; and the labour is performed by *artelschiki*, or porters belonging to a kind of guild.

The factor delivers the imported goods to the Russian merchant,

(M) To this table of the principal seaports of Russia, must now be added the town of Odesa, or New Odesa, which 10 years ago was scarcely known as a place of trade, but is now become a populous and important sea-port. Odesa is situated in the government of Katharinoslaw, on a small gulf of the Black sea, between the rivers Dniepr and Dniestr, 44 miles W. by S. of Otchakof, and nearly 1000 miles S. of St Petersburg. In 1805, this town contained a population of 10,000 persons, and its population was yearly increasing. The houses are well built of free stone; the streets are wide, and are disposed according to a regular plan, but unpaved. The town is fortified, has a secure and capacious harbour, capable of admitting vessels of considerable burden, and a mole or quay extending above one fourth of a mile into the sea, susceptible of being converted to the most useful purposes. There are several warehouses for the purpose of depositing bonded goods, at times when the market proves unfavourable. The public markets are well supplied, and there are two good theatres, besides other places of public amusement. The society of this thriving town is rendered extremely gay by the residence of the Polish nobles, who resort to it in great numbers, during the summer, for sea-bathing; and the wise and upright administration of the duke de Richelieu, who was governor in 1805, had added greatly to the prosperity of the place. The merchants are chiefly Germans and Italians, though, at the time we mention, there were established in this port two British houses of respectability. The chief exports from this place are wheat and other grain, with which 1000 ships have been loaded in a single year. Among the natural disadvantages of Odesa, must be noticed the bareness and want of wood in its immediate neighbourhood, and the dangerous navigation of the Black sea, from the currents and want of sea room. In point of commercial importance, Odesa ranks at least on an equal footing with Taganrok. Long. 29°. 24' E. Lat. 46° 28' N. See *Macgill's Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia*, vol. i. p. 257.

Russia.

merchant, who sends them off, in the manner already mentioned, or retails them on the spot, in the markets, ware-houses, and shops.

There is no exaggeration in affirming, that it would be difficult to point out a people that have more the spirit of trade and mercantile industry than the Russians. Traffic is their darling pursuit; every common Russian, if he can but by any means save a trifling sum of money, as it is very possible for him to do, by his frugal and poor way of living, tries to become a merchant. This career he usually begins as a *rosnoschik* or feller of things about the streets; the profits arising from this ambulatory trade, and his parsimony, soon enable him to hire a *lavka* or shop; where, by lending small sums at large interest, by taking advantage of the course of exchange, and by employing little artifices of trade, he in a short time becomes a pretty substantial man. He now buys and builds houses and shops, which he either lets to others, or furnishes with goods himself, putting in persons to manage them for small wages; begins to launch out into an extensive trade, undertakes *podriads*, contracts with the crown, deliveries of merchandize, &c. The numerous instances of the rapid success of such people almost exceed all description. By these methods a Russian merchant, named Sava Yacovlof, who died not many years ago, from a hawker of fish about the streets, became a capitalist of several millions of rubles. Many of these favourites of fortune are at first vassals, who obtain passes from their landlords, and with these stroll about the towns, in order to seek a better condition of life, as labourers, bricklayers and carpenters, than they could hope to find at the plough tail in the country. Some of them continue, after fortune has raised them, and even with great riches, still slaves, paying their lord, in proportion to their circumstances, an *olerok*, or yearly tribute. Among the people of this class at St Petersburg are many who belong to Count Sheremetof, the richest private man in Russia, and pay him annually for their pass above 1000 rubles. It often happens that these merchants, when even in splendid circumstances, still retain their national habit and their long beard; and it is by no means rare to see them driving along the streets of the residence, in this dress, in the most elegant carriages. From all this it is very remarkable, that extremely few Russian houses have succeeded in getting the foreign commission trade; a striking proof that there is *something* besides industry and parsimony requisite to mercantile credit, in which the Russians must have been hitherto deficient.

Those who wish for a more minute account of the arts, manufactures, commerce and trade of the Russian empire, will find ample details on these important subjects, in the third volume of Mr Tooke's *View of the Russian empire, during the reign of Catharine II. and to the close of the eighteenth century.*

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Nations  
comprising  
the Russian  
empire.

This vast empire contains within its boundaries, according to Mr Tooke's account, not fewer than 81 distinct nations, differing from each other in their origin, their language, and their manners. Without enumerating all those tribes, the names of many of which are scarcely known to civilized Europe, we shall only particularize the most remarkable. These are the descendants of the ancient Slavi, comprehending the Russians properly so called, and the neighbouring Poles; the Tatars, under which denomination we may include the

Russia.

Laplanders, the Esthonians, the Livonians, the Permians, and the Ostiaks; the numerous Tartar hordes that inhabit the southern parts of the empire, comprehending the Mongol Tartars, the Kalmuks, the Derbetans, the Torgots, the Bargaburats; the Khazares, the Kangli or Petchenegans; the Siberian Tartars; the Tartars of the Crimea; the Bashkirs; the Kirgheses, and the Chevines; the inhabitants of the regions of Mount Caucasus, including the Georgians; the Mandshurs, including the Tunguses, the Samoiedes, the Kamtschadales, and the Kozaks.

Of several of these nations we have already given an account, in the articles COSSACS, KAMTSCHATKA, LAPLAND, POLAND, &c. and we shall here confine ourselves chiefly to the manners and customs of the Russians, the Fins, the Samoiedes, the Bashkirs, the Kozaks, the inhabitants of the Ukraine, and the Crimean Tatars.

The native Russians are of the middle size, of a strong and robust make, and in general extremely hardy. They have usually a small mouth, with thin lips and white teeth; little eyes; a low forehead; the nose frequently small, and turned upwards, and a bushy beard. The expression of their countenance is grave, but good-natured. The gait and gestures of the body have often a peculiar and impassioned vivacity, partaking of a certain *complaisance*, and engaging manner. They are in general capable of bearing fatigue, want of accommodation and repose, better than the inhabitants of any other European nation. Notwithstanding the severity of the climate, their diseases are few, and there are frequent and remarkable instances of longevity.

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General  
character  
of the  
Russians.

With respect to general character, all writers allow that they are ignorant, and often brutal, not easily roused to action, and extremely addicted to drunkenness. They are also not remarkable for cleanliness.

Having thus given a general view of the Russian character, we must consider a little more particularly that of the several classes into which they may be divided, and make a few remarks on their manners and customs.

According to Mr Tooke, there is in Russia at present but one order of nobility, though it is not unusual with travellers to mention the higher and lower nobility. The title boyar, so common in the beginning of the 18th century, is now disused; and those of prince, count, and baron, form the principal distinctions. The Russian nobility have always enjoyed certain peculiar rights and privileges, though these have been rather derived from long usage, than sanctioned by any written law. Thus, they can exclusively possess landed estates, though they cannot alienate or sell them. If a nobleman be found guilty of any high crime, he may incur the forfeiture of his estate, his honour, or his life, but he cannot be made a vassal to the crown. The nobility can arbitrarily impose taxes and services on their vassals, and may inflict on them any corporal punishment short of death, and they are not responsible for their vassals. A nobleman cannot be compelled to raise recruits against his will, or to build a magazine or barrack for the crown; his person and landed property are exempted from taxation; he can hold assemblies, set up manufactories, and open mines on his own ground, without paying tribute to the crown. He is, however, bound to personal service in war. The Russian nobility live in great style, and support a considerable establishment of servants. As part

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Nobility  
and gentry.

Russia. of this establishment, they have generally a dwarf and a fool. These dwarfs are the pages and playthings of the great, and at almost all entertainments, stand for hours at their lord's chair, holding his snuff box, or awaiting his commands.

The tzar Alexei abhorred the personal abatement of the inferior classes to their superiors, which he would not accept when exhibited to himself; and it may appear surprising that Peter I. who despised mere ceremonials, should have encouraged every extravagance of this kind. In a few years of his reign, the beautiful simplicity of designation and address which his father had encouraged was forgotten, and the cumbersome and almost ineffable titles which disgrace the little courts of Germany were crowded into the language of Russia. He enjoined the lowest order of gentlemen to be addressed by the phrase, *your respectable birth*; the next rank, by *your high good birth*; the third, *your excellence*; the fourth, *your high excellence*; then came *your brilliancy*, and *high brilliancy*; *highness* and *majesty* were reserved for the grand duke and the emperor.

These titles and modes of address were ordered with all the regularity of the manual exercise; and the man who should omit any of them when speaking to his superior, might be lawfully beaten by the offended boyar. Before this period, it was polite and courtly to speak to every man, even the heir apparent, by adding his father's name to his own; and to the grand duke, Paul Petrovitch, would have been perfectly respectful, or a single word signifying *dear father*, when he was not named. Though pompous titles were unknown among them before the era of Peter, the subordination of ranks was more complete than in any other European nation; but with this simplicity peculiar to them and the Poles, that they had but three ranks, the sovereign, the noble or gentry, and the serfs. It was not till lately that the mercantile rank formed any distinction; and that distinction is no more than the freedom of the person, which was formerly a transferable commodity belonging to the boyar. Notwithstanding this simplicity, which put all gentlemen on a level, the subscription of a person holding an inferior office was not *servant*, but *slave*; and the legal word for a petition in form was *techelobitiu*; which signifies a beating with the forehead, or striking the ground with the forehead, which was actually done. The father of Alexei abolished the practice; but at this day, when a Russian petitions you, he touches his forehead with his finger; and if he be very earnest, he then puts his finger to the ground.

The Russian nobles formerly wore long beards, and long robes with strait sleeves dangling down to their ancles; their collars and skirts were generally wrought with silk of different colours; in place of hats, they covered their heads with furred caps, and instead of shoes, wore red or yellow leathern buskins. The dress of the women nearly resembled that of the other sex, with this difference, that their garments were looser, their caps fantastical, and their shift sleeves three or four ells in length, gathered up in folds from the shoulder to the fore arm. At present, however, the French fashions prevail among the better sort throughout all Russia.

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Common  
people.

The common people are generally tall, healthy, and robust, patient of cold and hunger, inured to hardships, and remarkably capable of bearing the most sudden transition from the extremes of hot or cold weather.

Nothing is more customary than to see a Russian, who is overheated and sweating at every pore, strip himself naked, and plunge into a river; nay, when their pores are all opened in the hot bath, to which they have daily recourse, they either practise this immersion, or subject themselves to a discharge of some pailsful of cold water. This is the custom of both men and women, who enter the baths promiscuously, and appear naked to each other, without scruple or hesitation.

Russia.

A Russian will subsist for many days on a little oatmeal and water, and even raw-roots; an onion is a regale; but the food they generally use in their journeys is a kind of rye-bread, cut into small square pieces, and dried again in the oven. These, when they are hungry, they soak in water, and eat as a very comfortable repast. Both sexes are remarkably healthful and robust, and accustom themselves to sleep every day after dinner.

The Russian women are remarkably fair, comely, strong, and well-shaped, obedient to their lordly husbands, and patient under discipline; they are even said to be fond of correction, which they consider as an infallible mark of their husbands conjugal affection; and they pout and pine if it is withheld, as if they thought themselves treated with contempt and disregard. Of this neglect, however, they have very little cause to complain; the Russian husband being very well disposed, by nature and inebriation, to exert his arbitrary power.

Such is the slavery in which the Russians of both sexes are kept by their parents, their patrons, and the emperor, that they are not allowed to dispute any match that may be provided for them by these directors, however disagreeable or odious it may be. Officers of the greatest rank in the army, both natives and foreigners, have been saddled with wives by the sovereign in this arbitrary manner. A great general some time ago deceased, who was a native of Britain, having been pressed by Elizabeth to marry one of her ladies, saved himself from a very disagreeable marriage, only by pleading the badness of his constitution.

In Russia, the authority of parents over their children is almost as great as it was among the ancient Romans, and is often exercised with equal severity. Should a father, in punishing his son for a fault, be the immediate cause of his death, he could not be called to account for his conduct; he would have done nothing but what the law authorized him to do. Nor does this legal tyranny cease with the maturity of children; it continues while they remain in their father's family, and is often exerted in the most indecent manner. It was not uncommon, even in St Petersburg, to see a lady of the highest rank, and in all the pomp and pride of youthful beauty, standing in the court-yard with her back bare, exposed to the whip of her father's servants. And so little disgrace is attached to this punishment, that the same lady would sit down at table with her father and his guests immediately after she had suffered her flogging, provided its severity had not confined her to bed.

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Authentic  
of parents  
over their  
children.

In superstitious notions and practices, the common Russians are by no means behind their neighbours. Most of them believe in ghosts, apparitions, and hobgoblins; and few of them are fond of inhabiting the houses of near relatives deceased. Hence it happens that many houses are left to fall into ruins, or sold to strangers at a

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very

Russia.

very cheap rate. Even a house whose owner has fallen into poverty, or has otherwise become unfortunate, will not easily find a purchaser, because it has ejected its master. On the Thursday before Whitfuntide, the young women celebrate the festival of the Slavonian goddess Lada, and her son Dida, with singing and dancing; and at this time they decorate a birch bush with garlands and ribbons, and then throwing it with great solemnity into a river, predict from the figures the ribbons assume in the current, whom they shall wed, and what shall be their fate in marriage. On the 5th of January they go by night into a cross street or a cellar, and fancy they hear in every sound the prediction of their destiny. This is called *shuchit*, to go a hearing. The day after Christmas is solemnized by the midwives, because the Virgin Mary's midwife was materially concerned in the redemption of the world. In many places they believe that some witches, by their incantations, have the power of depriving the female sex of their privilege of becoming mothers, but that others can preserve it inviolable; of course brides always apply to the latter. Their *domovoi*s are our fairies, and their *vodovoi*s our water goblins, or wizards of the stream.

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Diet.

The enjoyment of the table is carried to greater excess in Russia than in almost any other country. What has a very curious appearance to a foreigner is, that in summer a course of hot meats, and another of iced meats of the same kind, are very commonly served up together. Their cookery is in general commendable, but their cooks are chiefly from foreign countries. It is usual before dinner to take, in the drawing room, a repast consisting of savoury meats, accompanied with wines and cordials; and at these repasts it is not unusual for some of the party to forget they have to dine afterwards; nor is it thought any thing remarkable to see a person enter the dining-room in a state of intoxication.

A Russian dinner among the politer classes, is thus described by Sir John Carr. It is seldom later than three o'clock. Upon a side-board in the drawing-room is always placed a table filled with fish, meats, and sausages, salted, pickled, and smoked; bread and butter, and liqueurs. These airy nothings are mere running footmen of the dinner, which is in the following order:—A cold dish, generally of sturgeon or some other fish, precedes, followed by soup, a number of made dishes, a profusion of roasted and boiled meats, among which the Ukraine beef is distinguishable, and abundance of excellent vegetables; then pastry and a dessert of very fine melons, and four flavourless wall fruit. The table is covered with a variety of wines, and excellent ale or beer. The master of the house, or the cook, carves; and slices of every dish are handed round to the guests. Among the most gratifying dishes in summer, is a large vase of ice broken into small pieces, with which the guests cool their wine and beer. In the yard of every Russian house, there are two large cellars, one warm for winter, and the other filled with ice for the summer. The soup, and coffee, and chocolate, are frequently iced. After a few glasses of delicious wines, the lady of the house usually rises, and the company retires to coffee in the drawing-room.

Their common drink is called *quash*, and is made by pouring hot water upon rye bread. This is left to ferment, and soon produces a drink, which though at first disagreeable, becomes afterwards sufficiently grateful to

the palate. Mead is also a common beverage; but the native malt liquors are very bad. The Russians consume a great quantity of tea, and are said by Mr Macgill to have the best which is drunk in Europe. This is called the *flower of tea*, and is brought over land by the Chinese merchants who come to the Russian fairs, and exchange their tea for other articles used in their country.

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Amuse-  
ments.

The amusements of the native Russians consist principally of singing, dancing, drafts, and some other games; foot-ball, and more especially swinging. The swing is every where, and at all times, used as an amusement by persons of rank and condition; but at Easter it is the grand diversion of the holidays. The swings may be divided into three sorts; some have a vibrating motion, and these are the most common, well known in Germany and Britain; others are turned round in a perpendicular, and others again in a horizontal direction. The first of these latter species consists of two high posts, on the top of which rests an axle, having two pairs of poles fixed in its centre. Each of these pairs of poles has at its two extremities a seat suspended from a moveable axis. The proprietor, by turning the axis that rests on the two posts, makes all the eight seats go round in a perpendicular circle, so that they alternately almost touch the ground, and then are mounted aloft in the air. The last kind is composed of chairs, chariots, sledges, wooden horses, swans, goats, &c. fastened at the extremities of long poles, and forced rapidly round in a horizontal circle. In the easter holidays all kinds of machines are set up in the public squares; and as the common people are remarkably fond of the diversion, it is a joyful season to the populace, who then devote themselves without restraint to their national propensity to mirth. The numerous concourse of persons of all ranks and descriptions, who parade in a circle with their elegant and sumptuous equipages, the honest merriment of the crowd, the hearty participation with which they enter into these amusements, the striking and singular appearances of the exhibition itself, give this popular festivity a character so peculiar, that the man of observation, who will take pains to study the nation even on this humorous stage, may catch very powerful strokes of the pencil for his delineation. He will not fail to discern the general gaiety with which old and young, children and graybeards, are possessed, and which is here not kindled for a transient moment, but is supported by every pleasant occasion, and placed in its most agreeable light. He will remark the spirit of urbanity and gallantry, appearing in a thousand little ways, as by no means an indifferent feature in the national character. Here a couple of beggars with their clothes in tatters, are saluting one another in the most decent and respectful manner; a long string of questions about their welfare opens the dialogue, which likewise concludes with a polite embrace. Yonder a young fellow is offering to hand his girl, whose cheeks are glowing with paint and brandy, into a seat in which they are both presently to be canted up in the air; and even in those lofty regions his tenderness never forsakes him. Only one step farther, and the eye is attracted by different scenes. The same people who were but now greeting each other in friendly terms, are engaged in a violent quarrel, exhausting the enormous store of abusive epithets with which the Russian tongue abounds. All that can de-

grade

Russia grade and exasperate a human being finds its expression in this energetic language; yet with this vehemence of speech they never lose their temper.

While they are making the most furious gestures, straining their throats to the utmost pitch, loading one another with the most liberal profusion of insults, there is not the least danger that they should proceed to blows. The police, well knowing that with all this noise no lives will be lost, cools the heated parties by a plentiful shower from the fire engine, kept on the spot for that purpose, and which is found to be of such excellent service, that one of them is always at hand wherever a concourse of people is expected. Now, all at once the strife is over, the two vagabonds are running arm in arm to the nearest post house, to ratify their renovated friendship over a glass of brandy.

In the vicinity of the swings, booths are usually run up with boards, in which low comedies are performed. Each representation lasts about half an hour, and the price of admittance is very trifling; but as the confluence of the people is extremely great, and the acting goes on the whole day, the profits are always considerable both to the managers and to the performers, who share the amount between them.

229 Modes of conveyance. The principal modes of conveyance in Russia, are by means of sledges and drojekas. This latter carriage is, we believe, peculiar to Russia, and is employed in the large towns like our hackney coaches. It is described by Mr Porter as a sort of parallelogram with four leathern wings projecting at no great distance from its body, and passing in a semicircular line towards the ground. It runs on four low wheels, and is generally furnished with two seats, placed in such a manner, that two persons can sit sideways, but with their backs to each other. In some of these carriages the seat is so formed, that the occupier sits as on a saddle, and for his better security holds by the driver's fash.

230 Music and dancing. The Russians are fond of the bagpipe, and have a kind of violin, with a large belly like that of a lute; but their music is very barbarous and defective. Yet there are public schools in which the children are taught to sing. The very beggars ask alms in a whining cadence, and ridiculous sort of recitative. A Russian ambassador at the Hague, having been regaled with the best concert of vocal and instrumental music that could be procured, was asked how he liked the entertainment: he replied, Perfectly well; the beggars in my country sing just in the same manner. The warlike music of the Russians consists in kettledrums and trumpets: they likewise use hunting horns; but they are not at all expert in the performance. It has been said, that the Russians think it beneath them to dance, which may have been the case formerly; but at Petersburg dancing is at present much relished, and a minuet is no where so gracefully performed in Europe as by the fashionable people in that metropolis.

231 Finns. The Finns are rather of a short stature, have a flat face with sunk cheeks, dark gray eyes, a thin beard, tawney hair, and a fallow complexion. They are all of a strong make, and were it not for their excessive propensity to drinking spirituous liquors, would be remarkably healthy. They are universally great eaters, and, in spite of their strong passion for brandy, not unfrequently attain to a very advanced age. Their dress consists of woollen kaftans, worn short to the knee,

Russia. with loose black pantaloons and boots. Now and then, by way of extraordinary finery, a sort of embroidered decoration adorns their upper garments. Their caps are unvaryingly of the same shape, round, with a broad rim turned up on all sides round the crown.

Mr Acerbi has given the following characteristic account of the Finnish peasants.

“The very beggars in other countries live in ease, and even luxury,” says Mr Acerbi, “compared to the peasantry of the north; but the northern peasantry are a far happier, and far more respectable race, than the poor of more civilized countries; they are industrious, and their industry can always procure enough to support life with comfort; that abject degree of poverty is not known there, which destroys industry by destroying hope. They have a curious mode of fishing: when the fisherman observes a fish under the ice, in shallow water, he strikes the ice forcibly, immediately over the fish, with a club, and the fish, stupefied by the blow, rises to the surface. They use a spear to kill the bear, or, as they call him, the old man in the pelice: a cross bar is fixed about a foot from the point of the spear, as otherwise the bear might fall upon the spearman: the beast, feeling himself wounded, holds the spear fast, and presses it more deeply into the wound. The proverbs of the Finlanders bear testimony to their industry and hospitality.”

232 Their poetry is alliterative, without rhyme. The Finnish specimens translated by Mr Acerbi are very interesting. The following was composed by a Finnish peasant upon his brother's death. poetry.

“The word went forth from heaven, from Him in whose hands are all things. Come hither, I will make thee my friend; approach, for thou shalt henceforth be my champion. Come down from the high hill; leave the seat of sorrow behind thee; enough hast thou suffered; the tears thou hast shed are sufficient; thou hast felt pain and disease; the hour of thy deliverance is come; thou art set free from evil days; peace hasteneth to meet thee, relief from grief to come.

“Thus went he out to his maker: he entered into glory; he hastened to extreme bliss; he departed to enjoy liberty; he quitted a life of sorrow; he left the habitations of the earth.”

The Finns have many Runic verses which are supposed to contain healing powers, and these are styled *sanat*, or charms; as *mandansanat*, charms for the bite of a serpent; *tulensanat*, charms to cure scalds or burns; *raudansanat*, charms to heal wounds, &c.

“These charms are very numerous, and though not much esteemed by the inhabitants of the sea coast, are in the highest repute amongst those who dwell in the interior and mountainous parts of the country. This is likely to continue to be the case as long as the practice of physic remains in the hands of itinerant empirics and ignorant old women. They jointly with charms use some simple remedies, as salt, milk, brandy, lard, &c. but attribute the cures they perform to the superior efficacy of the verses they sing during the application; the chief theory and foundation of their practice consisting in a belief with which too they impress their patients very strongly, that their complaints are occasioned by witchcraft, and can only be removed by means of these incantations.

“Of these charms it is not easy to obtain specimens,

Russia. as they who are versed in them are unwilling to communicate them to literary men, especially when they see them prepare to commit them to writing, as they fear to be reported to the magistrate or clergyman, and punished, or at least chided, for their superstition. It is a pity the clergymen will not be at the pains of discriminating betwixt the verses which are the production of superstition, and those of an innocent nature. So far are they from attending to this particular, that they do their utmost to discourage Runic poetry in general, and without exception; which, partly on that account, and more owing to the natural changes which time brings about in all human affairs, is rapidly falling into disuse, and in a few years will be found only in the relations of travellers \*."

\* Acerbi's  
Travels.  
233  
Samoiedes.

The Samoiedes are shorter and thicker than the Laplanders; in other respects they resemble them very much. They have little hair, and cover their heads with a fur cap. Their skin coat reaches to their knees, and is fastened round the waist with a girdle. They have breeches, shoes, and stockings, made of the same materials as their coats. Over their shoulders they throw a black bear's skin, with the feet hanging at the four corners. This cloak is placed obliquely on the left side, that the right arm may be more at liberty to use their bows and arrows. On their feet they wear a kind of skates two feet long, with which they slide with prodigious swiftness over the frozen snow, that incessantly covers their mountains.

The women are capable of enduring great fatigue, and assiduously breed up their children in the use of the bow, which they handle with great dexterity. They are dressed nearly like the men, except about the head. A lock of twisted hair hangs down to their shoulders, at the extremity of which is a knot formed of a long slip of bark, which reaches to their heels. In this consists their finery. They hunt with their husbands, and are equally expert in the use of their weapons. Conjugal fidelity is strictly observed, and the punishment annexed to a violation of it on either side is death.

The Samoiedes have no knowledge of the Supreme Being; they use, as idols, the heads of beasts of prey, particularly those of bears, which they put up in the woods, and fervently worship. Their priests, whom they call Shamanns, are chosen from among such as are advanced in years; and they imagine that these can reveal to them the will of their gods, foretel future events, and perform all kinds of magical operations.

*Samoiedes*, in the Russian language, signifies men-eaters, a term which denotes the barbarity of the people; but there is no good reason for believing that the term can be applied to them in its worst acceptation. They probably derived the name from the custom they have of eating their meat without dressing, and not from the habit of devouring their deceased friends or prisoners, of which they have been accused.

The Samoiedes, like the Laplanders, live in tents or caverns, according to the season of the year. Like the Ostiaks and Tungusians, they are exceedingly dirty in their persons and habits. Their marriages are attended with no other ceremony than a verbal agreement. They call their new-born children by the name of the first animal they meet; or if they happen to meet a relation, he generally names the child. Their priests use a tabor, or an instrument very much like it, either to make their

conjurations, or to assist them in those arts by which they delude their countrymen. Russia.

The Baschkirs form one of the military hordes of wandering Tartars, which formerly roamed about the southern part of Siberia, under the conduct of their chiefs, and subsisted principally by plunder. They now constitute a part of the irregular troops of the Russian empire, and have taken up their residence among the Ural mountains, extending to the Tartar deserts on the borders of the rivers Oby and Tobol. In the year 1770, they consisted of about 27,000 families. 234 Baschkirus.

Every tribe of the Baschkirs chooses its own ruler, who is called *Sarchürsis*. The huts which they inhabit during winter are built in the fashion of those in the Russian villages, having a chimney of a conical form of about five feet high in the middle of the principal apartment, which is furnished with large benches, used either as seats or couches. The house is usually filled with smoke, and in its whole economy seems very much to resemble an Irish cabin. In summer the Baschkirs inhabit tents covered with felt, and furnished like the huts with divisions and a chimney in the centre. A summer encampment never exceeds 20 tents, but a winter village contains from 10 to 50 huts.

The most opulent of these tribes are those which dwell on the east of the Ural chain. Some individuals of this nation possess not fewer than 4000 horses, who fatten on the richest pastures in the valley till the month of June, when they are compelled by wasps and other insects to seek for shelter in the mountains. The principal wealth of this people consists of their flocks and herds; but it is chiefly from their horses they derive the necessaries of life, milk, meat, vessels, and garments. They have some knowledge of tillage, but as they sow but little grain, their harvests are very inadequate to their wants; and in general they prefer a pastoral life. Much of their traffic consists of honey. They apply with great success to the cultivation of bees, making their hives in hollow trees, as a greater protection from accidents and wild animals. Frequently one man is the possessor of 500 or 600 of these industrious commoners.

The women employ themselves in weaving, dyeing and fulling their narrow coarse cloths, and they also make the clothes of the whole family, while the men of the lower classes follow the more laborious occupation of fabricating felts, and tanning leather. Both sexes use linen spun from the down of nettles, of which they make wide drawers descending to the ancles. On their feet they wear the usual eastern slipper, and by way of outer garment, a long gown generally of a red colour bordered with fur, and fastened round the waist with a girdle, in which is hung the dagger or scymeter. The lower ranks in winter wear a pelice of sheep skin, while the higher orders wear a horse's skin, in such a manner that the mane flows down their backs, and waves in the wind. The head is covered with a conical cloth cap, sometimes ornamented with fur, and sometimes plain. The garments of the women, among the superior classes, are of silk, buttoned before as high as the neck, and fastened by a broad steel girdle. Round their bosoms and throats they wear a shawl hung with strings of beads, shells, and coins.

Their diversions are confined to religious ceremonies, and a few peculiar festivals, and consist of singing, dancing,

Russia. cing, and horse racing. In their songs they enumerate the achievements of their ancestors, or of themselves, and sometimes alternate these epic poems with love ditties. These songs are always accompanied with appropriate gestures. In their dances they make strange gesticulations, but the motion of the feet is very gentle; and the women, while using these, hold a long silk handkerchief in their hand, which they wave about in a wanton manner.

In their entertainments, the aged occupy seats of honour; and when strangers are introduced, these are placed next the old men. The language of the Bashkirs is a Tartar dialect, but different from that which is spoken in the district of Kazan. Their religion is Mahometan, and they are much addicted to all the superstitions of the east.

The Bashkir soldiers are dexterous horsemen, and skilful in managing the bow. They are usually cased in shirts of mail, with shining helmets. Their ordinary weapons are a sword, a short bow, and a quiver containing 24 arrows. They also carry a long pike, adorned at the top with various coloured pendants. Their horses are small, and though hardy and active, are not at all superior in point of appearance to those of the Kozaks.

The leaders of the Bashkirs have a very superb and warlike appearance. They wear a shirt of mail and a steel helmet like the common men, but over the shirt is thrown a scarlet kaftan flowing from the shoulders down over the backs of their horses. They also wear large scarlet trowsers, and large boots of yellow leather. The saddle covering of the horses usually consists of a leopard's skin. See *Porter's Travels*, vol. ii. Plate at p. 59.

Under the article COSSACS, we have enumerated the several tribes of these people, and have made some remarks on their manners and customs; but as the Don Kozaks form a considerable part of the Russian armies, we shall here add a few remarks on these people, considered in a military capacity.

The common men among these troops have no pay, even in time of war, and their officers have but a very moderate allowance. They are obliged to provide themselves with horses, arms and clothing. Nothing is furnished them except oatmeal and flour. Frequently even nothing is given them but a sorry biscuit (*sukare*.) Thence those hideous tatters with which most of them are covered, when they have no opportunity of plundering, and which give them the appearance of beggars and robbers; thence the ruinous condition of their arms, and the bad state of their horses; thence the murders, robberies, fires, and rapine which every where mark their passage, and which, doubtless, would not be so frequent, if government, less avaricious and less cruel, provided them with even the bare necessaries of life.

They are armed with a pike from 15 to 18 feet in length, which they hold vertically, resting on the right stirrup, and which they couch at the moment of attack. The Kozak makes a very dexterous use of this pike for leaping on his horse. With the left hand he grasps the mane, and as soon as he has his foot in the stirrup, instead of placing his right hand on the crupper, as is generally done; the pike which he holds serves him as a prop; he makes a spring, and in the twinkling of an eye, he is in the saddle. The Kozaks have no spurs; a

large whip suspended from the left wrist supplying their place. Besides their pike, they commonly have a bad sabre, which they neither like, nor well know how to make use of; one or two pistols in a bad condition, and a carbine which they seldom employ.

Their horses are small, lean and stiff, by no means capable of a great effort, but indefatigable. Bred in the *steppes*, they are insensible to the inclemency of the seasons; accustomed to endure hunger and thirst; in a word, not unlike their masters. A Kozak will seldom venture to expose himself against a Turk or a Tartar, of whom he commonly has neither the address nor the vigour; besides his horse is neither sufficiently supple, nor swift, nor sure-footed; but in the end his obstinate perseverance will tire the most active horseman, and harass the most frisky steed, especially if it be in a large plain, after a defeat. All the Kozaks, however, are not badly armed and ill mounted. Several of them keep the arms and horses which they may have been able to obtain by conquest in a campaign; but, in general, they had rather sell them, preferring their patient ponies and their light pikes. As for their officers, they are almost all well mounted, and many of them have good and magnificent arms, resembling in that respect the Turks and Poles.

The Kozaks, if we except the Tschugnief brigade, never fight in a line. They are scattered by platoons, at the head, on the flanks, and in the rear of the army, sometimes at considerable distances. They do the duty of advanced guards, videttes, and patrols. Their activity and vigilance are incredible. They creep and ferret every where with a boldness and address of which none but those who have seen them can obtain an idea. Their numerous swarms form, as it were, an atmosphere round the camps and armies on a march, which they secure from all surprise, and from every unforeseen attack. Nothing escapes their piercing and experienced eye; they divine, as if by instinct, the places fit for ambuscades; they read on the trodden grass the number of men and horses that have passed; and from the traces, more or less recent, they know how to calculate the time of their passing. A bloodhound follows not better the scent of his game. In the immense plains from Azof to the Danube, in those monotonous solitudes covered with tufted and waving grass, where the eye meets with no tree, no object that can obstruct it, and whose melancholy uniformity is only now and then interrupted by infectious bogs and quagmires, torrents overgrown with briars, and insulated hillocks, the ancient graves of unknown generations; in those deserts, in short, the roaming Kozak never misses his way. By night, the stars direct his solitary course. If the sky is clear, he alights from his horse at the first *kurgan* that chance throws in his way; through a long habit of exercising his sight in the dark, or even by the help of feeling alone, he distinguishes the herbs and plants which thrive best on the declivity of the hillock exposed to the north or to the south. He repeats this examination as frequently as the opportunity offers, and, in this manner, he follows or finds again the direction which he ought to take for regaining his camp, his troop, or his dwelling, or any other place to which he is bound. By day, the sun is his surest guide; the breath of the winds, of which he knows the periodical course, (it being pretty regular in these countries), likewise serves him as a compass to steer

Russia.

by. As a new species of augury, the Kozak not unwillingly interrogates the birds; their number, their species, their flight, their cry, indicate to him the proximity of a spring, a rivulet, or a pool; a habitation, a herd, or an army. Those clouds of Kozaks which encompass the Russian armies for the safety of their encampments, or of their marches, are not less formidable to the enemy. Their resolute vigilance, their rash curiosity, their sudden attacks, alarm him, harass him incessantly, and incessantly watch and controul his motions. In general action, the Kozaks commonly keep at a distance, and are spectators of the battle; they wait for its issue, in order to take to flight, or to set out in pursuit of the vanquished, among whom their long pike makes a great slaughter\*.

\* Secret  
Memoirs  
of the court  
of Peter-  
burgh, vol.  
iii.

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Kozaks of  
the Uk-  
raine.

To the account given under COSSACS, of the inhabitants of the Ukraine, we may add the following particulars, which, though anonymous, appear to be accurately stated.

When a young woman, in the Ukraine, feels a tender passion for a young man, she goes to his parents, and says to him, "*Pomagac-bog*," (be you blessed of God). She then sits down, and addressing herself to the object of her affection, makes her declaration of love in the following terms: "Ivan, (Theodore or whatever else may be his name) the goodness I see written in your countenance, is a sufficient assurance to me, that you are capable of ruling and loving a wife; and your excellent qualities encourage me to hope, that you will make a good *gospodar* (husband or master). It is in this belief, that I have taken the resolution to come and beg you, with all due humility, to accept me for your spouse." She afterwards addresses the father and mother in words to the same effect; and solicits them earnestly to consent to the marriage. If she meets with a refusal, or apology, she answers, that she will not quit the house, till she shall have married the object of her love." Sometimes the parents persist in their refusal; but if the girl be obstinate, and have patience to stay a few days or weeks in the house, they are not only forced to give their consent, but frequently to persuade their son to marry her. Besides, the young man is generally moved by her perseverance and affection, and gradually accustoms himself to the idea of making her his wife; so that the young female peasants of the Ukraine seldom fail of being provided with a husband to their mind, if they do but possess a tolerable share of constancy. There is no fear of their being obliged to leave the house of the youth whom they prefer; the parents never think of employing force, because they believe, that by so doing, they should draw down the vengeance of heaven upon their heads; and to this consideration is added, the fear of offending the girl's family, who would not fail to resent such behaviour as a grievous affront.

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It sometimes happens, that the lord of a village in the Ukraine, gives the peasants a dance before his door, and joins in it himself, with his wives and children. (Let it be observed, that most of the villages in the Ukraine are surrounded with thick woods, in which the peasantry conceal themselves in the summer, when afraid of a visit from the Tartars). Although the peasants are *serfs*, they have possessed from time immemorial, the right of carrying off any young woman they like from the dance, not excepting even the daughters of their lords, provided they do it with sufficient dexterity; for otherwise their lives pay the forfeit of their temerity. On these occasions, they watch an opportunity of seizing their prey, and hasten to conceal themselves in the thickest parts of the neighbouring woods. If they can find means to stay there 24 hours undiscovered, the rape remains unpunished, and they are at liberty to marry the young woman, provided she consents, but if taken before that time expires, they are beheaded without farther ceremony.

On Easter Monday, early in the morning, the young men assemble in the streets, lay hold of all the young girls they meet with, and pour five or six buckets of water on their heads. This sport is not permitted later than 12 o'clock. The day after, the girls take their revenge; but as they are inferior in strength, they are forced to have recourse to stratagem. They hide themselves five or six in a house, with each a jug of water in her hand, a little girl standing sentry, and giving the signal, when she sees a young man approach. In an instant the others rush out; surround him with loud acclamations; two or three of the strongest lay hold on him; the neighbouring detachments arrive, and the poor devil is almost drowned with the torrents of water that are poured upon his head.

The men have also another amusement on Easter Monday. They meet in the morning, and go in a body to the lord of the manor, to whom they make a present of fowls, and other poultry. The lord, in return, knocks out the head of a cask of brandy, places it in the court-yard, and ranges the peasants around. He then takes a large ladle, fills it, and drinks to the eldest of the company, who pledges him; and thus it passes from hand to hand, and from mouth to mouth, till the cask is empty. If this happens at an early hour, the lord sends for another, which is treated in the same way; for he is bound to entertain the peasants till sunset. But as soon as the sun sinks beneath the horizon, the signal of retreat is given; and those who are able walk away. \* *Monthly Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 441.

We have already given a general account of the Krimæ and its inhabitants. See CRIMEA (O). We shall here

(O) The isthmus by which the peninsula of the Krimæ is connected with the main land, is commanded by a fortress called by the Russians *Perekop*, i. e. an entrenchment of the isthmus, and by the Tartars, *Or-Kapi*, the gate of the fortification. As this fortress has been mentioned only in a cursory manner, in our article CRIMEA; and as, from its commanding the entrance into the Krimæ from the main land, it is a place of great importance, we shall here give some account of it from the travels of Professor Pallas.

The only entrance into the Krimæ by land is over a bridge, and through an arched stone gate, both erected at the side of the fortress. Contiguous to the gate, in an eastern direction, and within the precincts of the fosse, is the fortress of *Perekop*. This is a model of irregular fortification, which, together with the walls of the deep ditch,

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here add some interesting particulars respecting the Crimean Tartars, from Professor Pallas.

The Crimea is inhabited by three classes of Tartars. The first of these are called Nagays, and are a remnant of that numerous horde which was lately distinguished by the name of Kubanian Tartars, as they formerly occupied the district of Kuban, to the east of the sea of Azof. These Nagays, like their kinsmen in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, live in small huts constructed of felt, the largest of which are from 4 to 5½ archines in diameter, and cannot be taken to pieces, but are placed by two men on carriages, and thus removed from one place to another. They have a vent hole for an outlet to the smoke; and to this is applied a cover with a handle, from which a line is suspended, for the purpose of occasionally closing and opening the aperture. Mats of reeds and wooden work, much withered and smoked, are employed to line the sides of the huts; for as these tribes are destitute of timber, they are obliged to purchase it from Taurida at a considerable expence.

The dress of the men consists of sheep skins, and a coarse kind of cloth, with small round caps, made of lamb skins, and reaching no lower than the ears. The women are dressed in close vests, over which is worn a loose flowing gown with hanging sleeves. The girls generally wear Circassian caps, and married women have their heads covered with a veil. To their shoes are sometimes attached cross pieces, so as to raise them considerably from the ground.

In conformity with the usage of all Asiatic nations, a

*kahim* or marriage portion, consisting, among the opulent, of 40 mares, two horses completely caparisoned, a suit of armour, a gun, and a sabre, is delivered up to the father of the bride on the celebration of the nuptials. The language of the Nagays is said to vary in many respects from that spoken in Taurida, which latter is a Turkish dialect. These people possess more activity and vivacity than the inhabitants of Taurida, but they are also more rapacious and ungovernable, and retain a strong predilection for a wandering life. In summer they travel with their flocks along the banks of the rivulets, where they sow wheat and millet in remote places, and neglect all further cultivation till the time of harvest. On the return of winter they again approach the sea of Azof, near which they find grass preserved for forage, and perhaps a remaining supply of that hay which they had formerly made in the valleys.

The features of these people show them to be the unmixed descendants of the Mongolian Tartars, who formed the bulk of the army of Tschinghis-khan, which invaded Russia and the Crimea.

The second class of the Crimean inhabitants consists of those Tartars who inhabit the heaths or steppes, as far as the mountains, especially on the north side, and who in the district of Perekop, where they are still unmixed, retain many traces of the Mongolian countenance, with a thinly scattered beard. They devote themselves to the rearing of cattle, to a greater extent than the mountaineers, but are at the same time husbandmen, though they pay no attention to gardening.

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is constructed entirely of free stone. It forms an oblong square, extending along the trench which terminates the line of defence. On the side adjoining this line there are no outworks; but on the other three sides the fort is strengthened by an additional deep fosse, the whole amounting to 158 fathoms in length, and 85 in breadth, computing from the fosse of the line. At the north-western angle there is a pentagonal bastion, serving as an outwork; another of a hexagonal form on the south-west, and a third with two angles at the south-east; but at the north-eastern angle the hexagonal bastion is farther extended into the fosse, so as to cover a narrow passage leading to a deep and excellent spring, that rises between this ditch and the interior fortification. The chief entrance into the fortress is near the southern curtain, on the side of which a projecting demibastion has been erected; but another outlet has been contrived at the eastern extremity.

The houses of the suburbs of Perekop were formerly dispersed in a very irregular manner on the southern side of the fortress, but they are at present situated at a distance of three versts within the country. In the vicinity of the gate, however, there are only a few houses, partly within and partly without the line, inhabited by Russian officers appointed at the salt magazine, or by those belonging to the garrison. Since the year 1797, the garrison of Perekop has been considerably increased.

Although the Crimea is at present united to Russia, Perekop will, on many accounts, always remain a post of the greatest consequence; in some respects to Russia, and in others to the Crimea. If, for instance, the plague should ever spread its baneful influence into Krim-Tartary; an event which the constant trade carried on with Constantinople and Anatolia, may easily produce; or, if seditious commotions should arise among the Tartars, whose loyalty is still doubtful; in these cases Perekop would effectually secure the empire, by closely shutting the barrier. On the other hand, this fortress not only renders every attempt at desertions from the Crimea into Russia very difficult; but if, in future, the project of opening free ports should be realized, and thus the important commerce from the Black sea to the Mediterranean and to Anatolia, be vigorously promoted, Perekop would then afford the most convenient situation for a custom house. Farther, if the best ports of the Crimea were appointed, in the same manner as those of Toulon and Marseilles have been selected for all the southern parts of France, in order to establish places of quarantine for all ships navigating the Black sea and that of Azof, so that all vessels destined for Taganrok, Kherfon, and Odeffa, should be obliged to perform a certain quarantine at Sevastopol, Theodosia, and Kertsik, as has already been twice proposed; the important pass of Perekop would for ever secure the open and more populous provinces of the interior parts of the empire from that terrible scourge, the plague. Thus, all danger might be obviated, not only from the sea of Azof, the coasts of which are in every direction exposed to the contagion, so that they can with difficulty be protected; but also from the ports of Kherfon, Nikolaeff, and Odeffa. At the same time, the expence of maintaining various places for quarantines might be greatly reduced, and complete institutions of this nature be speedily established. See *Pallas's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 5.

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In situations destitute of stone, they build with unbaked bricks of clay, and make use of dry dung as fuel. Of this they prepare large quantities, and pile it up into stacks like peat or turf, to serve them during winter. Nearer to the mountains, these Tartars, as well as the nobles, are more intermixed with the Turkish race, and exhibit few of the Kalmuk Mongolian features. This is particularly the case with the Crimean nobility, in whom these peculiarities of feature are almost entirely obliterated. See Pallas's Travels, Vol. II. Plate 21.

The third class of Crimean Tartars comprehends the inhabitants of the southern valleys, a mixed race, which seems to have originated from the remnants of various nations crowded together in these regions at the conquest of the Crimea by the armies of the Mongolian leaders. These people generally display a very singular countenance, having a stronger beard, but lighter hair, than the other Tartars, by whom they are not considered as true descendants of the Tartar race, but are distinguished by the contemptuous name of Tat (or renegado). By their costume they are remarkably distinguished from the second class, or heath Tartars; the men among these latter wearing outer garments very like the loose coats or jackets worn by the European peasants, with round close caps; while the Tartars of the valleys wear the usual eastern dress, with turbans. The dress and veils of the women are, however, alike in both classes. See Pallas's Travels, Vol. II. Plates 12, 20, and 22. Their houses or huts are partly under ground, being generally constructed against the steep precipices of mountains, with one half excavated from the earth or rock, and only the front raised with rough stones. They have also a flat roof covered with earth.

There are among these people skilful vinedressers and gardeners, but they are too indolent to undertake new plantations, and avail themselves only of those trees which have been left by their predecessors. They also cultivate flax and tobacco; objects of culture which are unknown to the Tartars of the heaths.

In the costume of the Tartars inhabiting the plains, there is some variety. Young persons, especially those of noble or wealthy families, dress nearly in the Circassian, Polish, or Kozak fashion, with short or slit sleeves in the upper garment. The nobility of more advanced age wear unslit sleeves like the common Tartars; and old men suffer the whole beard to grow, whereas the young and middle-aged wear only whiskers. Their legs and feet are dressed, in half-boots of Morocco or other leather, or they use stockings of the same material, especially in the towns; and over these are worn slippers or clogs, and in dirty weather, a sort of stilt shoes, like those described in the dress of the Nagays. Their heads are either entirely shaved, or have the hair cut very short, and they wear a high cap, generally green, edged with black or gray lamb skin, and quilted at the top with cotton. This cap is never moved by way of compliment. Those who have performed their pilgrimage to Mecca, are distinguished by a white handkerchief round the edge of the cap, this being the mark of a *hadshi* or pilgrim.

The physiognomy of the true Tauridan Tartars bears a great resemblance to that of the Turks, and of most Europeans. There are handsome, tall, robust people

among them, and few are inclined to corpulency; their complexion is rather fair, and their hair black or dark brown.

The dress of the Tartar women of these two latter classes is very different from that of the Nagays. They are in general of low stature, owing probably to the state of confinement in which they are kept during the early part of their lives, though their features are tolerably handsome. Young women wear wide drawers, a shift reaching to their ancles, open before, and drawn together at the neck; a gown of striped silk, with long sleeves, and adorned with broad trimmings embroidered with gold. They have also an upper garment of some appropriate colour, with short thick Turkish sleeves edged with gold lace, ermine, or other fur. Both girls and married women fasten their gowns with a heavy girdle, having in front two large buckles of embossed or filigree work, such as were formerly in fashion among the Russian ladies at St Petersburg and Mosco. Their hair is braided behind into several loose tresses, and the head is covered, either with a small red cap, or with a handkerchief crossed below the chin. Their fingers are adorned with rings, and their nails tinged of a reddish-brown colour, with a dye stuff called *kna* (derived from the *lawsonia*) imported from Constantinople for that purpose. Paint is rarely employed by young women.

Married women cut off their hair obliquely over their eyes, and leave two locks also cut transversely, hanging down their cheeks; they likewise bind a long narrow strip of cloth round the head, within the ends of which they confine the rest of the hair, and turn it up from behind, braiding it in two large tresses. Like the Persians, they dye their hair of a reddish brown with *kna*. Their under garment is more open below, but in other respects similar to that of the unmarried women, as are their upper dress and girdle. They paint their faces red with cochineal, and by way of white paint, they use an oxide of tin, carefully prepared in small earthen pipkins over a dung fire. They also dye the white of the eye blue, with a preparation of copper finely pulverised; and by a particular process they change the colour of their hair and eyebrows to a shining black, which is retained for several months. At weddings, or on other solemn occasions, the wealthy females further ornament their faces with flowers of gold leaf, colour their hands and feet, as far as the wrists and ancles, of an orange hue, and destroy all the hairs on the body with a mixture of orpiment and lime.

Both married and single women wear yellow half-boots or stockings of Morocco leather; and for walking they use red slippers with thick soles, and in dirty weather put on stilt shoes. Abroad, they wear a kind of undress gown of a loose texture, manufactured by themselves of white wool; wrap several coloured Turkey or white cotton handkerchiefs round their heads, and tie them below the chin; and over all they throw a white linen cloth reaching half way down the arms, drawing it over the face with their right hand, so that their black eyes alone are visible. They avoid as much as possible the company of men, and when they accidentally meet a man in the street, they avert their face, or turn towards the wall.

Polygamy rarely occurs, even among the nobles, and more wealthy inhabitants of the towns, yet there are some

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*Russia.* some persons in the villages, who encumber themselves with two wives. Male and female slaves are not common in this country; but the nobility support numerous idle attendants, and thus impoverish their estates; while their chief pride consists in rich and beautiful apparel, for themselves and their wives, and in handsome equipages for riding to town, being accompanied by a train of domestics, who follow them on every excursion, though the chief employment of the latter is that of giving their master his pipe at his demand, standing in his presence, or assisting him to dress, and, in all other respects, living in the same indolent manner as their lords. Another source of expence is the purchase of elegant swords, and especially of excellent blades; the distinction between the different sorts of which, together with their names, constitute among the nobles a complete science. They are also great admirers of beautiful and costly tobacco pipes, together with expensive mouth-pieces of milk-white amber, that are likewise used by the Turks, and of tubes of curious woods; but the *kalian*, or the pride of the Persians, is scarcely known here; and the Tartars employ only small ornamental bowls made of clay, which are almost every moment filled with fine-cut leaf-tobacco. The generality of these noble lords, or Murfes, were so ignorant, that they could neither read nor write; and instead of signing their names, they substituted an impression of their rings, on which a few Turkish words are engraven. Some of the young nobility, however, are beginning to study not only the Russian language, of which they perceive the necessity; but also apply themselves more sedulously to reading and writing, and thus become more civilized. The expence of wearing apparel for the women shut up in their harems is, according to their manner and fortune, little inferior to that of Europeans; with this single difference, that the fashions among the former are not liable to change. Even the wives of the common Tartars are sometimes dressed in silks and stuffs, embroidered with gold, which are imported from Turkey. In consequence of such extravagance, and the extreme idleness of the labouring classes, there are very few wealthy individuals among the Tartars. Credulity and inactivity are the principal traits in the Tartar character. To sit with a pipe in their hands, frequently without smoking, for many hours, on a shady bank, or on a hill, though totally devoid of all taste for the beauties of nature, and looking straight before them; or, if at work, to make long pauses, and above all to do nothing, constitute their supreme enjoyments; for this mode of life, a foundation is probably laid by educating their boys in the harems. Hunting alone occasionally excites a temporary activity in the Murfes, who pursue their prey with the large species of greyhound, very common in the Krimea; or with falcons and hawks.

The language and mode of writing of the real Tartars differ little from those of the Turks; but the language of the Nagays deviates considerably from that of the other Tartars, as they have retained numerous Mongolian phrases, and make use of an ancient mode of writing called *shagalhai*.

The food of the Krimean Tartars is rather artificial for so unpolished a nation. Among the most esteemed delicacies are, forced meat-balls wrapped in green vine or sorrel leaves, and called *farma*; various fruits, as cu-

cumbers, quinces, or apples, filled with minced meat, *delma*; stuffed cucumbers; dishes of melons, *badilshan*, and *hibiscus esculentus*, or *bamia*, prepared in various ways with spices or saffron; all of which are served up with rice; also *pelaw*, or rice, boiled in meat-broth, till it becomes dry; fat mutton and lamb, both boiled and roasted, &c.: colt's flesh is likewise considered as a dainty; and horse flesh is more commonly eaten by the Nagays, who are still attached to their ancient custom. The Tartars rarely kill horned cattle: mutton and goat's flesh constitute the food of the common people, especially in the country, together with preparations of milk and eggs; butter, (which they churn and preserve in the dry stomachs of oxen); a kind of pelaw, made either of dried or bruised unripe wheat, and which they call *bulgur*; and, lastly, their bread is generally composed of mixed grain. Their ordinary beverage is made by triturating and dissolving cheese in water; the former of which is called *yasma*, being prepared from coagulated milk, or *yugurt*; but the fashionable intoxicating drink is an ill-tasted and very strong beer, or *bush*, brewed of ground millet. Many persons also drink a spirituous liquor, *arraki*, which the Tartar mountaineers distil from various kinds of fruit, particularly plums. It is also extracted from sloes, dogberries, elder-berries, and wild-grapes, but never from the common cherry. They likewise boil the expressed juice of apples and pears into a kind of marmalade, *bekmes*, of the consistence of a syrup, or that of grapes into *nardenk*, as it is called; the latter preparation is a favourite delicacy, and eagerly purchased by the Tartars of the steppes; hence great quantities of it are imported in deal casks from Anatolia, at a very cheap rate, for the purpose of converting it into brandy.

In consequence of their temperate, simple, and careless habits, the warm clothing which they wear throughout the summer, and the little fatigue which they undergo, the Tartars are liable to few diseases, and, in particular, are generally exempted from the intermittent and bilious remittent fevers which commonly prove so fatal to foreigners and new settlers in the Krimea. Indeed, few disorders, except the itch and rheumatism, prevail among them, and many of them attain to a vigorous old age. The true leprosy, which is by the Ural Kozaks termed the *Krimean disease*, never occurs in this peninsula\*.

As a mistress-market must be a curious subject to the polished nations of Europe, we shall give a specimen of the manner in which it is carried on at Theodosia, in the words of Mr Keelman, a German merchant, as related by Mrs Guthrie. "The fair Circassians," says Mr Keelman, "of whom three were offered me for sale in 1768, were brought from their own chamber into mine (as we all lodged in the same inn), one after another, by the Armenian merchant who had to dispose of them. The first was very well dressed, and had her face covered in the oriental style. She kissed my hand by order of the master, and then walked backward and forward in the room, to shew me her fine shape, her pretty small foot, and her elegant carriage. She next lifted up her veil, and absolutely surprised me by her extreme beauty. Her hair was fair, with fine large blue eyes, her nose a little aquiline, with pouting red lips. Her features were regular, her complexion fair and delicate, and her cheeks covered with a fine natu-

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\* Pallas's Travels.

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Market for Circassian slaves at Theodosia.

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ral vermilion, of which she took care to convince me by rubbing them hard with a cloth. Her neck I thought a little too long; but, to make amends, the finest bosom and teeth in the world set off the other charms of this beautiful slave, for whom the Armenian asked 4000 Turkish piastres (about 800l. sterling), but permitted me to feel her pulse, to convince me she was in perfect health; after which she was ordered away, when the merchant assured me, that she was a pure virgin of 18 years of age.

"I was more surprised than I ought to have been, at the perfect indifference with which the inhabitants of Theodosia beheld this traffic in beauty, that had shocked me so much, and at their assuring me, when I seemed affected at the practice, that it was the only method which parents had of bettering the state of their handsome daughters, *destined at all events to the haram*; for that the rich Asiatic gentleman who pays 4000 piastres for a beautiful mistress, treats and prizes her as an earthly houri, in perfect conviction that his success with the houris of Paradise entirely depends on his behaviour to the sisterhood on earth, who will bear testimony against him in case of ill usage; in short, that, by being disposed of to rich Mussulmans, they were sure to live in affluence and ease the rest of their days, and in a state by no means degrading in Mahometan countries, where their prophet has permitted the seraglio. But that, on the contrary, if they fell into the hands of their own feudal lords, the barbarous inhabitants of their own native mountains, which it is very difficult for beauty to escape, their lot was comparatively wretched, as those rude chieftains have very little of either respect or generosity towards the fair sex\*."

\* Mrs.  
Guthrie's  
Travels.

RUST, the calx or oxide of a metal, iron, for instance, formed by exposure to the air, or by corroding and dissolving its superficial parts by some menstruum. Water is the great instrument or agent in producing rust: and hence oils, and other fatty bodies, secure metals from rust; water being no menstruum for oil, and therefore not able to make its way through it. Almost all metals are liable to rust. The rust of iron is not merely an oxide of that metal; it contains besides a portion of carbonate.

RUSTIC, in *Architecture*, implies a manner of building in imitation of nature, rather than according to the rules of art. See ARCHITECTURE.

RUSTIC Gods, *dii rustici*, in antiquity, were the gods of the country, or those who presided over agriculture, &c. Varro invokes the 12 *dii consentes*, as the principal among the rustic gods; viz. Jupiter, Tellus, the Sun, Moon, Ceres, Bacchus, Rubigus, Flora, Minerva, Venus, Lympha, and Good Luck. Besides these 12 arch-rustic gods, there were an infinity of lesser ones; as Pales, Vertumnus, Tutelina, Fulgor, Sterculius, Mellona, Jugatinus, Collinus, Vallonia, Terminus, Sylvanus, and Priapus. Struvius adds the Satyrs, Fauns, Sileni, Nymphs, and even Tritons; and gives the empire over all the rustic gods to the god Pan.

RUSTIC Order, that decorated with rustic quoins, rustic work, &c.

RUSTIC Work, is where the stones in the face, &c. of a building, instead of being smooth, are hatched, or picked with the point of a hammer.

RUSTRE, in *Heraldry*, a bearing of a diamond shape,

pierced through in the middle with a round hole. See HERALDRY.

RUT, in hunting, the venery or copulation of deer.

UTA, RUE; a genus of plants belonging to the dicandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 26th order, *Mutisiliquæ*. See BOTANY Index.

Rue has a strong ungrateful smell, and a bitterish penetrating taste: the leaves, when full of vigour, are extremely acrid, inasmuch as to inflame and blister the skin, if much handled. With regard to their medicinal virtues, they are powerfully stimulating, attenuating, and detergent; and hence, in cold phlegmatic habits, they quicken the circulation, dissolve tenacious juices, open obstructions of the excretory glands, and promote the fluid secretions. The writers on the materia medica in general have entertained a very high opinion of the virtues of this plant. Boerhaave is full of its praises; particularly of the essential oil, and the distilled water cohobated or re-distilled several times from fresh parcels of the herb. After extravagantly commending other waters prepared in this manner, he adds, with regard to that of rue, that the greatest commendations he can bestow upon it fall short of its merit: "What medicine (says he) can be more efficacious for promoting sweat and perspiration, for the cure of the hysteric passion and of epilepsies, and for expelling poison?" Whatever service rue may be of in the two last cases, it undoubtedly has its use in the others: the cohobated water, however, is not the most efficacious preparation of it. An extract made by rectified spirit contains in a small compass the whole virtues of the rue; this menstruum taking up by infusion all the pungency and flavour of the plant, and elevating nothing in distillation. With water, its peculiar flavour and warmth arise; the bitterness, and a considerable share of the pungency, remaining behind.

RUTA Baga, or Swedish turnip. For the mode of cultivation, see AGRICULTURE Index.

BOOK OF RUTH, a canonical book of the Old Testament; being a kind of appendix to the book of Judges, and an introduction to those of Samuel; and having its title from the person whose story is here principally related. In this story are observable the ancient rights of kindred and redemption; and the manner of buying the inheritance of the deceased, with other particulars of great note and antiquity. The canonicalness of this book was never disputed; but the learned are not agreed about the epocha of the history it relates. Ruth the Moabitess is found in the genealogy of our Saviour. Matth. i. 5.

RUTILUS. See CYPRINUS, ICHTHYOLOGY Index.

RUTHERGLEN, or by contraction RUGLEN, the head borough of the nether ward of Lanarkshire in Scotland, is situated in N. Lat. 55° 51', and W. Long. 4° 13'; about two miles south-east of Glasgow, and nine west of Hamilton. Few towns in Scotland can lay greater claim to antiquity than Rutherglen. Maitland, in his History of the Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. p. 92. tells us, that it was founded by a King Reuther, from whom it derived its name; and a tradition of the same import prevails among the inhabitants. But without laying any stress on the authority of tradition, which is often false and always doubtful, we find, from several original charters still preserved, that it was erected into

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a royal borough by King David I. about the year 1126.

The territory under the jurisdiction of the borough was extensive, and the inhabitants enjoyed many distinguished privileges, which were however gradually wrested from them, by political influence, in favour of Glasgow, which in latter times rose into consequence by trade and manufactures. The ancient dimensions of the place are now unknown; but in the fields and gardens towards the east the foundations of houses are occasionally discovered. It is now of a very reduced size, consisting but of one principal street and a few lanes, and containing about 1631 inhabitants.

About 150 yards to the south of the main street is a kind of lane, known by the name of *Dins-dykes*. A circumstance which befel the unfortunate Queen Mary, immediately after her forces were routed at the battle of Langside, has ever since continued to characterize this place with an indelible mark of opprobrium. Her majesty, during the battle, stood on a rising ground about a mile from Rutherglen. She no sooner saw her army defeated than she took her precipitate flight to the south. *Dins-dykes* unfortunately lay in her way. Two rustics, who were at that instant cutting grass hard by, seeing her majesty fleeing in haste, rudely attempted to intercept her, and threatened to cut her in pieces with their scythes if she presumed to proceed a step further. Neither beauty, nor even royalty itself, can at all times secure the unfortunate when they have to do with the unfeeling or the revengeful. Relief, however, was at hand; and her majesty proceeded in her flight.

Adjoining to a lane called the *Back-row* stood the castle of Rutherglen, originally built at a period coeval, it is reported, with the foundation of the town. This ancient fortress underwent several sieges during the unhappy wars in the days of King Robert Bruce, and it remained a place of strength until the battle of Langside; soon after which it was destroyed by order of the regent, to revenge himself on the Hamilton family, in whose custody it then was. The foundations of the buildings are now erased, and the site converted into dwelling-houses and gardens.

The church of Rutherglen, an ancient building of the Saxon-Gothic style, was rendered famous by two transactions, in which the fate of Sir William Wallace and his country was deeply concerned. In it a truce was concluded between Scotland and England in the year 1297 (Henry's Life of Wallace, book vi. verse 862.), and in it Sir John Monteath bargained with the English to betray Wallace his friend and companion (Life of Wallace, book xi. verse 796.). This ancient building, having become incommodious, was, in 1794, pulled down, and one of a modern style was erected in its place. Buried in the area were found vast quantities of human bones, and some relics of antiquity.

No borough probably in Britain possesses a political constitution or sett more free and unembarrassed than Rutherglen. It was anciently under the influence of a self-elected magistracy, many of whom lived at a distance from the borough, and who continued long in office without interruption. Negligence on the one hand, and an undue exertion of power on the other, at length excited the burgeses, about the middle of the last century, to apply an effectual remedy to this evil. The community who, at that period, possessed the power of reform-

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ing the abuses that had long prevailed in the management of the borough, were much assisted in their exertions by a Mr David Spens, town-clerk, a gentleman unbiassed by false politics, and who was animated with a high degree of true patriotism. Great opposition was at first made to the reform; but the plan adopted by the burgeses was wisely laid, and was prosecuted with unremitting assiduity. They were proof against the influence and bribery of a party that struggled to continue the old practice; and having at length surmounted every difficulty, they formed a new constitution or sett for the borough, which, in 1671, was approved of by all the inhabitants of the town, and afterwards inserted in the records of the general convention of the royal boroughs of Scotland.

Rutherglen, in conjunction with Glasgow, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, sends a member to the British parliament. The fairs of this town are generally well attended, and have long been famous for a great show of horses, of the Lanarkshire breed, which are esteemed the best draught-horses in Britain. The inhabitants of this borough still retain some customs of a very remote antiquity. One of these is the making of *Rutherglen four cakes*. The operation is attended with some peculiar rites, which lead us to conclude that the practice is of Pagan origin. An account of these rites is given in Ure's History of Rutherglen and Kilbride, p. 94.; from whence we have taken the above account of this place, and which we do not hesitate to recommend to the attention of such of our readers as are fond of natural and local history, being persuaded that they will find it to be both an useful and entertaining performance.

RUTLANDSHIRE, is the smallest county in England, being but 40 miles in circumference; in which are two towns, 48 parishes, 3263 houses, and 16,356 inhabitants. However, for quality it may be compared with any other county; the air being good, and the soil fertile both for tillage and pastures; and it not only affords plenty of corn, but feeds a great number of horned cattle and sheep. It is well watered with brooks and rivulets; and the principal rivers are the Weland and the Wash. It is bounded on the east by Lincolnshire; on the south by the river Weland, which parts it from Northamptonshire; and on the west and north by Leicestershire. It has only two market-towns; namely, Okeham, where the assizes and sessions are held, and Uppingham.

RUYSCH, FREDERIC, one of the most eminent anatomists of which Holland can boast, was born at the Hague in 1638. After making great progress at home, he repaired to Leyden, and there prosecuted the study of anatomy and botany. He studied next at Franeker, where he obtained the degree of doctor of physic. He then returned to the Hague; and marrying in 1661, dedicated his whole time to the study of his profession. In 1665 he published a treatise, entitled *Dilucidatio vularum de variis lymphaticis et lacteis*; which raised his reputation so high, that he was chosen professor of anatomy at Amsterdam. This honour he accepted with the more pleasure, because his situation at Amsterdam would give him easy access to every requisite help for cultivating anatomy and natural history. After he settled in Amsterdam, he was perpetually engaged in dissecting and in examining with the most inquisitive eye the various parts of the human body. He improved the

Rutherglen  
Ruyfch.

Ruyfch  
#  
Ruyter.

science of anatomy by new discoveries; in particular, he found out a way to preserve dead bodies many years from putrefaction. His anatomical collection was curious and valuable. He had a series of foetuses of all sizes, from the length of the little finger to that of a new-born infant. He had also bodies of full grown persons of all ages, and a vast number of animals almost of every species on the globe, besides a great many other natural curiosities. Peter the Great of Russia, in his tour through Holland in the year 1698, visited Ruyfch, and was so charmed with his conversation, that he passed whole days with him; and when the hour of departure came, he left him with regret. He set so high a value on Ruyfch's cabinet of curiosities, that when he returned to Holland in 1717, he purchased it for 30,000 florins, and sent it to Petersburg.

In 1685 he was made professor of medicine, an office which he discharged with great ability. In 1728 he got his thigh-bone broken by a fall in his chamber. The year before this misfortune happened he had been deprived of his son Henry, a youth of talents, and well skilled in anatomy and botany. He had been created a doctor of physic, and was supposed to have assisted his father in his discoveries and publications. Ruyfch's family now consisted only of his youngest daughter. This lady had been early inspired with a passion for anatomy, the favourite science of her father and brother, and had studied it with success. She was therefore well qualified to assist her father in forming a second collection of curiosities in natural history and anatomy, which he began to make after the emperor of Russia had purchased the first. Ruyfch is said to have been of so healthy a constitution, that though he lived to the age of 93, yet during that long period he did not labour under the infirmities of disease above a month. From the time he broke his thigh he was indeed disabled from walking without a support; yet he retained his vigour both of mind and body without any sensible alteration, till in 1731 his strength at once deserted him. He died on the 22d of February the same year. His anatomical works are printed in 4 vols 4to.

The style of his writings is simple and concise, but sometimes inaccurate. Instruction, and not ostentation, seems to be his only aim. In anatomy he undoubtedly made many discoveries; but from not being sufficiently conversant in the writings of other anatomists, he published as discoveries what had been known before. The Academy of Sciences at Paris in 1727 elected him a member in place of Sir Isaac Newton, who was lately deceased. He was also a member of the Royal Society of London.

**RUYSCHIA**, a genus of the monogynia order, belonging to the pentandria class of plants; and in the natural method ranking with those that are doubtful. See *BOTANY Index*.

**RUYTER**, MICHAEL ADRIAN, a distinguished naval officer, was born at Fleissingue, a town of Zealand, in 1607. He entered on a seafaring life when he was only 11 years old, and was first a cabin-boy. While he advanced successively to the rank of mate, master, and captain, he acquitted himself with ability and honour in all these employments. He repulsed the Irish, who attempted to take Dublin out of the hands of the English. He made eight voyages to the West Indies and ten to Brazil. He was then promoted to the rank of

rear-admiral, and sent to assist the Portuguese against the Spaniards. When the enemy came in sight, he advanced boldly to meet them, and gave such unquestionable proofs of valour as drew from the Portuguese monarch the warmest applause. His gallantry was still more conspicuous before Salee, a town of Barbary. With one single vessel he sailed through the roads of that place in defiance of five Algerine corsairs who came to attack him.

In 1653 a squadron of 70 vessels was dispatched against the English under the command of Van Tromp. Ruyter, who accompanied the admiral in this expedition, seconded him with great skill and bravery in the three battles which the English so gloriously won. He was afterwards stationed in the Mediterranean, where he captured several Turkish vessels. In 1659 he received a commission to join the king of Denmark in his war with the Swedes; and he not only maintained his former reputation, but even raised it higher. As the reward of his services, the king of Denmark ennobled him and gave him a pension. In 1661 he ran ashore a vessel belonging to Tunis, released 40 Christian slaves, made a treaty with the Tunisians, and reduced the Algerine corsairs to submission. His country, as a testimony of her gratitude for such illustrious services, raised him to the rank of vice-admiral and commander in chief. To the latter dignity, the highest that could be conferred upon him, he was well intitled by the signal victory which he obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain. This battle was fought in 1672 about the time of the conquest of Holland. The battle was maintained between the English and Dutch with the obstinate bravery of nations which were accustomed to dispute the empire of the main. Ruyter having thus made himself master of the sea, conducted a fleet of Indiamen safely into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country, while it had become the prey of hostile invaders. The next year he had three engagements with the fleets of France and England, in which, if possible, his bravery was still more distinguished than ever. D'Estrees the French vice-admiral wrote to Colbert in these words: "I would purchase with my life the glory of De Ruyter." But he did not long enjoy the triumphs which he had so honourably won. In an engagement with the French fleet off the coast of Sicily, he lost the day, and received a mortal wound, which put an end to his life in a few days. His corpse was carried to Amsterdam, and a magnificent monument to his memory was there erected by the command of the states-general. The Spanish council bestowed on him the title of duke, and transmitted a patent investing him with that dignity; but he died before it arrived.

When some person was congratulating Louis XIV. upon De Ruyter's death, telling him he had now got rid of one dangerous enemy; he replied, "Every one must be sorry at the death of so great a man."

**RYE**. See *SECALE*, *BOTANY Index*; and also *AGRICULTURE Index*.

*RYE-Grass*. See *AGRICULTURE Index*.

**RYE**, a town in Suffex, with two markets on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but no fair. It is one of the cinque-ports; is a handsome well-built place, governed by a mayor and jurats, and sends two members to parliament. It has a church built with stone, and a town-hall; and consists of three streets, paved with stone.

One

Ruyter,  
Rye.

Rye,  
Rymer.

One side of the town has been walled in, and the other is guarded by the sea. It has two gates, and is a place of considerable trade in the shipping way. From thence large quantities of corn are exported, and many of the inhabitants are fishermen. It is 34 miles south-east by south of Tunbridge, and 64 on the same point from London. The mouth of the harbour is of late choked up with sand; but if well opened, it would be a good station for privateers that cruise against the French. E. Long. 0. 50. N. Lat. 51. 0.

RYMER, THOMAS, Esq. the author of the *Fœdera*, was born in the north of England, and educated at the grammar-school of Northallerton. He was admitted a scholar at Cambridge, then became a member of Gray's Inn, and at length was appointed historiographer to King William in place of Mr Shadwell. He wrote A View of the Tragedies of the last Age, and afterwards published a tragedy named *Edgar*. For a critic he was certainly not well qualified, for he wanted candour; nor is his judgement much to be relied on, who could condemn Shakespeare with such rigid severity. His tragedy will show, that his talents for poetry were by no means equal to those whose poems he has publicly censured. But though he has no title to the appellation of poet or critic, as an antiquarian and historian his memory will long be preserved. His *Fœdera*, which is a collection of all the public transactions, treaties, &c. of the kings of England with foreign princes, is esteemed one of our most authentic and valuable records, and is oftener referred to by the best English historians than perhaps any other book in the language. It was published at London in the beginning of the present century in 17 volumes folio. Three volumes more were added by Sanderson after Rymer's death. The whole were reprinted at the Hague in 10 vols in 1739. They were abridged by Rapiu in French, and inserted in Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque*, a translation of which was made by Stephen Whatley, and printed in 4 vols 8vo, 1731.

Rymer died 14th December 1713, and was buried in the parish church of St Clement's Danes. Some specimens of his poetry are preserved in the first volume of Mr Nichol's Select Collection of Miscellaneous Poems, 1780.

Rynchops  
||  
Ryfwick.

RYNCHOPS, a genus of birds belonging to the order of anseres. See ORNITHOLOGY *Index*.

RYOTS, in the policy of Hindostan, the modern name by which the renters of land are distinguished. They hold their possessions by a lease, which may be considered as perpetual, and at a rate fixed by ancient surveys and valuations. This arrangement has been so long established, and accords so well with the ideas of the natives, concerning the distinction of casts, and the functions allotted to each, that it has been invariably maintained in all the provinces subject either to Mahometans or Europeans; and to both it serves as the basis on which their whole system of finance is founded.

Respecting the precise mode, however, in which the ryots of Hindostan held their possessions, there is much diversity of opinion; the chief of which are very impartially delineated in note iv. to the Appendix of Robertson's Historical Disquisition, &c. concerning India, p. 345. to which we refer such of our readers as are interested in this subject of finance.

RYSWICK, a large village in Holland, seated between the Hague and Delft, where the prince of Orange has a palace, which stands about a quarter of a mile farther. It is a very noble structure, all of hewn stone, of great extent in front, but perhaps not proportionably high. It is adorned with a marble staircase, marble floors, and a magnificent terrace. There is a good prospect of it from the canal between Delft and the Hague. This place is remarkable for a treaty concluded here in 1697 between England, Germany, Holland, France, and Spain. E. Long. 4. 20. N. Lat. 52. 8.

## S.

S, s, the 18th letter and 14th consonant of our alphabet; the sound of which is formed by driving the breath through a narrow passage between the palate and the tongue elevated near it, together with a motion of the lower jaw and teeth towards the upper, the lips being a little way open; with such a configuration of every part of the mouth and larynx, as renders the voice somewhat sibilous and hissing. Its sound, however, varies; being strong in some words, as *this*, *thus*, &c. and soft in words which have a final e, as *musse*, *wisse*, &c. It is generally doubled at the end of words, whereby they become hard and harsh, as in *kiss*, *loss*, &c. In some words it is silent, as *isle*, *island*, *viscount*, &c. In writing or printing, the long character *s* is generally used at the beginning and middle of words, but the short *s* at the end.

In abbreviation, S stands for *societas* or *socius*; as,

R. S. S. for *regiæ societatis socius*, i. e. fellow of the royal society. In medicinal prescriptions, S. A. signifies *secundum artem*, i. e. according to the rules of art: And in the notes of the ancients, S stands for *Sextus*; S. P. for *Spurius*; S. C. for *senatus consultum*; S. P. Q. R. for *senatus populisque Romanus*; S. S. S. for *stratum super stratum*, i. e. one layer above another alternately; S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. for *si vales bene est, ego quoque valeo*, a form used in Cicero's time, in the beginning of letters. Used as a numeral, S anciently denoted seven; in the Italian music, S signifies *solo*: And in books of navigation, S stands for south; S. E. for south-east; S. W. for south-west; S. S. E. for south south-east; S. S. W. for south south-west, &c.

SAAVEDRA, MICHAEL DE CERVANTES, a celebrated Spanish writer, and the inimitable author of Don Quixote, was born at Madrid in the year 1541. From

Saavedra. his infancy he was fond of books; but he applied himself wholly to books of entertainment, such as novels and poetry of all kinds, especially Spanish and Italian authors. From Spain he went to Italy, either to serve Cardinal Aquaviva, to whom he was chamberlain at Rome; or else to follow the profession of a soldier, as he did some years under the victorious banners of Marco Antonio Colonna. He was present at the battle of Lepanto, fought in the year 1571; in which he either lost his left hand by the shot of an arquebus, or had it so maimed that he lost the use of it. After this he was taken by the Moors, and carried to Algiers, where he continued a captive five years and a half. Then he returned to Spain, and applied himself to the writing of comedies and tragedies; and he composed several, all of which were well received by the public, and acted with great applause. In the year 1584 he published his *Galatea*, a novel in six books; which he presented to Alcanio Colonna, a man of high rank in the church, as the first fruits of his wit. But the work which has done him the greatest honour, and will immortalize his name, is the history of *Don Quixote*; the first part of which was printed at Madrid in the year 1605. This is a satire upon books of knight-errantry; and the principal, if not the sole, end of it was to destroy the reputation of those books, which had so infatuated the greater part of mankind, and especially those of the Spanish nation. This work was universally read; and the most eminent painters, tapestry-workers, engravers, and sculptors, have been employed in representing the history of *Don Quixote*. Cervantes, even in his lifetime, obtained the glory of having his work receive a royal approbation. As King Philip III. was standing in a balcony of his palace at Madrid, and viewing the country, he observed a student on the banks of the river Manzanares reading in a book, and from time to time breaking off and beating his forehead with extraordinary tokens of pleasure and delight: upon which the king said to those about him, "That scholar is either mad, or reading *Don Quixote*:" the latter of which proved to be the case. But *virtus laudatur et alget*: notwithstanding the vast applause his book everywhere met with he had not interest enough to procure a small pension, for he could scarcely keep himself from starving. In the year 1615, he published a second part; to which he was partly moved by the presumption of some scribbler, who had published a continuation of this work the year before. He wrote also several novels; and among the rest, "The Troubles of *Perfiles* and *Sigismunda*." He had employed many years in writing this novel, and finished it but just before his death; for he did not live to see it published. His sickness was of such a nature, that he himself was able to be, and actually was, his own historian. At the end of the preface to the *Troubles of Perfiles and Sigismunda*, he represents himself on horseback upon the road, and a student, who had overtaken him, engaged in conversation with him: "And happening to talk of my illness (says he), the student soon let me know my doom, by saying it was a dropsy I had got; the thirst attending which all the water of the ocean, though it were not salt, would not suffice to quench. Therefore Senior Cervantes, says he, you must drink nothing at all, but do not forget to eat; for this alone will recover you without any other physic. I have been told the same by others, answered I;

but I can no more forbear tipping, than if I were born to do nothing else. My life is drawing to an end; and from the daily journal of my pulse, I shall have finished my course by next Sunday at the farthest.—But adieu, my merry friends all, for I am going to die; and I hope to see you ere long in the other world, as happy as heart can wish." His dropsy increased, and at last proved fatal to him; yet he continued to say and to write bon mots. He received the last sacrament on the 18th of April 1616; yet the day after wrote a dedication of the *Troubles of Perfiles and Sigismunda* to the *condé de Lemos*. The particular day of his death is not known.

SABA, a Dutch island near St Eustatia in the West Indies. It is a steep rock, on the summit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, which do not lie any time on the soil, give growth to plants of an exquisite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary size. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty slaves, here raise cotton, spin it, make stockings of it, and sell them to other colonies for as much as ten crowns\* a pair. Throughout America there is no blood so pure as that of Saba; the women there preserve a freshness of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee islands. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock between the sky and sea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their storms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a simple commodity, from which it derives ease without the temptation of riches; is employed in labours less troublesome than useful, and possesses in peace all the blessings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philosopher may contemplate at leisure the errors and passions of men, who come, like the waves of the sea, to strike and dash themselves on the rich coasts of America, the spoils and possession of which they are perpetually contending for, and wresting from each other: hence may he view at a distance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midst of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics; devouring gold without ever being satisfied; wading through seas of blood to amass those metals, those pearls, those diamonds, which are used to adorn the oppressors of mankind; loading innumerable ships with those precious casks, which furnish luxury with purple, and from which flow pleasures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this mass of follies, and spins his cotton in peace.

SABÆANS. See SABIANS.

SABAZIA, in Greek antiquity, were nocturnal mysteries in honour of Jupiter Sabazius. All the initiated had a golden serpent put in at their breasts, and taken out at the lower part of their garments, in memory of Jupiter's ravishing Proserpina in the form of a serpent. There were also other feasts and sacrifices distinguished by this appellation, in honour of Mithras, the deity of the Persians, and of Bacchus, who was thus denominated by the Sabians, a people of Thrace.

SABBATARIANS, or SEVENTH DAY BAPTISTS, a sect of anabaptists; thus called, because they observed the Jewish or Saturday-Sabbath, from a persuasion that it was never abrogated in the New Testament by the institution of any other.

SABBATH,

Saavedra  
||  
Sabbatari-  
ans.

Raynal's  
History,  
vol. iv.

\* 11. 58.



<sup>1</sup> **Sabbath.** **SABBATH**, in the Hebrew language, signifies *rest*. The seventh day was denominated the *Sabbath*, or *day of rest*, because that in it God had rested from all his works which he created and made. From that time the seventh day seems to have been set apart for religious services; and, in consequence of a particular injunction, was afterwards observed by the Hebrews as a holyday. They were commanded to set it apart for sacred purposes in honour of the creation, and likewise in memorial of their own redemption from Egyptian bondage.

<sup>2</sup> **Importance of the institution, and early ceremonies.** The importance of the institution may be gathered from the different laws respecting it. When the ten commandments were published from Mount Sinai in tremendous pomp, the law of the Sabbath held a place in what is commonly called the first table, and by subsequent statutes the violation of it was to be punished with death. Six days were allowed for the use and service of man; but the seventh day God reserved to himself, and appointed it to be observed as a stated time for holy offices, and to be spent in the duties of piety and devotion. On this day the ministers of the temple entered upon their week; and those who had attended on the temple service the preceding week went out at the same time. New loaves of shew-bread were placed upon the golden table, and the old ones taken away. Two lambs for a burnt-offering, with a certain proportion of fine flour, mingled with oil, for a bread-offering, and wine for a libation, were offered. The Sabbath, as all other festivals, was celebrated from evening to evening. It began at six in the evening on Friday, and ended at the same time the next day.

<sup>3</sup> **Time of its institution.** Concerning the time at which the Sabbath was first instituted, different opinions have been held. Some have maintained, that the sanctification of the seventh day, mentioned in Gen. ii. is only there spoken of *δια προλεψιν*, or by anticipation; and is to be understood of the Sabbath afterwards enjoined the children of Israel at the commencement of the Mosaic dispensation. But without entering into a particular examination of all the arguments adduced to support this opinion, a few observations, it is presumed, will be sufficient to show that it rests on no solid foundation.

It cannot easily be supposed that the inspired penman would have mentioned the sanctification of the seventh day amongst the primeval transactions, if such sanctification had not taken place until 2500 years afterwards. Writers, ambitious of that artificial elegance which the rules of criticism have established, often bring together in their narratives events which were themselves far distant, for the sake of giving form to their discourse; but Moses appears to have despised all such slimy refinements, and to have constructed his narrative in great conformity to the series of events.

<sup>4</sup> **Religious service in the patriarchal age.** From the accounts we have of the religious service practised in the patriarchal age, it appears that, immediately after the fall, when Adam was restored to favour through a Mediator, a stated form of public worship was instituted, which man was required to observe, in testimony, not only of his dependence on the Creator, but also of his *faith* and *hope* in the promise made to our first parents, and seen afar off. Of an institution, then, so grand and important, no circumstance would be omitted that is necessary to preserve it, or that contributes to render the observance of it regular and solemn.

That determined times are necessary for the due celebration of divine service, cannot be denied. Such is the constitution of man, that he must have particular times set apart for particular services. He is doomed to toil and labour; to earn his bread in the sweat of his face; and is capable of performing religious duties only in such a manner as is consistent with his situation in the world. If stated times for religious solemnities had not been enjoined, the consequence would have been, that such solemnities would have been altogether neglected; for experience shows, that if mankind were left at liberty when and how often they should perform religious offices, these offices would not be performed at all. It is the observation of holy times that preserves the practice of holy services; and without the frequent and regular returns of hallowed days, man would quickly forget the duty which he owes to God, and in a short time no vestige of religion would be found in the world.

<sup>5</sup> **Necessity of stated days for the performance.** Among the ordinances which God vouchsafed his ancient people, we find that the pious observation of the holydays was particularly insisted upon; and the Sabbath was enjoined to be kept holy, in the most solemn manner, and under the severest penalties. Can it then be supposed that He would suffer mankind, from the creation of the world to the Mosaic era, to remain without an institution so expedient in itself, and as well fitted to answer the end proposed by it, under the one dispensation, as ever it could be under the other? No; we have every imaginable reason to conclude, that when religious services were enjoined, religious times were appointed also; for the one necessarily implies the other.

<sup>6</sup> **Objections to the early institution of the Sabbath considered.** It is no objection to the early institution of the Sabbath, that there is no mention of it in the history of the patriarchal age. It would have swelled the Bible to a most enormous size, had the sacred historian given a particular account of all the transactions of those times; besides, it would have answered no end. When Moses wrote the book of Genesis, it was unnecessary to relate minutely transactions and institutions already well known by tradition: accordingly we see, that his narrative is everywhere very concise, and calculated only to preserve the memory of the most important facts. However, if we take a view of the church-service of the patriarchal age, we shall find that what is called the *legal* dispensation, at least the liturgic part of it, was no new system, but a collection of institutions observed from the beginning, and republished in form by Moses. The Scriptures inform us that Cain and Abel offered sacrifices; and the account which is given of the acceptance of the one, and the rejection of the other, evidently shows that stated laws respecting the service had then taken place. "In process of time," *at the end of the days*, "Abel brought an offering." Here was *priest, altar, matter of sacrifice, appointed time, motive to sacrifice, atonement made, and accepted*. The distinction of animals into clean and unclean before the flood, and Noah's sacrifice immediately after his deliverance, without any new direction, is an unanswerable proof of the same truth. It is testified of Abraham, by God himself, that he kept his *charge*, his *commandments*, his *statutes*, and his *laws*. These expressions comprehend the various branches, into which the law given at Sinai was divided. They contain the moral precepts, affirmative and negative, the matter of religious service, a body of laws

Sabbath. laws to direct obedience, and to which man was to conform his conduct in every part of duty. Agreeably to this, we find that sacrifices were offered, altars and places of worship consecrated, and the *Sabbath* also mentioned as a well-known solemnity, before the promulgation of the law. It is expressly taken notice of at the fall of manna; and the incidental manner in which it is then mentioned, is a convincing proof that the Israelites were no strangers to the institution: for had it been a *new* one, it must have been enjoined in a positive and particular manner, and the nature of it must have been laid open and explained, otherwise the term would have conveyed no meaning.

7  
Argument  
from the  
general di-  
vision of  
time into  
weeks.  
שבע  
\* שבע  
Seven.

The division of time into *weeks*, or periods of seven days, which obtained so early and almost universally, is a strong indication that *one* day in seven was always distinguished in a particular manner. *Week\**, and *seven days*, are in scripture language synonymous terms. God commanded Noah, *seven days* before he entered the ark, to introduce into it all sorts of living creatures. When the waters of the flood began to abate, Noah sent forth a dove, which, finding no rest for the sole of her foot, returned to him. After *seven days* he sent forth the dove a second time, and again she returned to the ark. At the expiration of other *seven days* he let go the dove a third time: and a *week* is spoken of (Gen. xxix.) as a well-known space of time.

This septenary division of time has been, from the earliest ages, uniformly observed over all the eastern world. The Israelites, Assyrians, Egyptians, Indians, Arabians, and Persians, have always made use of a week, consisting of seven days. Many vain attempts have been made to account for this uniformity; but a practice so general and prevalent could never have taken place, had not the septenary distribution of time been instituted from the beginning, and handed down by tradition.

From the same source also must the ancient heathens have derived their notions of the sacredness of the seventh day. That they had such notions of it is evident from several passages of the Greek poets quoted by Aristobolus, a learned Jew, by Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius.

ἑβδομη, ἕξον ἡμέρας. Hesiod.  
The seventh, the sacred day.

ἑβδοματη δ' ἐπιτα κατηλθεν, ἕξον ἡμέρας. Homer.  
Afterwards came the seventh, the sacred day.

Again:

ἑβδομον ἡμέρας ἐν, καὶ τῷ τετελεστο πάντα.  
On the seventh day all things were completed.

ἑβδοματη δὲ τετελεσμενα πάντα τετελεσται. Linus.  
All things were made perfect on the seventh day.

That they likewise held the number *seven* in high estimation has been shown by a learned, though sometimes fanciful, author\*, with such evidence as to enforce conviction. The Pythagoreans call it the *venerable* number, *σεβασμης αξιος*, *worthy of veneration*, and held it to be *perfect* and *most proper* to religion. They denominated it *fortune*, and also styled it *voice*, *sound*, *music*, because no doubt, *seven* distinct notes comprehend the whole scale of music, beyond which neither voice nor instrument can go, but must return from the seventh, and begin again anew.

\* Hollo-  
way's Ori-  
ginals,  
vol. ii.  
p. 60.

They likewise designed it *τελεφορος*, *leading to the end*. *Seven*, in the Hebrew language, is expressed by a word that primarily signifies *fulness*, *completion*, *sufficiency*, and is applied to a *week*, or *seven days*, because that was the *full time* employed in the work of creation; to the *Sabbath*, because on it all things were *completed*; and to an *oath*, because it is *sufficient* to put an end to all strife. This opening of the Hebrew root will enable us to come at the meaning of those expressions of the heathens, and also let us see whence they derived their ideas and modes of speaking, and that the knowledge of the transactions at the creation, though much perverted, was never entirely lost by them.

It has been supposed by some, that the heathens borrowed the notion of the *sacredness* of the seventh day from the Jews. But this opinion will not readily be admitted, when it is considered that the Jews were held in the greatest contempt by the surrounding nations, who derided them no less for their sabbaths than for their circumcision. All sorts of writers ridiculed them on this account. Seneca charged them with spending the seventh part of their time in sloth. Tacitus said, that not only the seventh day, but also the seventh year, was unprofitably wasted. Juvenal brings forward the same charge; and Persius upbraided them with their *recutita sabbata*. Plutarch said that they kept it in honour of Bacchus. Tacitus affirmed, that it was in honour of Saturn; but the most abominable assertion of all is that of Apion, who said that they observed the Sabbath in memory of their being cured on that day of a shameful disease, called by the Egyptians *sabbo*.

Some perceiving the force of this objection have contended, that time was divided into weeks of seven days, that each of the planetary gods, the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, who were the *Dii majorum gentium*, might have a day appropriated to his service. But if such was the origin of weeks, how came the great and ancient goddess *Tellus* to be omitted? She was worshipped by the early idolaters as well as the other planets, and must surely have been deemed by them as worthy of a particular day set apart to her honour as the planet Saturn, who was long undiscovered, afterwards seen but occasionally, and at all times considered as of malign aspect. (See REMPHAN.)

Others have supposed, that as the year was divided into lunar months of something more than 28 days, it was natural to divide the month into quarters from the different phases of the moon, which would produce as many weeks of seven days. But this supposition is less tenable than the former. The phases of the moon are not so precisely marked at the quarters as to attract to them any particular notice, nor are the quarterly appearances of one month commonly like those of another. We cannot, therefore, conceive what should have induced the earliest observers of the phases of the moon to divide the month into four parts rather than into three, or five, or seven. Had the ancient week consisted of 14 days, it might have been inferred, with some degree of plausibility, that its length was regulated by the phases of the moon, because the shape of that luminary, at the end of the second quarter, is very precisely marked; but there is nothing which, in the present hypothesis, could have everywhere led mankind to make their weeks consist of seven days. This division of time, therefore,

can

Sabbath

8  
Strict manner in which the ancient Jews observed the Sabbath.

can be accounted for only by admitting the primal institution of the Sabbath, as related by Moses in the book of Genesis. That institution was absolutely necessary to preserve among men a sense of religion; and it was renewed to the Jews at the giving of the law, and its observance enforced by the severest penalties. It was accordingly observed by them with more or less strictness in every period of their commonwealth, and there is none of the institutions of their divine lawgiver which, in their present state of dispersion, they more highly honour. They regard it, indeed, with a superstitious reverence, call it their *spouse*, their *delight*, and speak of it in the most magnificent terms. They have often varied in their opinions of the manner in which it ought to be kept. In the time of the Maccabees, they carried their respect for the sabbath so very high, that they would not on that day defend themselves from the attacks of their enemies. But afterwards they did not scruple to stand upon their necessary defence, although they would do nothing to prevent the enemy from carrying on their operations. When our Saviour was on earth, it was no sin to loose a beast from the stall, and lead him to water; and if he had chanced to fall into a ditch, they pulled him out: but now it is absolutely unlawful to give a creature in that situation any other assistance than that of food; and if they lead an animal to water, they must take care not to let the bridle or halter hang loose, otherwise they are transgressors.

9  
Mode of observing it among the modern Jews.

As the law enjoins rest on that day from all servile employments, in order to comply with the injunction, they undertake no kind of work on Friday but such as can easily be accomplished before evening. In the afternoon they put into proper places the meat that they have prepared to eat the day following. They afterwards set out a table covered with a clean cloth, and place bread upon it, which they also cover with another cloth; and during the sabbath the table is never moved out of its place. About an hour before sunset, the women light the sabbath lamps, which hang in the places where they eat. They then stretch forth their hands to the light, and pronounce the following benediction. "Blessed be thou, O God, king of the world, who hast enjoined us, that are sanctified by thy commandments, to light the sabbath lamp." These lamps are two or more in number, according to the size of the chamber in which they are suspended, and continue to burn during the greatest part of the night. In order to begin the sabbath well, they wash their hands and faces, trim their hair, and pare their nails, beginning at the fourth finger, then going to the second, then the fifth, then the third, and ending with the thumb. If a Jew casts the parings of his nails to the ground, he is *rafcah*, that is, a *wicked* man; for Satan has great power over those parings of nails; and it seems they are of great use to the wizzards, who know how to employ them in their enchantments. If he buries them in the earth, he is *tzedic*, that is, a *just* man: if he burns them in the fire, he is *chfid*, that is, worthy of honour, a holy man. When they have performed these preparatory ceremonies, they repair to the synagogue, and enter upon their devotions. As soon as prayers begin, the departed souls spring out of the purgatorial flames, and have liberty to cool themselves in water while the sabbath lasts; for which reason the Jews pro-

long the continuance of it as much as they can; and the Rabbins have strictly commanded them not to exhaust all the water on the sabbath day, lest those miserable souls should by that means be deprived of the refreshing element. When they have ended their prayers, they return home, and salute one another, by wishing a good sabbath. They then sit down to table. The master of the family takes a cup full of wine, and lifting up his hand, says, "Blessed be thou, O God our Lord, king of the world, who hast created the fruit of the vine.—Blessed be thou, O God our Lord, king of the world, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and given us thy holy sabbath; and of thy good will and pleasure hast left it to us an inheritance, the memorial of thy works of creation. For it is the beginning of the congregation of saints, and the memorial of the coming out of Egypt. And thou hast also chosen us from all other people, and sanctified us, and with love and pleasure hast left thy holy sabbath an inheritance. Blessed be thou, O God, who sanctifiest the sabbath." After this benediction is ended, he drinks, and gives the cup to all that are present. He then removes the cloth, and taking bread, says, "Blessed be thou, O God our Lord, king of the world, who bringest bread out of the earth." Then he breaks off a bit, and eats, and also gives a piece of it to every one of the company.

On the morning of the sabbath, the Jews do not rise so early as they do at other times. Thinking, the greater pleasure they take on that day, the more devoutly they keep it. When they come into the synagogue, they pray as usual, only the devotions are somewhat longer, being intermingled with psalmody, in honour of the sabbath. The Pentateuch is then produced, and seven sections of it are read in order by seven persons chosen for the purpose. Several lessons are likewise read out of the prophets, which have some relation to what was read out of the law. After morning prayers they return to their houses, and eat the second sabbath-meal, shewing every token of joy, in honour of the festival. But if one has seen any thing ominous in his sleep; if he has dreamed that he burnt the book of the law; that a beam has come out of the walls of his house; that his teeth have fallen out;—then he fasts until very late at night, for all such dreams are bad ones. In the afternoon they go again to the synagogue, and perform the evening service, adding to the ordinary prayers some lessons that respect the sabbath. When the devotional duties are ended, they return home, and light a candle resembling a torch, and again sit down to eat. They remain eating until near six, and then the master of the family takes a cup, and pouring wine into it rehearseth some benedictions; after which he pours a little of the wine upon the ground, and says, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, King of the world, who hast created the fruit of the vine." Then holding the cup in his left hand, with the right he takes a box of sweet spices, and says, "Blessed be thou, O Lord God, who hast created various kinds of sweet spices." He smells the spices, and holds them out to the rest, that they may do the same. He then takes the cup in his right hand, and going to the candle views the left very narrowly, and pronounces a blessing. With the cup in the left hand, he examines the right in the same manner. Again, holding the cup in his right hand, he rehearseth another benediction, and at the same time pours some of the wine

Sabbath.

Sabbath.

on the ground. After this he drinks a little of it, and then hands it about to the rest of the family, who finish what remains. In this manner the sabbath is ended by the Jews, and they may return to their ordinary employments. Those who meet pay their compliments, by wishing one another a happy week.

10  
Prohibitions observed.

The Rabbins have reckoned up nine and thirty primary prohibitions, which ought to be observed on the sabbatic festival; but their circumstances and dependents, which are also obligatory, are almost innumerable. The 39 articles are, Not to till the ground; to sow; to reap; to make hay; to bind up sheaves of corn; to thresh; to winnow; to grind; to sift meal; to knead the dough; to bake; to shear; to whiten; to comb or card wool; to spin; to twine or twist; to warp; to dye; to tie; to untie; to sew; to tear or pull in pieces; to build; to pull down; to beat with a hammer; to hunt or fish; to kill a beast; to slay it; to dress it; to scrape the skin; to tan it; to cut leather; to write; to scratch out; to rule paper for writing; to kindle a fire; to extinguish it; to carry a thing from place to place; to expose any thing to sale. These are the primary prohibitions, and each of these has its proper consequences, which amount to an incredible number; and the Jews themselves say, that if they could keep but two sabbaths as they ought, they would soon be delivered out of all their troubles.

If a Jew on a journey is overtaken by the sabbath in a wood, or on the highway, no matter where, nor under what circumstances, he sits down; he will not stir out of the spot. If he falls down in the dirt, he lies there; he will not rise up. If he should tumble into a privy, he would rest there: he would not be taken out (A). If he sees a flea skipping upon his clothes, he must not catch it. If it bites him he may only remove it with his hand; he must not kill it; but a louse meets with no such indulgence, for it may be destroyed. He must not wipe his hands with a towel or cloth, but he may do it very lawfully with a cow's tail. A fresh wound must not be bound up on the sabbath-day; a plaster that had been formerly applied to a fore may remain on it; but if it falls off, it must not be put on anew. The lame may use a staff, but the blind must not. These particulars, and a great many more of the same nature, are observed by the Jews in the strictest manner. But if any one wishes to know more of the practice of that devoted race, he may consult Buxtorf's *Judaica Synagoga*, chap. x. xi. where he will find a complete detail of their customs and ceremonies on the sabbath; and likewise see the primary prohibitions branched out into their respective circumstances.

11  
Institution of Sunday or the Lord's day.

As the seventh day was observed by the Jewish church, in memory of the rest of God after the works of creation, and their own deliverance from Pharaoh's tyranny; so the first day of the week has always been observed by the Christian church, in memory of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, by which he completed the work of man's redemption on earth, and rescued

him from the dominion of him who has the power of death. Sabbath.

This day was denominated by the primitive Christians the *Lord's day*. It was also sometimes called *Sunday*; which was the name given to it by the heathens, who dedicated it to the sun. And indeed, although it was originally called *Sunday* by the heathens, yet it may very properly retain that name among Christians, because it is dedicated to the honour of "The true light," which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, of Him who is styled by the prophet "The Sun of righteousness," and who on this day arose from the dead. But although it was, in the primitive times, indifferently called the *Lord's day* or *Sunday*, yet it was never denominated the *sabbath*; a name constantly appropriated to Saturday, or the *seventh* day, both by sacred and ecclesiastical writers.

Of the change from the *seventh* to the *first* day of the week, or even of the institution of the *Lord's day* festival, there is no account in the New Testament. However, it may be fairly inferred from it, that the first day of the week was, in the apostolic age, a stated time for public worship. On this day the apostles were assembled, when the Holy Ghost came down so visibly upon them to qualify them for the conversion of the world. On this day we find St Paul preaching at Troas, when the disciples came to break bread: and the directions which the same apostle gives to the Corinthians concerning their contributions for the relief of their suffering brethren, plainly allude to their religious assemblies on the first day of the week. <sup>12</sup> The mention of it in the New Testament accidental;

Thus it would appear from several passages in the New Testament, that the religious observation of the first day of the week is of apostolical appointment; and may indeed be very reasonably supposed to be among those directions and instructions which our blessed Lord himself gave to his disciples, during the 40 days between his resurrection and ascension, wherein he conversed with them, and spoke of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. Still, however, it must be owned that those passages, although the plainest that occur, are not sufficient to prove the apostolical institution of the Lord's day, or even the actual observation of it. In order, therefore, to place the matter beyond all controversy, recourse must be had to ecclesiastical testimony.

From the consentient evidence and uniform practice of the primitive church, and also from the attestation of Pliny, an heathen of no mean figure both in learning and power, we find that the first day of the week was observed in the earliest ages as a holyday or festival, in honour of the resurrection of Christ. Now there are but two sources whence the custom could possibly have arisen. It must have been instituted either by *human* or *divine* authority: by human authority it was not instituted; for there was no general council in those early times, and without the decree of a general council it was impossible that any ecclesiastical institution could

(A) This, it seems, was once really the case. A Jew of Magdeburg fell into a privy on a Saturday. He might have been taken out; but he told those who offered him their assistance to give themselves no trouble, for there he was determined to keep holy the sabbath day. The bishop, when he heard of it, resolved that he should sanctify the next day also in the same place; and so, betwixt them, the poor Jew lost his life.

Sabbath. could have been universally established at once. It remains, therefore, that it must have been instituted by divine authority: and that it really was so, will farther appear from the following considerations. It is certain that the apostles travelled over the greatest part of the world, and planted churches in the remotest parts of it. It is certain also that they were all led by the same *spirit*; and their desire was, that unity and uniformity should be observed in all the churches which they had founded. It is not therefore surprising that, in the primitive times, the same doctrine, the same worship, the same rites and customs, should prevail all over the Christian world; nay, it would have been unaccountable had the case been otherwise. For this reason we may conclude that every custom, universally observed in the early ages of the Christian church, and not instituted by a general council, was of original appointment.

13  
but nevertheless it appears to be of divine origin.

14  
Purpose for which the Lord's day was instituted.

15  
How it was observed in the primitive times.

As the *Lord's day* is sanctified, that is, *set apart* to Christians for the worship and service of God, their Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, a little consideration will easily discover how it ought to be observed. Although a day separated from worldly business, yet it is in no sense a day of idleness, but a season appropriated to the works of salvation and labours of charity.

In the primitive times this holy day was observed in the most solemn manner. From the monuments of those early ages we learn, that it was spent in a due and constant attendance on all the offices of divine worship. On it they held their religious assemblies, in which the writings of the apostles and prophets were read to the people, and the doctrines of Christianity further pressed upon them by the exhortations of the clergy. Solemn prayers and praises were offered up to God, and hymns sung in honour of Christ; the Lord's supper was constantly celebrated; and collections were made for the maintenance of the clergy and the relief of the poor. On this day they abstained, as much as they could, from bodily labour. They looked upon it as a day of joy and gladness; and therefore all fasting on it was prohibited, even during the season of lent, their great annual fast.—Such was the zeal of those times, that nothing, no not the severest persecutions, hindered them from celebrating holy offices on this day. They were often beset and betrayed, and as often slaughtered in consequence of cruel edicts from emperors, those very emperors for whose happiness and prosperity they always offered up their fervent prayers. For this cause, when they could not meet in the daytime, they assembled in the morning before it was light; and when sick, in exile, or in prison, nothing troubled them more than that they could not attend the service of the church. No trivial pretences were then admitted for any one's absence from public worship; for severe censures were passed upon all who were absent without some urgent necessity. When the empire became Christian, Constantine and his successors made laws for the more solemn observation of the Lord's day. They prohibited all prosecutions and pleadings and other juridical matters to be transacted on it, and also all unnecessary labour; not that it was looked upon as a Jewish sabbath, but because these things were considered as inconsistent with the duties of the festival.

But although the primitive Christians did not in-

dulge themselves in the practice of unnecessary labour or trifling amusements, yet they did not wholly abstain from working, if great necessity required it. The council of *Laodicea* enjoined that men should abstain from work on the Lord's day *if possible*; but if any were found to *judaise*, they were to be censured as great transgressors. So circumspect were the primitive Christians about their conduct on this festival, that on the one hand they avoided all things which tended to profane it, whilst on the other they censured all those who insisted it should be observed with Pharisaical rigour.

Sabbath.

The primary duty of the Lord's day is *public worship*. The nature and design of the Christian religion sufficiently shows the necessity and importance of assembling for the duties of devotion. The whole scope of Christianity is to bring us to an union with God, which cannot be obtained or preserved without frequent communications with him; and the reasons which show religious intercourse to be the indispensable duty of Christians in a private capacity, will bind it with equal or more force on them considered as a community.

16  
Advantages resulting from the observation of it.

The advantages of public worship, when duly performed, are many and great. There are two, however, which deserve to be considered in a particular manner. It gives Christians an opportunity of openly professing their faith, and testifying their obedience to their Redeemer in the wisest and best manner; and in an age when atheism has arisen to an alarming height, when the Son of God is crucified afresh, and put to open shame, every man, who has any regard for religion, will cheerfully embrace all opportunities of declaring his abhorrence of the vicious courses pursued by those degenerate apostates. He will with pleasure lay hold on every occasion to testify that he is neither afraid nor ashamed to confess the truth; and will think it his indispensable duty openly to disavow the sins of others, that he may not incur the guilt of partaking of them.

Public worship preserves in the minds of men a sense of religion, without which society could not exist. Nothing can keep a body of men together and unite them in promoting the public good, but such principles of action as may reach and govern the heart. But these can be derived only from a sense of religious duties, which can never be so strongly impressed upon the mind as by a constant attendance upon public worship. Nothing can be more weak than to neglect the public worship of God, under the pretence that we can employ ourselves as acceptably to our Maker at home in our closets. Both kinds of worship are indeed necessary; but one debt cannot be paid by the discharge of another. By public worship every man professes his belief in that God whom he adores, and appeals to Him for his sincerity, of which his neighbour cannot judge. By this appeal he endears himself more or less to others. It creates confidence; it roots in the heart benevolence, and all other Christian virtues, which produce, in common life, the fruits of mutual love and general peace.

People in general are of opinion that the duties of the Lord's day are over when public worship is ended. But they seem to forget for what purposes the day was set apart. It is not only appropriated to the duties of public worship, but also sanctified to our improvement in the knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity. It

**Sabbath.** is an institution calculated to alleviate the condition of the laborious classes of mankind, and, in consequence of that, to afford rest to *beasts* also. It is proper, it is necessary, that man should reflect on his condition in the world, that he should examine the state of his soul, and inquire what progress he has made in that work which was given him to do. Those that have children or servants are obliged to look after *their* instruction as well as their own. These are the ends which the institution of Sunday was designed to answer. Every man must allow that these things must be done at some time or other; but unless there be *set* times for doing them, the generality of mankind would wholly neglect them.

*Visiting* and *travelling* (though very common) are enormous profanations of this holy day. Families are thereby robbed of their *time*; a loss for which no amends can ever be made them: Servants, instead of having leisure to improve themselves in spiritual knowledge, are burdened with additional labour: And in a man of any humanity, it must excite many painful sensations, when he reflects how often the useful horse on that day experiences all the anguish of hunger, torn sides, and battered knees. Every kind of *amusement*, every kind of *common* labour, is an encroachment on the particular duties of the Lord's day; and consequently men profane the day by spending it in any amusements, or undertaking upon it any ordinary employment unless it be a work of absolute necessity.

**SABBATH-Breaking**, or profanation of the Lord's day, is punished by the municipal laws of England. For, besides the notorious indecency and scandal of permitting any secular business to be publicly transacted on that day in a country professing Christianity, and the corruption of morals which usually follows its profanation, the keeping one day in seven holy, as a time of relaxation and refreshment, as well as for public worship, is of admirable service to a state, considered merely as a civil institution. It humanizes, by the help of conversation and society, the manners of the lower classes; which would otherwise degenerate into a sordid ferocity and savage selfishness of spirit: it enables the industrious workman to pursue his occupation in the ensuing week with health and cheerfulness: it imprints on the minds of the people that sense of their duty to God so necessary to make them good citizens; but which yet would be worn out and defaced by an unremitted continuance of labour, without any stated times of recalling them to the worship of their Maker. And therefore the laws of King Athelstan forbade all merchandizing on the Lord's day, under very severe penalties. And by the statute 27 Hen. VI. c. 5. no fair or market shall be held on the principal festivals, Good-friday, or any Sunday (except the four Sundays in harvest), on pain of forfeiting the goods exposed to sale. And, since, by the statute 1 Car. I. c. 1. no persons shall assemble, out of their own parishes, for any sport whatsoever, upon this day; nor, in their parishes, shall use any bull or bear-beating, interludes, plays, or other unlawful exercises or pastimes; on pain that every offender shall pay 3s. 4d. to the poor. This statute does not prohibit, but rather impliedly allows, any innocent recreation or amusement, within their respective parishes, even on the Lord's day, after divine service is over. But by statute 29 Car. II. c. 7. no person is allowed to work on the Lord's day, or use any boat or

barge, or expose any goods to sale, except meat in public houses, milk at certain hours, and works of necessity or charity, on forfeiture of 5s. Nor shall any drover, carrier, or the like, travel upon that day, under pain of 20s.

Sabellians  
||  
Sable.

**SABELLIANS**, a sect of Christians of the 3d century, that embraced the opinions of Sabellius, a philosopher of Egypt, who openly taught that there is but one person in the Godhead.

The Sabellians maintained, that the Word and the Holy Spirit are only virtues, emanations, or functions of the Deity; and held, that he who is in heaven is the Father of all things, that he descended into the virgin, became a child, and was born of her as a son; and that having accomplished the mystery of our salvation, he diffused himself on the apostles in tongues of fire, and was then denominated the *Holy Ghost*. This they explained by resembling God to the sun, the illuminative virtue or quality of which was the Word, and its warming virtue the Holy Spirit. The Word, they taught, was darted, like a divine ray, to accomplish the work of redemption; and that being re-ascended to heaven, the influences of the Father were communicated after a like manner to the apostles.

**SABIANS**, an early sect of idolaters, which continues to this day, and worships the sun, moon, and stars. See **POLYTHEISM**, N<sup>o</sup> 10, 11, 12.

**SABINA**, a province of Italy, in the territories of the church; bounded on the north by Umbria, on the east by Farther Abruzzo, on the south by the Campagna of Rome, and on the west by the patrimony of St Peter. It is 22 miles in length, and almost as much in breadth; watered by several small rivers, and abounding in oil and wine. There is no walled town in it; and Magliano is the principal place.

**SABINUS, GEORGE**, a celebrated Latin poet, born in the electorate of Brandenburg in 1508. His poem *Res gestæ Caesarum Germanorum*, spread his reputation all over Germany, and procured him the patronage of all the princes who had any regard for polite literature: he was made professor of the belles lettres at Frankfort on the Oder, rector of the new academy of Koningzburg, and counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg. He married two wives, the first of whom was the eldest daughter of the famous reformer Melancthon; and died in 1560. His poems are well known, and have been often printed.

**SABLE**, or *SABLE Animal*, in *Zoology*, a creature of the weasel-kind, called by authors *mustela sibirica*. See **MUSTELA**, **MAMMALIA** *Index*.

The chase of these animals, in the more barbarous times of the Russian empire, was the employment, or rather task, of the unhappy exiles in Siberia. As that country is now become more populous, the fables have in a great measure quitted it, and retired farther north and east, to live in desert forests and mountains: they live near the banks of rivers, or in the little islands in them; on this account they have, by some, been supposed to be the *Sabesior* of Aristotle (*Hist. An.* lib. viii. c. 5.), which he classes with the animals conversant among waters.

At present the hunters of fables form themselves into troops, from five to forty each: the last subdivide into lesser parties, and each chooses a leader; but there is one that directs the whole: a small covered boat is provided

Sable.

provided for each party, loaded with provisions, a dog and net for every two men, and a vessel to bake their bread in: each party also has an interpreter for the country they penetrate into. Every party then sets out according to the course their chief points out: they go against the stream of the rivers, drawing their boats up, till they arrive in the hunting country; there they stop, build huts, and wait till the waters are frozen, and the season commences: before they begin the chase, their leader assembles them, they unite in a prayer to the Almighty for success, and then separate: the first sable they take is called *God's sable*, and is dedicated to the church.

They then penetrate into the woods; mark the trees as they advance, that they may know their way back; and in their hunting quarters form huts of trees, and bank up the snow round them: near these they lay their traps; then advance farther, and lay more traps, still building new huts in every quarter, and return successively to every old one to visit the traps and take out the game to skin it, which none but the chief of the party must do: during this time they are supplied with provisions by persons who are employed to bring it on sledges, from the places on the road, where they are obliged to form magazines, by reason of the impracticability of bringing quantities through the rough country they must pass. The traps are a sort of pit-fall, with a loose board placed over it, baited with fish or flesh: when sables grow scarce, the hunters trace them in the new-fallen snow to their holes; place their nets at the entrance; and sometimes wait, watching two or three days for the coming out of the animal: it has happened that these poor people have, by the failure of their provisions, been so pinched with hunger, that, to prevent the cravings of appetite, they have been reduced to take two thin boards, one of which they applied to the pit of the stomach, the other to the back, drawing them tight together by cords placed at the ends: such are the hardships our fellow-creatures undergo to supply the wantonness of luxury.

The season of chase being finished, the hunters re-assemble, make a report to their leader of the number of sables each has taken; make complaints of offenders against their regulations; punish delinquents; share the booty; then continue at the head-quarters till the rivers are clear of ice; return home, and give to every church the dedicated furs.

*SABLE, Cape*, the most southerly province of Nova Scotia, in North America, near which is a fine cod-fishery. W. Long. 65. 34. N. Lat. 43. 24.

Sable Isle is adjoined to this cape, and the coasts of both are most commodiously situated for fisheries.

*SABLE Trade*, the trade carried on in the skins of furs of sables; of which the following commercial history was translated by Mr J. R. Forster from a Russian performance on that subject by Mr Muller.

"*Sable*; *soble*, in Russian; *soble* in German. Their price varies from 11. to 101. sterling, and above: fine and middling sable-skins are without bellies, and the coarse ones are with them. Forty skins make a collection called *zimmer*. The finest sables are sold in pairs perfectly similar, and are dearer than single ones of the same goodness: for the Russians want those in pairs for facing caps, cloaks, tippets, &c. the blackest are reputed the best. Sables are in season from November to February; for those caught at any other time of the year are short-haired, and then called *nedosboli*.

Sable.

The hair of sables differs in length and quality: the long hairs, which reach far beyond the inferior ones, are called *os*; the more a skin has of such long hairs, the blacker it is, and the more valuable is the fur; the very best have no other but those long and black hairs. *Motchka* is a technical term used in the Russian fur-trade, expressing the lower part of the long hairs; and sometimes it comprehends likewise the lower and shorter hairs: the above-mentioned best sable furs are said to have a black motchka. Below the long hairs are, in the greater part of the sable-furs, some shorter hairs, called *podosie*, i. e. under-os; the more *podosie* a fur has, it is the less valuable: in the better kind of sables the *podosie* has black tips, and a gray or rusty motchka. The first kind of motchka makes the middling kind of sable furs; the red one the worst, especially if it has but few *os*. Between the *os* and *podosie* is a low woolly kind of hair, called *podfada*. The more *podfada* a fur has, the less valuable: for the long hair will, in such a case, take no other direction than the natural one; for the characters of sable is, that notwithstanding the hair naturally lies from the head towards the tail, yet it will lie equally in any direction as you strike your hand over it. The various combinations of these characters, in regard to *os*, motchka, *podosie*, and *podfada*, make many special divisions in the goodness of furs: besides this, the furriers attend to the size, preferring always, *ceteris paribus*, the biggest, and those that have the greatest gloss. The size depends upon the animal being a male or a female, the latter being always smaller. The gloss vanishes in old furs: the fresh ones have a kind of bloomy appearance, as they express it; the old ones are said to have done blooming: the dyed sables always lose their gloss; become less uniform, whether the lower hairs have taken the dye or not; and commonly the hairs are somewhat twisted or crisped, and not so straight as in the natural ones. Some fumigate the skins, to make them look blacker; but the smell, and the crisped condition of the long hair, betrays the cheat; and both ways are detected by rubbing the fur with a moist linen cloth, which grows black in such cases.

"The Chinese have a way of dyeing the sables, so that the colour not only lasts (which the Russian cheats cannot do), but the fur keeps its gloss, and the crisped hairs only discover it. This is the reason that all the sables, which are of the best kind, either in pairs or separate, are carried to Russia; the rest go to China. The very best sables come from the environs of Nertchinsk and Yakutsk; and in this latter district, the country about the river Ud affords sometimes sables, of which one single fur is often sold at the rate of 60 or 70 rubles, 121. or 141. The bellies of sables, which are sold in pairs, are about two fingers breadth, and are tied together by 40 pieces, which are sold from 11. to 21. sterling. Tails are sold by the hundred. The very best sable-furs must have their tails; but ordinary sables are often cropped, and 100 sold from 41. to 81. sterling. The legs or feet of sables are seldom sold separately; white sables are rare, and no common merchandize, but bought only as curiosities: some are yellowish, and are bleached in the spring on the snow."

*SABLE*, in *Heraldry*, signifies "black;" and is borrowed from the French, as are most terms in this science: in engraving it is expressed by both horizontal and perpendicular lines crossing each other. Sable of itself signifies constancy, learning, and grief; and ancient heralds will have it, that when it is compounded with

Sable  
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Saccharum.

|      |                |   |              |
|------|----------------|---|--------------|
| Or   | } it signifies | { | Honour.      |
| Arg. |                |   | Fame.        |
| Gul. |                |   | Respect.     |
| Azu. |                |   | Application. |
| Ver. |                |   | Comfort.     |
| Pur. |                |   | Austerity.   |

The occasion that introduced this colour into heraldry is thus related by Alexander Nisbet, p. 8. The duke of Anjou, king of Sicily, after the loss of that kingdom, appeared at a tournament in Germany all in black, with his shield of that tincture, *semé de larmes*, i. e. besprinkled with drops of water, to represent tears, indicating by that both his grief and loss.

SABLESTAN, or SABLUSTAN, a province of Asia, in Persia, on the frontiers of Indostan; bounded on the north by Khorasan; on the east, by the mountains of Balk and Candahar; on the south, by Sageshan or Segestan; and on the west, by Heri. It is a mountainous country, very little known to Europeans; nor is it certain which is the capital town.

SABRE, a kind of sword or scimitar, with a very broad and heavy blade, thick at the back, and a little falcated or crooked towards the point. It is the ordinary weapon worn by the Turks, who are said to be very expert in the use of it.

SABURRA, in *Medicine*, usually denotes any collection of half putrid indigested matter in the stomach and intestines, by which the operation of digestion is impeded.

SABURRÆ, GRITTS, in *Natural History*; a kind of stone, found in minute masses. They are of various colours, as stony and sparry gritts, of a bright or greyish white colour; red stony gritts; green stony gritts; yellow gritt; blackish gritts.

SACÆA, a feast which the ancient Babylonians and other orientals held annually in honour of the deity Anaitis. The Sacæa were in the East what the Saturnalia were at Rome, viz. a feast for the slaves. One of the ceremonies was to choose a prisoner condemned to death, and allow him all the pleasures and gratifications he would wish, before he were carried to execution.

SACCADE, in the manege, is a jerk more or less violent, given by the horseman to the horse, in pulling or twitching the reins of the bridle all on a sudden and with one pull, and that when a horse lies heavy upon the hand, or obstinately arms himself.

This is a correction used to make a horse carry well; but it ought to be used discreetly, and but seldom.

SACERDOTAL, something belonging to priests. See PRIEST.

SACCULUS, in *Anatomy*, a diminutive of faccus, signifies a little bag, and is applied to many parts of the body.

SACCHARUM, SUGAR, or the *Sugar-Cane*, a genus of plants belonging to the triandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 4th order, *Gramina*. See BOTANY *Index*.

This plant is a native of Africa, the East Indies, and of Brazil; from whence it was introduced into our West India islands soon after they were settled. The sugar cane is the glory and the pride of those islands. It amply rewards the industrious planter, enriches the British merchant, gives bread to thousands of manufac-

turers and seamen, and brings an immense revenue to the crown. For the process of making sugar, see SUGAR. Saccharum  
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Sacheverel.

Sugar, formerly a luxury, is now become one of the necessaries of life. In crop-time every negro on the plantations, and every animal, even the dogs, grow fat. This sufficiently points out the nourishing and healthy qualities of sugar. It has been alleged, that the eating of sugar spoils the colour of, and corrupts, the teeth: this, however, proves to be a mistake, for no people on the earth have finer teeth than the negroes in Jamaica. Dr Alison, formerly professor of botany and materia medica at Edinburgh, endeavoured to obviate this vulgar opinion: he had a fine set of teeth, which he ascribed solely to his eating great quantities of sugar. Externally too it is often useful: mixed with the pulp of roasted oranges, and applied to putrid or ill disposed ulcers, it proves a powerful corrector.

SACCHAROMETER, an instrument for ascertaining the value of worts, and the strength of different kinds of malt liquor. The name signifies a measurer of sweetness. An instrument of this kind has been invented by a Mr Richardson of Hull, on the following principle. The menstruum or water, employed by the brewer, becomes more dense by the addition of such parts of the materials as have been dissolved or extracted by, and thence incorporated with it: the operation of boiling, and its subsequent cooling, still adds to the density of it by evaporation; so that when it is submitted to the action of fermentation, it is denser than at any other period.

In passing through this natural operation, a remarkable alteration takes place. The fluid no sooner begins to ferment than its density begins to diminish; and as the fermentation is more or less perfect, the fermentable matter, whose accession has been traced by the increase of density, becomes more or less attenuated; and in place of every particle thus attenuated, a spirituous particle, of less density than water, is produced; so that when the liquor is again in a state of rest, it is so much specifically lighter than it was before, as the action of fermentation has been capable of attenuating the component parts of its acquired density; and if the whole were attenuated in this manner, the liquor would become lighter, or less dense than water, because the quantity of spirit produced from the fermentable matter, and occupying its place, would diminish the density of the water in some degree of proportion to that in which the latter has increased it.

SACHEVEREL, DR HENRY, a famous clergyman of the Tory faction in the reign of Queen Anne; who distinguished himself by indecent and scurrilous sermons and writings against the dissenters and revolution principles. He owed his consequence, however, to being indiscreetly prosecuted by the house of lords for his assize sermon at Derby, and his 5th of November sermon at St Paul's in 1709; in which he asserted the doctrine of non-resistance to government in its utmost extent; and reflected severely on the act of toleration. The high and low church parties were very violent at that time; and the trial of Sacheverel inflamed the high-church party to dangerous riots and excesses: he was, however, suspended for three years, and his sermons burned by the common hangman. The Tories being in administration when Sacheverel's suspension expired,



Sack  
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Sackville.

he was freed with every circumstance of honour and public rejoicing; was ordered to preach before the commons on the 29th of May, had the thanks of the house for his discourse, and obtained the valuable rectory of St Andrew's, Holborn.

SACK, a wine used by our ancestors, which some have taken to be Rhenish and some Canary wine.— Venner, in his *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*, printed in 1628, says that sack is “completely not in the third degree, and that some affect to drink sack with sugar and some without; and upon no other ground, as I think, but as it is best pleasing to their palate.” He goes on to say, “that sack, taken by itself, is very hot and very penetrative; being taken with sugar, the heat is both somewhat allayed, and the penetrative quality thereof also retarded.” He adds farther, that Rhenish, &c. decline after a twelvemonth, but sack and the other stronger wines are best when they are two or three years old. It appears to be highly probable that sack was not a sweet wine, from its being taken with sugar, and that it did not receive its name from having a saccharine flavour, but from its being originally stored in sacks or borachios. It does not appear to have been a French wine, but a strong wine the production of a hot climate. Probably it was what is called dry mountain, or some Spanish wine of that kind. This conjecture is the more plausible, as Howell, in his French and English Dictionary, printed in the year 1650, translates sack by the words *vin d'Espagne, vin sec*.

*SACK of Wool*, a quantity of wool containing just 22 stones, and every stone 14 pounds. In Scotland, a sack is 24 stones, each stone containing 16 pounds.

*SACK of Cotton Wool*, a quantity from one hundred and a half to four hundred weight.

*SACKS of Earth*, in *Fortification*, are canvas bags filled with earth. They are used in making retrenchments in haste, to place on parapets, or the head of the breaches, &c. to repair them, when beaten down.

SACKBUT, a musical instrument of the wind kind, being a sort of trumpet, though different from the common trumpet both in form and size; it is fit to play a bass, and is contrived to be drawn out or shortened, according to the tone required, whether grave or acute. The Italians call it *trombone*, and the Latins *tuba ductilis*.

SACKVILLE, THOMAS, *Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset*, a statesman and poet, the son of Richard Sackville, Esq. of Buckhurst, in the parish of Withian in Suffex, was born in the year 1536. He was sent to Hart-hall in Oxford, in the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. whence he removed to Cambridge, where he took a master of arts degree, and thence to the Inner Temple. He now applied himself to the study of the law, and was called to the bar. We are told that he commenced poet whilst at the universities, and that these his juvenile productions were much admired, none of which, however, have been preserved.— In the fourth and fifth year of Queen Mary, we find him a member of the house of commons; about which time, in 1557, he wrote a poetical piece, entitled *The Induction, or The Mirror of Magistrates*. This last was meant to comprehend all the unfortunate Great from the beginning of our history; but the design being dropped, it was inserted in the body of the work. The *Mirror of Magistrates* is formed on a dramatic plan;

in which the persons are introduced speaking. The Induction is written much in the style of Spencer, who, with some probability, is supposed to have imitated this author.

In 1561, his tragedy of *Gorboduc* was acted before Queen Elizabeth by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. This was the first tolerable tragedy in our language. The Companion to the Playhouse tells us, that the three first acts were written by Mr Tho. Norton. Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apology for Poetry*, says, “it is full of stately speeches, and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca in his style, &c.” Rymer speaks highly in its commendation. Mr Spence, at the instigation of Mr Pope, republished it in 1736, with a pompous preface. It is said to be our first dramatic piece written in verse.

In the first parliament of this reign, Mr Sackville was member for Suffex, and for Bucks in the second. In the mean time he made the tour of France and Italy, and in 1566 was imprisoned at Rome, when he was informed of his father's death, by which he became possessed of a very considerable fortune.

Having now obtained his liberty, he returned to England; and being first knighted, was created Lord Buckhurst. In 1570 he was sent ambassador to France. In 1586 he was one of the commissioners appointed to try the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots; and was the messenger employed to report the confirmation of her sentence, and to see it executed. The year following he went ambassador to the States General, in consequence of their complaint against the earl of Leicester; who, disliking his impartiality, prevailed on the queen to recal him, and confine him to his house. In this state of confinement he continued about 10 months, when Leicester dying, he was restored to favour, and in 1580 was installed knight of the garter: but the most incontrovertible proof of the queen's partiality for Lord Buckhurst appeared in the year 1591, when she caused him to be elected chancellor in the university of Oxford, in opposition to her favourite Essex. In 1598, on the death of the treasurer Burleigh, Lord Buckhurst succeeded him, and by virtue of his office became in effect prime minister; and when, in 1601, the earls of Essex and Southampton were brought to trial, he sat as lord high steward on that awful occasion.

On the accession of James I. he was graciously received, had the office of lord high treasurer confirmed to him for life, and was created earl of Dorset. He continued in high favour with the king till the day of his death; which happened suddenly, on the 19th of April 1608, in the council chamber at Whitehall. He was interred with great solemnity in Westminster abbey. He was a good poet, an able minister, and an honest man. From him is descended the present noble family of the Dorsets. “It were needless (says Mr Walpole) to add, that he was the patriarch of a race of genius and wit.”

SACKVILLE, *Charles, earl of Dorset*, a celebrated wit and poet, descended from the foregoing, was born in 1637. He was, like Villiers, Rochester, Sedley, &c. one of the libertines of King Charles's court, and sometimes indulged himself in inexcusable excesses. He openly discountenanced the violent measures of James II. and engaged early for the prince of Orange, by whom he was made lord chamberlain of the household, and taken

Sackville.

Sacrament

taken into the privy-council. He died in 1706, and left several poetical pieces, which, though not considerable enough to make a volume by themselves, may be found among the works of the minor poets, published in 1749.

SACRAMENT is derived from the Latin word *sacramentum*, which signifies an oath, particularly the oath taken by soldiers to be true to their country and general. The words of this oath, according to Polybius, were, *obtemperaturus sum et facturus quicquid mandabitur ab imperatoribus juxta vires*. The word was adopted by the writers of the Latin church, and employed, perhaps with no great propriety, to denote those ordinances of religion by which Christians came under an obligation, equally sacred with that of an oath, to observe their part of the covenant of grace, and in which they have the assurance of Christ that he will fulfil his part of the same covenant.

Of sacraments, in this sense of the word, Protestant churches admit of but two; and it is not easy to conceive how a greater number can be made out from Scripture, if the definition of a sacrament be just which is given by the church of England. By that church, the meaning of the word sacrament is declared to be "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." According to this definition, baptism and the Lord's Supper are certainly sacraments; for each consists of an outward and visible sign of what is believed to be an inward and spiritual grace; both were ordained by Christ himself, and by the reception of each does the Christian come under a solemn obligation to be true to his divine master, according to the terms of the covenant of grace. (See BAPTISM and SUPPER of the Lord). The Romanists, however, add to this number *confirmation, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage*, holding in all seven sacraments; but two of those rites not being peculiar to the Christian church cannot possibly be *Christian* sacraments, in contradistinction to the sacraments or obligations into which men of all religions enter. Marriage was instituted from the beginning, when God made man male and female, and commanded them to be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth; and penance, as far as it is of the same import with repentance, has a place in all religions which teach that God is merciful, and men fallible.—The external severities imposed upon penitents by the church of Rome (see PENANCE) may indeed be in some respects peculiar to the discipline of that church, though the penances of the Hindoos are certainly as rigid; but none of these severities were ordained by Christ himself as the pledge of an inward and spiritual grace; nor do they, like baptism and the Lord's Supper, bring men under obligations which are supposed to be analogous to the meaning of the word *sacramentum*. Confirmation has a better title to the appellation of a sacrament than any of the other five popish rites of that name, though it certainly was not considered as such by the earliest writers of the Christian church, nor does it appear to have been ordained by Christ himself, (see CONFIRMATION). Ordination is by many churches considered as a very important rite; but as it is not administered to *all* men, nor has any particular form appropriated to it in the New Testament, it cannot be

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considered as a Christian sacrament conferring grace generally necessary to salvation. It is rather a form of authorising certain persons to perform certain offices, which respect not themselves but the whole church; and extreme unction is a rite which took its rise from the miraculous powers of the primitive church vainly claimed by the succeeding clergy. (See ORDINATION and *Extreme UNCTION*). These considerations seem to have some weight with the Romish clergy themselves; for they call the eucharist, by way of eminence, the *holy sacrament*. Thus to expose the holy sacrament, is to lay the consecrated host on the altar to be adored.—The procession of the holy sacrament is that in which this host is carried about the church, or about a town.

Numerous as we think the sacraments of the Romish church, a sect of Christians sprung up in England early in the current century who increased their number.—The founder of this sect was a Dr Deacon, we think, of Manchester, where the remains of it subsisted very lately, and probably do so at present. According to these men, every *rite* and every *phrase* in the book called the *Apostolical Constitutions* were certainly in use among the apostles themselves. Still, however, they make a distinction between the greater and the lesser sacraments. The greater sacraments are only two, baptism and the Lord's supper. The lesser are no fewer than ten, viz. five belonging to baptism, *exorcism, anointing with oil, the white garment, a taste of milk and honey, and anointing with chrism or ointment*. The other five are, *the sign of the cross, imposition of hands, unction of the sick, holy orders, and matrimony*. Of the nature of these lesser sacraments, or the grace which they are supposed to confer, our limits will permit us to give no account.—Nor is it necessary that we should. The sect which taught them, if not extinguished, is certainly in its last wane. It has produced, however, one or two learned men; and its founder's Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity, in two Catechisms, is a work which the Christian antiquary will read with pleasure for information, and the philosopher for the materials which it contains for meditation on the workings of the human mind. It was published in 8vo, in the year 1748.

*Congregation of the Holy SACRAMENT*, a religious establishment formed in France, whose founder was Autherius, bishop of Bethlehem, and which, in 1644, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among pagan nations, wherever the pope, or congregation *de propaganda*, should appoint.

SACRAMENTARIANS, a general name given to all such as have published or held erroneous doctrines of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The term is chiefly applied among Roman Catholics, by way of reproach, to the Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants.

SACRAMENTARY, an ancient Romish church-book, which contains all the prayers and ceremonies practised at the celebration of the sacraments.

It was wrote by Pope Gelasius, and afterwards revised, corrected, and abridged, by St Gregory.

SACRE, or SAKER, in *Ornithology*, the name of a species of falcon, called by authors *falco sacer*, and differently described by different authors, but by all agreed to be an extremely bold and active bird. It is a native

of

Sacrament

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Sacrc.

Sacred,  
Sacrifice.

of the northern regions of Europe; and a variety called by some writers the *speckled partridge hawk* is found at Hudson's bay, North America.

SACRED, something holy, or that is solemnly offered and consecrated to God, with benedictions, unctions, &c.

Kings, prelates, and priests, are reckoned sacred persons; abbots are only blessed.—The deaconhood, subdeaconhood, and priesthood, are all sacred orders, and are said to impress a sacred indelible character. The custom of consecrating kings with holy oil is derived (says Gutlingius) from the Hebrews; among whom, he agrees with Grotius, it was never used but to kings who had not an evident right by succession. He adds, that the Christian emperors never used it before Justin the younger; from whom he takes it to have passed to the Goths, &c.

SACRED is also applied to things belonging to God and the church. Church-lands, ornaments, &c. are held sacred.—The sacred college is that of the cardinals.

SACRED Majesty, is applied to the emperor and to the king of England; yet Loyseau says it is blasphemy. See MAJESTY. The ancients held a place struck with thunder as sacred. In the civil law, sacred place chiefly denotes that where a person deceased has been interred.

SACRED Elixir. See ELIXIR.

SACRIFICE, an offering made to God on an altar, by means of a regular minister, as an acknowledgment of his power, and a payment of homage. Sacrifices (though the term is sometimes used to comprehend all the offerings made to God, or in any way devoted to his service and honour) differ from mere oblations in this, that in a sacrifice there is a real destruction or change of the thing offered; whereas an oblation is only a simple offering or gift, without any such change at all: thus, all sorts of tythes, and first fruits, and whatever of men's worldly substance is consecrated to God, for the support of his worship and the maintenance of his ministers, are offerings or oblations; and these, under the Jewish law, were either of living creatures or other things: but sacrifices, in the more peculiar sense of the term, were either wholly or in part consumed by fire. They have by divines been divided into bloody and unbloody. Bloody sacrifices were made of living creatures; unbloody of the fruits of the earth. They have also been divided into *expiatory*, *impetratory*, and *eucharistical*. The first kind were offered to obtain of God forgiveness of sins; the second, to procure some favour; and the third, to express thankfulness for favours already received. Under one or other of these heads may all sacrifices be arranged; though we are told, that the Egyptians had 666 different kinds, a number surpassing all credibility.

Concerning the origin of sacrifices very various opinions have been held. By many, the Phœnicians are supposed to have been the authors of them; though Porphyry attributes their invention to the Egyptians; and Ovid imagines, from the import of the name *victim* and *hostia*, that no bloody sacrifices were offered till wars prevailed in the world, and nations obtained victories over their enemies. These are mere hypotheses contradicted by the most authentic records of antiquity, and entitled to no regard.

Sacrifice.

By modern deists, sacrifices are said to have had their origin in superstition, which operates much in the same way in every country. It is therefore weak, according to those men, to derive this practice from any particular people; since the same mode of reasoning would lead various nations, without any intercourse with each other, to entertain the same opinions respecting the nature of their gods, and the proper means of appeasing their anger. Men of gross conceptions imagine their deities to be like themselves, covetous and cruel. They are accustomed to appease an injured neighbour by a composition in money; and they endeavour to compound in the same manner with their gods, by rich offerings to their temples and to their priests. The most valuable property of a simple people is their cattle. These offered in sacrifice are supposed to be fed upon by the divinity, and are actually fed upon by his priests. If a crime is committed which requires the punishment of death, it is accounted perfectly fair to appease the deity by offering one life for another; because, by savages, punishment is considered as a debt for which a man may compound in the best way that he can, and which one man may pay for another. Hence, it is said, arose the absurd notions of imputed guilt and vicarious atonement. Among the Egyptians, a white bull was chosen as an expiatory sacrifice to their god Apis. After being killed at the altar, his head was cut off, and cast into the river, with the following execration: "May all the evils impending over those who perform this sacrifice, or over the Egyptians in general, be averted on this head\*."

Had sacrifice never prevailed in the world but among such gross idolaters as worshipped departed heroes, who were supposed to retain in their state of deification all the passions and appetites of their mortal state, this account of the origin of that mode of worship would have been to us perfectly satisfactory. We readily admit, that such mean notions of their gods may have actually led far distant tribes, who could not derive any thing from each other through the channel of tradition, to imagine that beings of human passions and appetites might be appeased or bribed by costly offerings. But we know from the most incontrovertible authority, that sacrifices of the three kinds that we have mentioned were in use among people who worshipped the true God, and who must have had very correct notions of his attributes. Now we think it impossible that such notions could have led any man to fancy that the taking away of the life of a harmless animal, or the burning of a cake or other fruits of the earth in the fire, would be acceptable to a Being self-existent, omnipotent, and omniscient, who can neither be injured by the crimes of his creatures, nor receive any accession of happiness from a thousand worlds.

Sensible of the force of such reasoning as this, some persons of great name, who admit the authenticity of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and firmly rely on the atonement made by Christ, are yet unwilling (it is difficult to conceive for what reason) to allow that sacrifices were originally instituted by God. Of this way of thinking were St Chrysostom, Spencer, Grotius, and Warburton, as were likewise the Jews Maimonides, R. Levi, Ben Gerson, and Abarbanel. The greater part of these writers maintain, that sacrifices were at first a human institution; and that God, in order to prevent their

\* Herodotus, lib. ii.

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their being offered to idols, introduced them into his service, though he did not approve of them as good in themselves, or as proper rites of worship. That the infinitely wise and good God should introduce into his service improper rites of worship, appears to us so extremely improbable, that we cannot but wonder how such an opinion should ever have found its way into the minds of such men as those who held it. Warburton's theory of sacrifice is much more plausible, and being more lately published, is worthy of particular examination.

According to this ingenious prelate, sacrifices had their origin in the sentiments of the human heart, and in the ancient mode of conversing by action in aid of words. Gratitude to God for benefits received is natural to the mind of man, as well as his bounden duty. "This duty (says the bishop\*) was in the most early times discharged in expressive actions, the least equivocal of which was the offerer's bringing the first fruits of pasturage or agriculture to that sequestered place where the Deity used to be more solemnly invoked, at the stated times of public worship; and there presenting them in homage, with a demeanor which spoke to this purpose.—'I do hereby acknowledge thee, O my God! to be the author and giver of all good: and do now, with humble gratitude, return my warmest thanks for these thy blessings particularly bestowed upon me.'—Things thus devoted became thenceforth sacred: and to prevent their *desecration*, the readiest way was to send them to the table of the priest, or to consume them in the fire of the altar. Such, in the opinion of our author, was the origin of eucharistical sacrifices. *Impetratory* or *precativè* sacrifices had, he thinks, the same origin, and were contrived to express by action an invocation for the continuance of God's favour. "Expiatory sacrifices (says the learned prelate) were in their own nature as intelligible, and in practice as rational, as either of the other two. Here, instead of presenting the first fruits of agriculture and pasturage, in corn, wine, oil, and wool, as in the eucharistical, or a portion of what was to be sown or otherwise propagated, as in the *impetratory*; some chosen animal precious to the repenting criminal who deprecates, or supposed to be obnoxious to the Deity who is to be appeased, was offered up and slain at the altar, in an action which, in all languages, when translated into words, speaks to this purpose:—'I confess my transgressions at thy footstool, O my God! and with the deepest contrition implore thy pardon; confessing that I deserve death for those my offences.'—The latter part of the confession was more forcibly expressed by the *action* of striking the devoted animal, and depriving it of life; which, when put into words, concluded in this manner.—'And I own that I myself deserve the death which I now inflict on this animal.'

This system of sacrifice, which his lordship thinks so well supported by the most early movements of simple nature, we admit to be ingenious, but by no means satisfactory. That mankind in the earlier ages of the world were accustomed to supply the deficiencies of their language by expressive gesticulations we are not inclined to controvert: the custom prevails among savage nations, or nations half civilized, at the present day. His lordship, however, is of opinion, and we heartily agree with him, that our first parents were instructed by God

to make articulate sounds significant of ideas, notions, and things (see LANGUAGE, N<sup>o</sup> 6.), and not left to fabricate a language for themselves. That this heaven-taught language could be at first copious, no man will suppose, who thinks of the paucity of ideas which those who spoke it had to express; but when we consider its origin, we cannot entertain a doubt but that it was precise and perspicuous, and admirably adapted to all the real purposes of life. Among these purposes must surely be included the worship of God as the most important of all. Every sentiment therefore which enters into worship, gratitude, invocation, confession, and deprecation, the progenitors of mankind were undoubtedly taught to clothe in words the most significant and unequivocal; but we know from Moses, whose divine legation the bishop surely admitted, that Cain and Abel, the eldest children of our first parents, worshipped God by the rites of sacrifice: and can we suppose that this practice occurred to *them* from their having so far forgotten the language taught them by their father, as to be under the necessity of denoting by action what they could not express by words? If this supposition be admitted, it will force another upon us still more extravagant. Even Adam himself must, in that case, have become dumb in consequence of his fall; for it is not conceivable, that as long as he was able to utter articulate sounds, and affix a meaning to them, he would cease in the presence of his family, to confess his sins, implore forgiveness, and express his gratitude to God for all his mercies.

The right reverend writer, as if aware of some such objection as this to his theory, contends, that if sacrifices had arisen from any other source than the light of reason, the Scripture would not have been silent concerning that source; "especially since we find Moses carefully recording what *God* immediately, and not *nature*, taught to Adam and his family. Had the original of sacrifice, says he, been prescribed, and directly commanded by the Deity, the sacred historian could never have omitted the express mention of that circumstance. The two capital observances in the Jewish ritual were the SABBATH and SACRIFICES. To impress the highest reverence and veneration on the *Sabbath*, he is careful to record its divine original: and can we suppose that, had sacrifices had the same original, he would have neglected to establish this truth at the time that he recorded the other, since it is of equal use and of equal importance? I should have said, indeed, of much greater; for the multifarious *sacrifices* of the LAW had not only a reference to the *forfeiture* of Adam, but likewise prefigured our redemption by Jesus Christ."

But all this reasoning was foreseen, and completely answered before his lordship gave it to the public. It is probable, that though the distinction of weeks was well known over all the eastern world, the Hebrews, during their residence in Egypt, were very negligent in their observance of the Sabbath. To enforce a religious observance of that sacred day, it became necessary to inform them of the time and occasion of its first institution, that they might keep it holy in memory of the creation; but, in a country like Egypt, the people were in danger of holding sacrifices rather in too high than too low veneration, so that there was not the same necessity for mentioning explicitly the early institution

of

\* *Divine*  
*Leg.* b. ix.  
c. 2.

**Sacrifice.** of them. It was sufficient that they knew the divine institution of their own sacrifices, and the purposes for which they were offered. Besides this, there is reason to believe, that, in order to guard the Hebrews from the infections of the heathen, the rite of sacrificing was loaded with many additional ceremonies at its second institution under Moses. It might, therefore, be improper to relate its original simplicity to a rebellious people, who would think themselves ill-used by any additional burdens of trouble or expence, however really necessary to their happiness. Bishop Warburton sees clearly the necessity of concealing from the Jews the spiritual and refined nature of the Christian dispensation, lest such a backsliding people should, from the contemplation of it, have held in contempt their own economy. This, he thinks, is the reason why the prophets, speaking of the reign of the Messiah, borrow their images from the Mosaic dispensation, that the people living under that dispensation might not despise it from perceiving its end; and we think the reason will hold equally good for their lawgiver concealing from them the simplicity of the first sacrifices, lest they should be tempted to murmur at their own multifarious ritual.

But his lordship thinks that sacrifices had their origin from the light of natural reason. We should be glad to know what light natural reason can throw upon such a subject. That ignorant pagans, adoring as gods departed heroes, who still retained their sensual appetites, might naturally think of appeasing such beings with the fat of fed beasts, and the perfumes of the altar, we have already admitted; but that Cain and Abel, who knew that the God whom they adored has neither body, parts, nor passions; that he created and sustains the universe; and that from his very nature he must will the happiness of all his creatures, should be led by the light of natural reason to think of appeasing him, or obtaining favours from him, by putting to death harmless animals, is a position which no arguments of his lordship can ever compel us to admit. That Abel's sacrifice was indeed accepted, we know; but it was not accepted because it proceeded, from the movements of the human mind, and the deficiency of the original language, but because it was offered through *faith*. The light of natural reason, however, does not generate faith, but science; and when it fails of that, its offspring is absurdity. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," and comes not by reasoning but by hearing. What things then were they of which Abel had heard, for which he hoped, and in the faith of which he offered sacrifice? Undoubtedly it was a restoration to that immortality which was forfeited by the transgression of his parents. Of such redemption an obscure intimation had been given to Adam, in the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent; and it was doubtless to impress upon his mind in more striking colours the manner in which this was to be done, that bloody sacrifices were first instituted\*. As long as the import of such rites was thus understood, they constituted a perfectly rational worship, as they showed the people that the wages of sin is death; but when men sunk into idolatry, and lost all hopes of a resurrection from the dead, the slaughtering of animals to appease their deities was a practice grossly superstitious. It rested in itself without pointing to any farther end, and

the grovelling worshippers believed that by their sacrifices they purchased the favour of their deities. When once this notion was entertained, human sacrifices were soon introduced; for it naturally occurred to those who offered them, that what they most valued themselves would be most acceptable to their offended gods, (see the next article). By the Jewish law, these abominable offerings were strictly forbidden, and the whole ritual of sacrifice restored to its original purity, though not simplicity.

All Christian churches, the Socinian, if it can be called a church, not excepted, have till very lately agreed in believing that the Jewish sacrifices served, amongst other uses, for types of the death of Christ and the Christian worship, (see TYPE.) In this belief all sober Christians agree still, whilst many are of opinion that they were likewise federal rites, as they certainly were considered by the ancient Romans\*.

Of the various kinds of Jewish sacrifices, and the subordinate ends for which they were offered, a full account is given in the books of Moses. When an Israelite offered a loaf or a cake, the priest broke it in two parts; and setting aside that half which he reserved for himself, broke the other into crumbs, poured oil, wine, incense, and salt upon it, and spread the whole upon the fire of the altar. If these offerings were accompanied with the sacrifice of an animal, they were thrown upon the victim to be consumed along with it. If the offerings were of the ears of new corn, they were parched at the fire, rubbed in the hand, and then offered to the priest in a vessel, over which he poured oil, incense, wine, and salt, and then burnt it upon the altar, having first taken as much of it as of right belonged to himself.

The principal sacrifices among the Hebrews consisted of bullocks, sheep, and goats; but doves and turtles were accepted from those who were not able to bring the other: these beasts were to be perfect, and without blemish. The rites of sacrificing were various; all of which are minutely described in the books of Moses.

The manner of sacrificing among the Greeks and Romans was as follows. In the choice of the victim, they took care that it was without blemish or imperfection; its tail was not to be too small at the end; the tongue not black, nor the ears cleft; and that the bull was one that had never been yoked. The victim being pitched upon, they gilt his forehead and horns, especially if a bull, heifer, or cow. The head they also adorned with a garland of flowers, a woollen insula or holy fillet, whence hung two rows of chaplets with twisted ribands; and on the middle of the body a kind of stole, pretty large, hung down on each side; the lesser victims were only adorned with garlands and bundles of flowers, together with white tufts or wreaths.

The victims thus prepared were brought before the altar; the lesser being driven to the place, and the greater led by an halter; when, if they made any struggle, or refused to go, the resistance was taken for an ill omen, and the sacrifice frequently set aside. The victim thus brought was carefully examined, to see that there was no defect in it; then the priest, clad in his sacerdotal habit, and accompanied with the sacrificers

\* See Pro-  
phety.

**Sacrifice.** and other attendants, and being washed and purified according to the ceremonies prescribed, turned to the right hand, and went round the altar, sprinkling it with meal and holy water, and also besprinkling those who were present. Then the crier proclaimed with a loud voice, Who is here? To which the people replied, Many and good. The priest then having exhorted the people to join with him by saying, Let us pray, confessed his own unworthiness, acknowledging that he had been guilty of divers sins; for which he begged pardon of the gods, hoping that they would be pleased to grant his requests, accept the oblations offered them, and send them all health and happiness; and to this general form added petitions for such particular favours as were then desired. Prayers being ended, the priest took a cup of wine; and having tasted it himself, caused his assistants to do the like; and then poured forth the remainder between the horns of the victim. Then the priest or the crier, or sometimes the most honourable person in the company, killed the beast, by knocking it down or cutting its throat. If the sacrifice was in honour of the celestial gods, the throat was turned up towards heaven, but if they sacrificed to the heroes or infernal gods, the victim was killed with its throat towards the ground. If by accident the beast escaped the stroke, leaped up after it, or expired with pain and difficulty, it was thought to be unacceptable to the gods. The beast being killed, the priest inspected its entrails, and made predictions from them. They then poured wine, together with frankincense, into the fire, to increase the flame, and then laid the sacrifice on the altar; which in the primitive times was burnt whole to the gods, and thence called an *holocaust*; but in after-times, only part of the victim was consumed in the fire, and the remainder reserved for the sacrificers; the thighs, and sometimes the entrails, being burnt to their honour, the company feasted upon the rest. During the sacrifice, the priest, and the person who gave the sacrifice, jointly prayed, laying their hand upon the altar. Sometimes they played upon musical instruments in the time of the sacrifice, and on some occasions they danced round the altar, singing sacred hymns in honour of the god.

*Human SACRIFICES*, an abominable practice, about the origin of which different opinions have been formed.—The true account seems to be that which we have given in the preceding article. When men had gone so far as to indulge the fancy of bribing their gods by sacrifice, it was natural for them to think of enhancing the value of so cheap an *atonement* by the cost and rarity of the offering; and, oppressed with their malady, they never rested till they had got that which they conceived to be the most precious of all, a human sacrifice. “It was customary (says Sanchoniathon\*), in ancient times, in great and public calamities, before things became incurable, for princes and magistrates to offer up in sacrifice to the avenging dæmons the dearest of their offspring.” Sanchoniathon wrote of Phœnicia, but the practice prevailed in every nation under heaven of which we have received any ancient account. The Egyptians had it in the early part of their monarchy. The Creans likewise had it, and retained it for a long time.—The nations of Arabia did the same. The people of Dumah, in particular, sacrificed every year a child, and buried it underneath an altar, which they made use of

\* *Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.*  
lib. 4.

instead of an idol; for they did not admit of images. **Sacrifice.** The Persians buried people alive. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, entombed 12 persons quick under ground for the good of her soul. It would be endless to enumerate every city, or every province, where these dire practices obtained. The Cyprians, the Rhodians, the Phœceans, the Ionians, those of Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, all had human sacrifices. The natives of the Tauric Chersonesus, offered up to Diana every stranger whom chance threw upon their coast. Hence arose that just expostulation in Euripides upon the inconsistency of the proceeding; wherein much good reasoning is implied. Iphigenia wonders, as the goddess delighted in the blood of men, that every villain and murderer should be privileged to escape, nay, be driven from the threshold of the temple; whereas, if an honest and virtuous man chanced to stray thither, he only was seized upon, and put to death. The Pelasgi, in a time of scarcity, vowed the tenth of all that should be born to them for a sacrifice, in order to procure plenty. Aristomenes the Messenian slew 300 noble Lacedæmonians, among whom was Theopompus the king of Sparta, at the altar of Jupiter at Ithome. Without doubt the Lacedæmonians did not fail to make ample returns; for they were a severe and revengeful people, and offered the like victims to Mars. Their festival of the *Diamastigosis* is well known; when the Spartan boys were whipped in the sight of their parents with such severity before the altar of Diana Orthia, that they often expired under the torture. Phylarchus affirms, as he is quoted by Porphyry, that of old every Grecian state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by human victims.

The Romans were accustomed to the like sacrifices. They both devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and constrained others to submit to the same horrid doom. Hence we read in Titus Livius, that, in the consulate of Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two in like manner of Greece, were buried alive at Rome in the Ox-market, where was a place under ground walled round, to receive them; which had before been made use of for such cruel purposes. He says it was a sacrifice not properly Roman, that is, not originally of Roman institution; yet it was frequently practised there, and that too by public authority. Plutarch makes mention of a like instance a few years before, in the consulship of Flaminius and Furius. There is reason to think, that all the principal captives who graced the triumphs of the Romans, were at the close of that cruel pageantry put to death at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Caius Marius offered up his own daughter for a victim to the Dii Avernuncii, to procure success in a battle against the Cimbri; as we are informed by Dorotheus, quoted by Clemens. It is likewise attested by Plutarch, who says that her name was *Calpurnia*. Marius was a man of a sour and bloody disposition; and had probably heard of such sacrifices being offered in the enemy's camp, among whom they were very common, or he might have beheld them exhibited at a distance; and therefore murdered what was nearest, and should have been dearest to him, to counteract their fearful spells, and outdo them in their wicked machinery. Cicero, making mention of this custom being common in Gaul, adds,

**Sacrifice.** adds, that it prevailed among that people even at the time he was speaking; from whence we may be led to infer, that it was then discontinued among the Romans. And we are told by Pliny, that it had then, and not very long, been discouraged. For there was a law enacted, when Lentulus and Crassus were consuls, so late as the 657th year of Rome, that there should be no more human sacrifices: for till that time those horrid rites had been celebrated in broad day without any mask or controul; which, had we not the best evidence for the fact, would appear scarcely credible. And however they may have been discontinued for a time, we find that they were again renewed; though they became not so public, nor so general. For not very long after this, it is reported of Augustus Cæsar, when Perusia surrendered in the time of the second triumvirate, that besides multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered up, upon the ides of March 300 chosen persons, both of the equestrian and senatorial order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his uncle Julius. Even at Rome itself this custom was revived: and Porphyry assures us, that in his time a man was every year sacrificed at the shrine of Jupiter Latialis. Heliogabalus offered the like victims to the Syrian deity which he introduced among the Romans. The same is said of Aurelian.

The Gauls and the Germans were so devoted to this shocking custom, that no business of any moment was transacted among them without being prefaced with the blood of men. They were offered up to various gods; but particularly to Hesus, Taranis, and Thautates. These deities are mentioned by Lucan, where he enumerates the various nations who followed the fortunes of Cæsar.

The altars of these gods were far removed from the common resort of men; being generally situated in the depth of woods, that the gloom might add to the horror of the operation, and give a reverence to the place and proceeding. The persons devoted were led thither by the Druids, who presided at the solemnity, and performed the cruel offices of the sacrifice. Tacitus takes notice of the cruelty of the Hermunduri, in a war with the Catti, wherein they had greatly the advantage; at the close of which they made one general sacrifice of all that was taken in battle. The poor remains of the legion under Varus suffered in some degree the same fate. There were many places destined for this purpose all over Gaul and Germany; but especially in the mighty woods of Arduenna, and the great Hercynian forest; a wild that extended above 30 days journey in length. The places set apart for this solemnity were held in the utmost reverence, and only approached at particular seasons. Lucan mentions a grove of this sort near Massilia, which even the Roman soldiers were afraid to violate, though commanded by Cæsar. It was one of those set apart for the sacrifices of the country.

Claudian compliments Stilicho, that, among other advantages accruing to the Roman armies through his conduct, they could now venture into the awful forest of Hercynia, and follow the chase in those so much dreaded woods, and otherwise make use of them.

These practices prevailed among all the people of the north, of whatever denomination. The Massagetæ, the Scythians, the Getes, the Sarmatians, all the various na-

tions upon the Baltic, particularly the Suevi and Scandinavians, held it as a fixed principle, that their happiness and security could not be obtained but at the expence of the lives of others. Their chief gods were Thor and Woden, whom they thought they could never sufficiently glut with blood. They had many very celebrated places of worship; especially in the island Rugen, near the mouth of the Oder; and in Zealand: some, too, very famous among the Semnones and Naharvalli. But the most revered of all, and the most frequented, was at Upsal; where there was every year a grand celebrity, which continued for nine days. During this term they sacrificed animals of all sorts: but the most acceptable victims, and the most numerous, were men. Of these sacrifices none were esteemed so auspicious and salutary as a sacrifice of the prince of the country. When the lot fell for the king to die, it was received with universal acclamations and every expression of joy; as it once happened in the time of a famine, when they cast lots, and it fell to King Domalder to be the people's victim: and he was accordingly put to death. Olaus Tretelger, another prince, was burnt alive to Woden. They did not spare their own children. Harald the son of Gunild, the first of that name, slew two of his children to obtain a storm of wind. "He did not let (says Verstegan) to sacrifice two of his sons unto his idols, to the end he might obtain of them such a tempest at sea, as should break and disperse the shipping of Harald king of Denmark." Saxo Grammaticus mentions a like fact. He calls the king Haquin; and speaks of the persons put to death as two very hopeful young princes. Another king slew nine sons to prolong his own life; in hopes, perhaps, that what they were abridged of would in great measure be added to himself. Such instances, however, occur not often: but the common victims were without end. Adam Bremensis, speaking of the awful grove at Upsal, where these horrid rites were celebrated, says, that there was not a single tree but what was revered, as if it were gifted with some portion of divinity: and all this because they were stained with gore and foul with human putrefaction. The same is observed by Scheiffer in his account of this place.

The manner in which the victims were slaughtered, was diverse in different places. Some of the Gaulish nations chined them with a stroke of an axe. The Celtæ placed the man who was to be offered for a sacrifice upon a block, or an altar, with his breast upwards, and with a sword struck him forcibly across the sternum; then tumbling him to the ground, from his agonies and convulsions, as well as from the effusion of blood, they formed a judgement of future events. The Cimbri ripped open the bowels; and from them they pretended to divine. In Norway they beat men's brains out with an ox-yoke. The same operation was performed in Iceland, by dashing them against an altar of stone. In many places they transfixt them with arrows. After they were dead, they suspended them upon the trees, and left them to putrefy. One of the writers above quoted mentions, that in his time 70 carcases of this sort were found in a wood of the Suevi. Dithmar of Mersburgh, an author of nearly the same age, speaks of a place called *Ledur* in Zealand, where there were every year 99 persons sacrificed to the god Swantowite. During these bloody festivals a general joy prevailed, and

**Sacrifice.**

*Sacrifice.* banquets were most royally served. They fed, caroused, and gave a loose to indulgence, which at other times was not permitted. They imagined that there was something mysterious in the number nine: for which reason these feasts were in some places celebrated every ninth year, in others every ninth month; and continued for nine days. When all was ended, they washed the image of the deity in a pool; and then dismissed the assembly. Their servants were numerous, who attended during the term of their feasting, and partook of the banquet. At the close of all, they were smothered in the same pool, or otherwise made away with. On which Tacitus remarks, how great an awe this circumstance must necessarily infuse into those who were not admitted to these mysteries.

These accounts are handed down from a variety of authors in different ages; many of whom were natives of the countries which they describe, and to which they seem strongly attached. They would not therefore have brought so foul an imputation on the part of the world in favour of which they were each writing, nor could there be that concurrence of testimony, were not the history in general true.

The like custom prevailed to a great degree at Mexico, and even under the mild government of the Peruvians; and in most parts of America. In Africa it is still kept up; where, in the inland parts, they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their fetiches, in order to secure their favour. Snelgrave was in the king of Dahome's camp, after his inroad into the countries of Ardra and Whidaw; and says, that he was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation.

The same abominable worship is likewise practised occasionally in the islands visited by Captain Cook, and other circumnavigators, in the South sea. It seems indeed to have prevailed in every country at one period of the progress of civilization, and undoubtedly had the origin which we have assigned to it.

The sacrifices of which we have been treating, if we except some few instances, consisted of persons doomed by the chance of war, or assigned by lot, to be offered. But among the nations of Canaan, the victims were peculiarly chosen. Their own children, and whatever was nearest and dearest to them, were deemed the most worthy offering to their god. The Carthaginians, who were a colony from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother-country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of Kronus; to whom they offered human sacrifices, and especially the blood of children. If the parents were not at hand to make an immediate offer, the magistrates did not fail to make choice of what was most fair and promising, that the god might not be defrauded of his dues. Upon a check being received in Sicily, and some other alarming circumstances happening, Hamilcar without any hesitation laid hold of a boy, and offered him on the spot to Kronus; and at the same time drowned a number of priests, to appease the deity of the sea. The Carthaginians another time, upon a great defeat of their army by Agathocles, imputed their miscarriages to the anger of this god, whose services had been neglected. Touched with this, and seeing the enemy at their gates, they seized at once 300 children of the

prime nobility, and offered them in public for a sacrifice. Three hundred more, being persons who were somehow obnoxious, yielded themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the others. The neglect of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing children purchased of parents among the poorer sort, who reared them for that purpose, and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of old. In short, there were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles; and they were bought and butchered in the same manner. But this indiscriminate way of proceeding was thought to have given offence. It is remarkable, that the Egyptians looked out for the most specious and handsome person to be sacrificed. The Albanians pitched upon the best man of the community, and made him pay for the wickedness of the rest. The Carthaginians chose what they thought the most excellent, and at the same time the most dear to them; which made the lot fall heavy upon their children. This is taken notice of Silius Italicus in his fourth book.

Kronus, to whom these sacrifices were exhibited, was an oriental deity, the god of light and fire; and therefore always worshipped with some reference to that element. See PHOENICIA.

The Greeks, we find, called the deity to whom these offerings were made *Agraulos*; and feigned that she was a woman, and the daughter of Cecrops. But how came Cecrops to have any connection with Cyprus? *Agraulos* is a corruption and transposition of the original name, which should have been rendered *Uk El Aur*, or *Uk El Aurus*; but has, like many other oriental titles and names, been strangely sophisticalized, and is here changed to *Agraulos*. It was in reality the god of light, who was always worshipped with fire. This deity was the Meloch of the Tyrians and Canaanites, and the Melech of the east; that is, the great and principal god, the god of light, of whom fire was esteemed a symbol; and at whose shrine, instead of viler victims, they offered the blood of men.

Such was the Kronus of the Greeks, and the Moloch of the Phœnicians: and nothing can appear more shocking than the sacrifices of the Tyrians and Carthaginians, which they performed to this idol. In all emergencies of state, and times of general calamity, they devoted what was most necessary and valuable to them for an offering to the gods, and particularly to Moloch. But besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when children were chosen out of the most noble and reputable families, as before mentioned. If a person had an only child, it was the more liable to be put to death, as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more efficacious for the general good. Those who were sacrificed to Kronus were thrown into the arms of a molten idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out, with the hands turned upwards, as it were to receive them; yet sloping downwards, so that they dropt from thence into a glowing furnace below. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered, and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents. What can be more horrid to the imagination, than to suppose a father leading the dearest of all his sons to such an infernal shrine?

*Sacrifice.*



**Sacrifice.** shrine? or a mother the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of Ashtaroth or Baal? Justin describes this unnatural custom very pathetically: *Quippe homines, ut victimas, immolabant; et impuberes (quæ ætas hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant; pacem sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitâ Dii rogari maxime solent.* Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised; and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking from the tenderness which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness, and encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appalled at the sight of the hellish process; begging of them to submit with cheerfulness to this fearful operation. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry unawares escaping, the mother smothered it with her kisses, that there might not be any show of backwardness or constraint, but the whole be a free-will offering. These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life; and with the blood warm, as it ran, besmeared the altar and the grim visage of the idol. These were the customs which the Israelites learned of the people of Canaan, and for which they are upbraided by the Psalmist: "They did not destroy the nations, concerning whom the Lord commanded them; but were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works: yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan; and the land was polluted with blood. Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a-whoring with their own inventions."

These cruel rites, practised in so many nations, made Plutarch debate with himself, "Whether it would not have been better for the Galatæ, or for the Scythians, to have had no tradition or conception of any superior beings, than to have formed to themselves notions of gods who delighted in the blood of men; of gods, who esteemed human victims the most acceptable and perfect sacrifice? Would it not (says he) have been more eligible for the Carthaginians to have had the atheist Critias, or Diagoras, their lawgiver, at the commencement of their polity, and to have been taught, that there was neither god nor demon, than to have sacrificed, in the manner they were wont, to the god which they adored? Wherein they acted, not as the person did whom Empedocles describes in some poetry, where he exposes this unnatural custom. The sire there with many idle vows offers up unwittingly his son for a sacrifice; but the youth was so changed in feature and and figure, that his father did not know him. These people used, knowingly and wilfully, to go through this bloody work, and slaughter their own offspring. Even they who were childless would not be exempted from this cursed tribute; but purchased children, at a price, of the poorer sort, and put them to death with as little remorse as one would kill a lamb or a chicken. The mother, who sacrificed her child, stood by, without any seeming sense of what she was losing, and without uttering a groan. If a sigh did by chance escape, she lost all the honour which she proposed to herself in the offering, and the child was notwithstanding slain. All the time

of this ceremony, while the children were murdering, there was a noise of clarions and tabors sounding before the idol, that the cries and shrieks of the victims might not be heard. "Tell me now (says Plutarch) if the monsters of old, the Typhons and the giants, were to expel the gods, and to rule the world in their stead; could they require a service more horrid than these infernal rites and sacrifices?"

**SACRILEGE, SACRILEGIUM,** the crime of profaning sacred things, or things devoted to God; or of alienating to laymen, or common purposes, what was given to religious persons and pious uses.

**SACRISTAN,** a church-officer, otherwise called **SEXTON.**

**SACRISTY,** in church-history, an apartment in a church where the sacred utensils were kept, being the same with our **VESTRY.**

**SADDLE,** is a seat upon a horse's back, contrived for the conveniency of the rider.

A hunting-saddle is composed of two bows, two bands, fore-bolsters, pannels, and saddle-straps; and the great saddle has, besides these parts, corks, hind-bolsters, and a trouffequin.

The pommel is common to both.

**SADDUCEES,** were a famous sect among the ancient Jews, and consisted of persons of great quality and opulence. Respecting their origin there are various accounts and various opinions. Epiphanius, and after him many other writers, contend, that they took their rise from Dositheus a sectary of Samaria, and their name from the Hebrew word *צדק* *just* or *justice*, from the great justice and equity which they showed in all their actions; a derivation which neither suits the word *Sadducee* nor the general character of the sect. They are thought by some too to have been Samaritans; but this is by no means probable, as they always attended the worship and sacrifices at Jerusalem and never at Gerizzim.

In the Jewish Talmud we are told that the Sadducees derived their name from *Sadoc*, and that the sect arose about 260 years before Christ, in the time of Antigonus of Socho, president of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and teacher of the law in the principal divinity school of that city. He had often in his lectures, it seems, taught his scholars, that they ought not to serve God as slaves do their masters, from the hopes of a reward, but merely out of filial love for his own sake; from which Sadoc and Baithus inferred that there were no rewards at all after this life. They therefore separated from their master, and taught that there was no resurrection nor future state. This new doctrine quickly spread, and gave rise to the sect of Sadducees, which in many respects resembled the **EPICUREANS.**

Dr Prideaux thinks, that the Sadducees were at first no more than what the Caraites are now; that is, they would not receive the traditions of the elders, but stuck to the written word only; and the Pharisees being great promoters of those traditions, hence these two sects became directly opposite to each other. See *Prideaux's Conn.* part ii. book 2. and 3.; and see also **PHARISEES** and **CARAITES.**

Afterwards the Sadducees imbibed other doctrines, which rendered them a sect truly impious; for they denied the resurrection of the dead, and the existence of angels, and of the spirits or souls of men departed

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Sadducees. (Mat. xxiii. 23. Acts xxiii. 8.). They held, that there is no spiritual being but God only; that as to man, this world is his all. They did not deny but that we had reasonable souls: but they maintained this soul was mortal; and, by a necessary consequence, they denied the rewards and punishments of another life. They pretended also, that what is said of the existence of angels, and of a future resurrection, are nothing but illusions. St Epiphanius, and after him St Austin, have advanced, that the Sadducees denied the Holy Ghost. But neither Josephus nor the evangelists accuse them of any error like this. It has been also imputed to them, that they thought God corporeal, and that they received none of the prophecies.

It is pretty difficult to apprehend how they could deny the being of angels, and yet receive the books of Moses, where such frequent mention is made of angels and of their appearances. Grotius and M. Le Clerc observe, that it is very likely they looked upon angels, not as particular beings, subsisting of themselves, but as powers, emanations, or qualities, inseparable from the Deity, as the sunbeams are inseparable from the sun. Or perhaps they held angels not to be spiritual but mortal; just as they thought that substance to be which animates us and thinks in us. The ancients do not tell us how they solved this difficulty, that might be urged against them from so many passages of the Pentateuch, where mention is made of angels.

As the Sadducees acknowledged neither punishments nor recompenses in another life, so they were inexorable in their chastising of the wicked. They observed the law themselves, and caused it to be observed by others, with the utmost rigour. They admitted of none of the traditions, explications, or modifications, of the Pharisees; they kept only to the text of the law; and maintained, that only what was written was to be observed.

The Sadducees are accused of rejecting all the books of Scripture except those of Moses; and to support this opinion, it is observed, that our Saviour makes use of no Scripture against them, but passages taken out of the Pentateuch. But Scaliger produces good proofs to vindicate them from this reproach. He observes, that they did not appear in Israel till after the number of the holy books was fixed; and that if they had been to choose out of the canonical Scriptures, the Pentateuch was less favourable to them than any other book, since it often makes mention of angels and their apparition. Besides, the Sadducees were present in the temple and at other religious assemblies, where the books of the prophets were read indifferently as well as those of Moses. They were in the chief employments of the nation, many of them were even priests. Would the Jews have suffered in these employments persons that rejected the greatest part of their Scriptures? Menasse ben-Israel says expressly, that indeed they did not reject the prophets, but that they explained them in a sense very different from that of the other Jews.

Josephus assures us, that they denied destiny or fate; alleging that these were only sounds void of sense, and that all the good or evil that happens to us is in consequence of the good or evil side we have taken, by the free choice of our will. They said also, that God was far removed from doing or knowing evil, and that man was the absolute master of his own actions. This was

roundly to deny a providence; and upon this footing I know not, says F. Calmet, what could be the religion of the Sadducees, or what influence they could ascribe to God in things here below. However, it is certain they were not only tolerated among the Jews, but that they were admitted to the high-priesthood itself. John Hircanus, high-priest of that nation, separated himself in a signal manner from the sect of the Pharisees, and went over to that of Sadoc. It is said also, he gave strict command to all the Jews, on pain of death, to receive the maxims of this sect. Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus, son of Hircanus, continued to favour the Sadducees; and Maimonides assures us, that under the reign of Alexander Jannæus, they had in possession all the offices of the Sanhedrim, and that there only remained of the party of the Pharisees, Simon the son of Secra. Caiaphas, who condemned Jesus Christ to death, was a Sadducee (Acts, v. 17. iv. 1.; as also Ananus the younger, who put to death St James the brother of our Lord. At this day, the Jews hold as heretics that small number of Sadducees that are to be found among them. See upon this matter *Serrar. Triharef. Menasse ben-Israel, de Resurrectione mortuorum; Bafnage's History of the Jews, &c.*; and *Calmet's Dissertation upon the Sects of the Jews before the Commentary of St Mark.*

The sect of the Sadducees was much reduced by the destruction of Jerusalem, and by the dispersion of the Jews; but it revived afterwards. At the beginning of the third century it was so formidable in Egypt, that Ammonim, Origen's master, when he saw them propagate their opinions in that country, thought himself obliged to write against them, or rather against the Jews, who tolerated the Sadducees, though they denied the fundamental points of their religion. The emperor Justinian mentions the Sadducees in one of his novels, banishes them out of all places of his dominions, and condemns them to the severest punishments, as people that maintained atheistical and impious tenets, denying the resurrection and the last judgement. Ananus, or Ananus, a disciple of Juda, son of Nachman, a famous rabbin of the 8th century, declared himself, as it is said, in favour of the Sadducees, and strenuously protected them against their adversaries. They had also a celebrated defender in the 12th century, in the person of Alfarag, a Spanish rabbin. This doctor wrote against the Pharisees, the declared enemies of the Sadducees; and maintained by his public writings, that the purity of Judaism was only to be found among the Sadducees; that the traditions avowed by the Pharisees were useless; and that the ceremonies, which they had multiplied without end, were an unsupportable yoke. The rabbi Abraham ben-David Italleri replied to Alfarag, and supported the sect of the Pharisees by two great arguments, that of their universality and that of their antiquity. He proved their antiquity by a continued succession from Adam down to the year 1167; and their universality, because the Pharisees are spread all the world over, and are found in all the synagogues. There are still Sadducees in Africa and in several other places. They deny the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; but they are rarely found, at least there are but few who declare themselves for these opinions.

SADLER, JOHN, was descended from an ancient family in Shropshire; born in 1615; and educated at Cambridge,

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Cambridge, where he became eminent for his great knowledge in the oriental languages. He removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he made no small progress in the study of the law; and in 1644 was admitted one of the masters in chancery, as also one of the two masters of requests. In 1649 he was chosen town-clerk of London, and the same year published his *Rights of the Kingdom*. He was greatly esteemed by Oliver Cromwell, by whose special warrant he was continued a master in chancery, when their number was reduced to six. By his interest it was that the Jews obtained the privilege of building for themselves a synagogue in London. In 1658 he was made member of parliament for Yarmouth; and next year was appointed first commissioner under the great seal with Mr Taylor, Mr Whitelocke, and others, for the probate of wills. In 1660 he published his *Olbia*. Soon after the restoration, he lost all his employments. In the fire of London in 1666, he was a great sufferer; which obliged him to retire to his seat of Warmwell in Dorsetshire, where he lived in a private manner till 1674, when he died.

SADOC, a famous Jewish rabbi, and founder of the sect of the SADUCCEES.

SADOLET, JAMES, a polite and learned cardinal of the Romish church, born at Modena in 1477. Leo X. made him and Peter Bembo his secretaries, an office for which they were both well qualified; and Sadolet was soon after made bishop of Carpentras, near Avignon: he was made a cardinal in 1536 by Paul III. and employed in several negotiations and embassies. He died in 1547, not without the suspicion of poison, for corresponding too familiarly with the Protestants, and for testifying too much regard for some of their doctors. His works, which are all in Latin, were collected in 1607 at Mentz, in one volume 8vo. All his contemporaries spoke of him in the highest terms.

SAFE-GUARD, a protection formerly granted to a stranger who feared violence from some of the king's subjects for seeking his right by course of law.

SAFE-Conduct is a security given by a prince under the great seal, to a stranger for his *safe-coming* into and passing out of the realm; the form whereof is in *Reg. Orig.* 25. There are letters of safe conduct which must be enrolled in chancery; and the persons to whom granted must have them ready to show; and touching which there are several statutes. See PREROGATIVE.

SAFFRON, in the *Materia Medica*, is formed of the stigmata of the crocus officinalis, dried on a kiln, and pressed together into cakes. See *Crocus*, BOTANY Index. There are two kinds of saffron, the English and Spanish; of which the latter is by far the most esteemed. Saffron is principally cultivated in Cambridgeshire, in a circle of about ten miles diameter. The greatest part of this tract is an open level country, with few inclosures; and the custom there is, as in most other places, to crop two years, and let the land be fallow the third. Saffron is generally planted upon fallow-ground, and, all other things being alike, they prefer that which has borne barley the year before.

The saffron ground is seldom above three acres, or less than one; and in choosing, the principal thing they have regard to is, that they be well exposed, the soil not poor, nor a very stiff clay, but a temperate dry mould, such as commonly lies upon chalk, and is of an hazel

colour; though, if every thing else answers, the colour of the mould is pretty much neglected.

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The ground being made choice of, about Lady-day or the beginning of April, it must be carefully ploughed, the furrows being drawn much closer together, and deeper if the soil will allow it, than is done for any kind of corn; and accordingly the charge is greater.

About five weeks after, during any time in the month of May, they lay between 20 and 30 loads of dung upon each acre, and having spread it with great care, they plough it in as before. The shortest rotten dung is the best: and the farmers, who have the convenience of making it, spare no pains to make it good, being sure of a proportionable price for it. About midsummer they plough a third time, and between every 16 feet and a half they leave a broad furrow or trench, which serves both as a boundary to the several parcels, and for throwing the weeds into at the proper season. The time of planting is commonly in the month of July. The only instrument used at this time is a small narrow spade, commonly called a *spit-shovel*. The method is this: One man with his shovel raises about three or four inches of earth, and throws it before him about six or more inches. Two persons, generally women, follow with roots, which they place in the farthest edge of the trench made by the digger, at about three inches from each other. As soon as the digger has gone once the breadth of the ridge, he begins again at the other side; and, digging as before, covers the roots last set, which makes room for another row of roots at the same distance from the first that they are from one another. The only dexterity necessary in digging is, to leave some part of the first stratum of earth untouched, to lie under the roots; and, in setting, to place the roots directly upon their bottom. The quantity of roots planted on an acre is generally about 16 quarters, or 128 bushels. From the time of planting till the beginning of September, or sometimes before, there is no more labour required; but at that time they begin to vegetate, and are ready to show themselves above ground, which may be known by digging up a few of the roots. The ground is then to be pared with a sharp hoe, and the weeds raked into the furrows, otherwise they would hinder the growth of the saffron. In some time after, the flowers appear.

They are gathered before they are full blown, as well as after, and the proper time for it is early in the morning. The owners of the saffron-fields get together a sufficient number of hands, who pull off the whole flowers, and throw them by handfuls into a basket, and so continue till about 11 o'clock. Having then carried home the flowers, they immediately fall to picking out the stigmata or chives, and together with them a pretty large proportion of the stylus itself, or string to which they are attached: the rest of the flower they throw away as useless. Next morning they return to the field, without regarding whether the weather be wet or dry: and so on daily, even on Sundays, till the whole crop is gathered.—The next labour is to dry the chives on the kiln. The kiln is built upon a thick plank, that it may be moved from place to place. It is supported by four short legs: the outside consists of eight pieces of wood of three inches thick, in form of a quadrangular frame, about 12 inches square at the bottom on the inside, and 22 on the upper part; which

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last is likewise the perpendicular height of it. On the fore-side is left a hole of about eight inches square, and four inches above the plank, through which the fire is put in; over all the rest laths are laid pretty thick, close to one another, and nailed to the frame already mentioned. They are then plastered over on both sides, as are also the planks at bottom, very thick, to serve for a hearth. Over the mouth is laid a hair-cloth, fixed to the edges of the kiln, and likewise to two rollers or moveable pieces of wood, which are turned by wedges or screws, in order to stretch the cloth. Instead of the hair-cloth, some people use a net-work of iron-wire, by which the saffron is soon dried, and with less fuel; but the difficulty of preserving it from burning makes the hair-cloth preferred by the best judges. The kiln is placed in a light part of the house; and they begin with putting five or six sheets of white paper on the hair-cloth, and upon these they lay out the wet saffron two or three inches thick. It is then covered with some other sheets of paper, and over these they lay a coarse blanket five or six times doubled, or instead of this, a canvas pillow filled with straw; and after the fire has been lighted for some time, the whole is covered with a board having a considerable weight upon it. At first they apply a pretty strong heat, to make the chives *sweat* as they call it; and at this time a great deal of care is necessary to prevent burning. When it has been thus dried about an hour, they turn the cakes of saffron upside down, putting on the coverings and weight as before. If no sinister accident happens during these first two hours, the danger is thought to be over; and nothing more is requisite than to keep up a very gentle fire for 24 hours, turning the cake every half hour. That fuel is best which yields the least smoke; and for this reason charcoal is preferable to all others.

The quantity of saffron produced at a crop is uncertain. Sometimes five or six pounds of wet chives are got from one rood, sometimes not above one or two; and sometimes not so much as is sufficient to defray the expence of gathering and drying. But it is always observed, that about five pounds of wet saffron go to make one pound of dry for the first three weeks of the crop, and six pounds during the last week. When the heads are planted very thick, two pounds of dry saffron may at a medium be allowed to an acre for the first crop, and 24 pounds for the two remaining ones, the third being considerably larger than the second.

To obtain the second and third crops, the labour of hoeing, gathering, picking, &c. already mentioned, must be repeated; and about midsummer, after the third crop is gathered, the roots must all be taken up and transplanted. For taking up the roots, sometimes the plough is made use of, and sometimes a forked hoe; and then the ground is harrowed once or twice over. During all the time of ploughing, harrowing, &c. 15 or more people will find work enough to follow and gather the heads as they are turned up. The roots are next to be carried to the house in sacks, where they are cleaned and rased. This labour consists in cleaning the roots thoroughly from earth, decayed old pieces, involucra, or excrescences; after which they become fit to be planted in new ground immediately, or they may be kept for some time, without danger of spoiling. The quantity of roots taken up in proportion to those plant-

ed is uncertain; but, at a medium, 24 quarters of clean roots, fit to be planted, may be had from each acre.— There sometimes happens a remarkable change in the roots of saffron and some other plants. As soon as they begin to shoot upwards, there are commonly two or three large tap-roots sent forth from the side of the old one, which will run two or three inches deep into the ground. At the place where these bulbs first come out from, the old one will be formed sometimes, though not always, and the tap-root then decays. The bulb increases in bigness, and at last falls quite off; which commonly happens in April. But many times these tap-roots never produce any bulbs, and remain barren for ever after. All such roots therefore should be thrown away in the making a new plantation. This degeneracy in the roots is a disease for which no cure is as yet known.

When saffron is offered to sale, that kind ought to be chosen which has the broadest blades; this being the mark by which English saffron is distinguished from the foreign. It ought to be of an orange or fiery-red colour, and to yield a dark yellow tincture. It should be chosen fresh, not above a year old, in close cakes, neither dry nor yet very moist, tough and firm in tearing, of the same colour within as without, and of a strong, acrid, diffusive smell.

This drug has been reckoned a very elegant and useful aromatic. Besides the virtues it has in common with other substances of that class, it has been accounted one of the highest cordials, and is said to exhilarate the spirits to such a degree as, when taken in large doses, to occasion immoderate mirth, involuntary laughter, and the ill effects which follow from the abuse of spirituous liquors. This medicine is particularly serviceable in hysteric depressions proceeding from a cold cause or obstruction of the uterine secretions, where other aromatics, even those of the more generous kind, have little effect. Saffron imparts the whole of its virtue and colour to rectified spirit, proof-spirit, wine, vinegar, and water. A tincture drawn with vinegar loses greatly of its colour in keeping: the watery and vinous tinctures are apt to grow sour, and then lose their colour also: that made in pure spirit keeps in perfection for many years.

*Meadow-SAFFRON.* See COLCHICUM, BOTANY Index.

SAGAN, in scripture history, the suffragan or deputy of the Jewish high-priest. According to some writers, he was only to officiate for him when he was rendered incapable of attending the service through sickness or legal uncleanness on the day of expiation; or, according to others, he was to assist the high-priest in the care of the affairs of the temple and the service of the priests.

SAGAPENUM, in *Pharmacy*, &c. a gum-resin which is made up in two forms; the finer and purer is in loose granules or single drops; the coarser kind is in masses composed of these drops of various sizes, cemented together by a matter of the same kind; and is brought from Persia and the East Indies. See MATERIA MEDICA Index.

SAGE. See SALVIA, BOTANY Index.

SAGE, *Alain Rene*, an ingenious French romance-writer, was born at Ruys in Brittany in the year 1667. He had a fine flow of imagination, was a complete master of the French and Spanish languages, and wrote several admired romances in imitation of the Spanish authors.

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thors. These were, *The Bachelor of Salamanca*, 2 vols. 12mo; *New Adventures of Don Quixote*, 2 vols 12mo; *The Devil on Two Sticks*, 2 vols 12mo; and *Gil Blas*, 4 vols 12mo. He produced also some comedies, and other humorous pieces. This ingenious author died in year 1747, in the vicinity of Paris, where he supported himself by writing.

SAGE, *the Reverend John*, so justly admired by all who knew him for his classical learning and reasoning powers, was born, in 1652, in the parish of Creich and county of Fife, North Britain, where his ancestors had lived for seven generations with great respect though with little property. His father was a captain in Lord Duffus's regiment, and fought for his king and country when Monk stormed Dundee on the 30th of August 1651.

The issue of the civil wars, and the loyalty of Captain Sage, left him nothing to bestow upon his son but a liberal education and his own principles of piety and virtue. In those days the Latin language was taught in the parochial schools of Scotland with great ability and at a trifling expence; and after young Sage had acquired a competent knowledge of that language at one of those useful seminaries, his father, without receiving from an ungrateful court any recompense for what he had lost in the cause of royalty, was still able to send him to the university of St Andrews, where having remained in college the usual number of terms or sessions, and performed the exercises required by the statutes, he was admitted to the degree of master of arts, the highest honour which it appears he ever received from any university.

During his residence in St Andrew's he studied the Greek and Roman authors with great diligence, and was likewise instructed in logic, metaphysics, and such other branches of philosophy as then obtained in the schools, which, though we affect to smile at them in this enlightened age, he always spoke of as highly useful to him who would understand the poets, historians, and orators of ancient Greece, and even the fathers of the Christian church. In this opinion every man will agree with him who is at all acquainted with the ancient metaphysics, and has read the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome, and other fathers of great name; for each of those writers adopted the principles of some one or other of the philosophical sects, reasoned from their notions, and often made use of their terms and phrases.

When Mr Sage had taken his master's degree, the narrowness of his fortune compelled him to accept of the first literary employment which was offered to him; and that happened to be nothing better than the office of schoolmaster in the parish of Bingry in Fifeshire, whence he was soon removed to Tippermuir in the county of Perth. In these humble stations, though he wanted many of the necessaries and almost all the comforts of life, he prosecuted his studies with great success; but in doing so, he unhappily imbibed the seeds of several diseases which afflicted him through life, and notwithstanding the native vigour of his constitution impaired his health and shortened his days. From the miserable drudgery of a parish-schoolmaster, he was relieved by Mr Drummond of Cultmalundie, who invited him to superintend the education of his sons, whom he accompanied first to the public school at

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Perth, and afterwards to the university of St Andrew's. This was still an employment by no means adequate to his merit, but it was not wholly without advantages. At Perth he gained the friendship and esteem of Dr Rose, afterwards lord bishop of Edinburgh, and at St Andrew's of every man capable of properly estimating genius and learning.

The education of his pupils was completed in 1684, when he was left with no determinate object of pursuit. In this moment of indecision, his friend Dr Rose, who had been promoted from the parsonage of Perth to the professorship of divinity in the university which he was leaving, recommended him so effectually to his uncle, then archbishop of Glasgow, that he was by that prelate admitted into orders and presented to one of the churches in the city. He was then about 34 years of age; had studied the Scriptures with great assiduity; was no stranger to ecclesiastical history, or the apologies and other writings of the ancient fathers; was thorough master of school-divinity; had examined with great accuracy the modern controversies, especially those between the Romish and reformed churches, and between the Calvinists and Remonstrants; and it was perhaps to his honour that he did not fully approve of all the articles of faith subscribed by any one of these contending sects of Christians.

A man so far advanced in life, and so thoroughly accomplished as a scholar, would naturally be looked up to by the greater part of the clergy as soon as he became one of their body. This was in fact the case: Mr Sage was, immediately on his admission into orders, appointed clerk to the synod or presbytery of Glasgow; an office of great trust and respectability, to which we know nothing similar in the church of England.

During the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, from the restoration of Charles II. till the year 1690, the authority of the bishops, though they possessed the sole power of ordination, was very limited in the government of the church. They did every thing with the consent of the presbyters over whom they presided. Diocesan synods were held at stated times for purposes of the same kind with those which employ the meetings of presbyteries at present (see PRESBYTERIANS), and the only prerogative which the bishop seems to have enjoyed was to be permanent president, with a negative voice over the deliberations of the assembly. The acts of each synod, and sometimes the charge delivered by the bishop at the opening of it, were registered in a book kept by the clerk, who was always one of the most eminent of the diocesan clergy.

Mr Sage continued in this office, discharging in Glasgow all the duties of a clergyman, in such a manner as endeared him to his flock, and gained him the esteem even of those who were dissenters from the establishment. Many of his brethren were trimmers in ecclesiastical as well as in civil politics. They had been republicans and presbyterians in the days of the covenant; and, with that ferocious zeal which too often characterizes interested converts, had concurred in the severities which, during the reign of Charles II. were exercised against the party whom they had forsaken at his restoration. When that party again raised its head during the infatuated reign of James, and every thing indicated an approaching change of the establishment,

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Sage.

those whose zeal for the church had so lately incited them to persecute the dissenters, suddenly became all gentleness and condescension, and advanced towards the presbyterians as to their old friends.

The conduct of Mr Sage was the reverse of this. He was an episcopalian and a royalist from conviction: and in all his discourses public and private he laboured to infuse into the minds of others the principles which to himself appeared to have their foundation in truth. To persecution he was at all times an enemy, whilst he never tamely betrayed through fear what he thought it his duty to maintain. The consequence was, that in the end of the year 1688 he was treated by the rabble, which in the western counties of Scotland rose against the established church, with greater lenity than his more complying brethren. Whilst they, without the smallest apprehension of their danger, were torn from their families by a lawless force, and many of them persecuted in the cruelest manner, he was privately warned to withdraw from Glasgow, and never more to return to that city. So much was consistency of conduct and a steady adherence to principle respected by those who seemed to respect nothing else.

Mr Sage retired to the metropolis, and carried with him the synodical book, which was afterwards demanded by the presbytery of Glasgow, but not recovered, till about twenty years ago, that, on the death of a nephew of Dr Rose the last established bishop of Edinburgh, it was found in his possession, and restored to the presbytery to which it belonged. Mr Sage had detained it and given it to his diocesan friend, from the fond hope that episcopacy would soon be re-established in Scotland; and it was doubtless with a view to contribute what he could to the realising of that hope, that, immediately on his being obliged to leave Glasgow, he commenced a keen polemical writer. At Edinburgh he preached a while, till refusing to take the oaths of allegiance when required by the government, he was obliged to retire. In this extremity, he found protection in the house of Sir William Bruce, the sheriff of Kinross, who approved his principles and admired his virtue. Returning to Edinburgh, in 1695, he was observed, and obliged to abscond. Yet he returned in 1696, when his friend Sir William Bruce was imprisoned as a suspected person. He was soon forced to seek for refuge in the hills of Angus, under the name of Jackson.

After a while Mr Sage found a safe retreat with the countess of Callendar, who employed him to instruct her family as chaplain, and her sons as tutor. These occupations did not wholly engage his active mind: for he employed his pen in defending his order, or in exposing his oppressors. When the countess of Callendar had no longer sons to instruct, Sage accepted the invitation of Sir John Steuart of Garntully, who wanted the help of a chaplain, and the conversation of a scholar. With Sir John he continued till the decency of his manners, and the extensiveness of his learning, recommended him to a higher station. And, on the 25th of January 1705, he was consecrated a bishop by Paterson the archbishop of Glasgow, Rose the bishop of Edinburgh, and Douglas the bishop of Dumblain. But this promotion did not prevent sickness from falling on him in November 1706. After lingering for many months in Scotland, he tried the effect of the waters of Bath in 1709, without suc-

cess. At Bath and at London he remained a twelve-month, recognised by the great and cared for by the learned. Yet though he was invited to stay, he returned in 1710 to his native country, which he desired to see, and where he wished to die. And though his body was debilitated, he engaged, with undiminished vigour of mind, in the publication of the works of Drummond of Hawthornden, to which the celebrated Ruddiman lent his aid. Bishop Sage died at Edinburgh on the 7th of June 1711, lamented by his friends for his virtues, and feared by his adversaries for his talents.

His works are, 1st, Two Letters concerning the Persecution of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, which with other two by different authors were printed in one volume at London in 1689. 2dly, An Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, in 1690, London, 1693. 3dly, The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, London, 1695. 4thly, The Principles of the Cyprianick Age with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction, London, 1695. 5thly, A Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age, London, 1701. 6thly, Some Remarks on the Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to a minister in the Country, on Mr David Williamson's Sermon before the General Assembly, Edinburgh, 1703. 7thly, A Brief Examination of some Things in Mr Meldrum's Sermon, preached on the 16th of May 1703, against a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion, Edinburgh, 1703. 8thly, The Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion inquired into purely on Church Principles, Edinburgh, 1704. 9thly, The Life of Gawin Douglas, in 1710. 10thly, An introduction to Drummond's History of the Five James's, Edinburgh, 1711. Of the principles maintained in these publications, different readers will think very differently; and it is probable that the acrimony displayed in some of them will be generally condemned in the present day; whilst the learning and acuteness of their author will be universally acknowledged and admired by all who can distinguish merit in a friend or an adversary.

SAGENE, or SAJENE, a Russian long measure, 500 of which make a verst: the sagene is equal to seven English feet.

SAGINA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 22d order, *Caryophyllei*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SAGITTA, in *Astronomy*, the Arrow, a constellation of the northern hemisphere near the Eagle, and one of the 48 old asterisms. According to the fabulous ideas of the Greeks, this constellation owes its origin to one of the arrows of Hercules, with which he killed the eagle or vulture that gnawed the liver of Prometheus. In the catalogues of Ptolemy, Tycho, and Hevelius, the stars of this constellation are only five in number, while Flamsteed made them amount to 18.

SAGITTA, in *Geometry*, a term used by some writers for the absciss of a curve.

SAGITTA, in *Trigonometry*, the same as the versed sine of an arch, being so denominated because it is like a dart or arrow, standing on the chord of the arch.

SAGITTARIA, ARROW-HEAD, a genus of plants belonging to the menœcia class; and in the natural method ranking under the fifth order, *Tripelatoidea*. See *BOTANY Index*.—A bulb which is formed at the lower part

Sage  
||  
Sagittaria.

Sagittarius  
||  
Sahara.

Sahara,  
Sahli:c.

part of the root of a species of this plant, constitutes a considerable part of the food of the Chinese; and upon that account they cultivate it.

SAGITTARIUS, in *Astronomy*, the name of one of the 12 signs of the zodiac.

SAGO, a nutritive substance brought from the East Indies, of considerable use in diet as a restorative. It is produced from a species of palm-tree (*CYCAS circinalis*, Lin.) growing spontaneously in the East Indies without any culture. The progress of its vegetation in the early stages is very slow. At first it is a mere shrub, thick set with thorns, which make it difficult to come near it; but as soon as its stem is once formed, it rises in a short time to the height of 30 feet, is about six feet in circumference, and imperceptibly loses its thorns. Its ligneous bark is about an inch in thickness, and covers a multitude of long fibres; which, being interwoven one with another, envelope a mass of a gummy kind of meal. As soon as this tree is ripe, a whitish dust, which transpires through the pores of the leaves, and adheres to their extremities, proclaims its maturity. The Malays then cut them down near the root, divide them into several sections, which they split into quarters: they then scoop out the mass of mealy substance, which is enveloped by and adheres to the fibres; they dilute it in pure water, and then pass it through a straining bag of fine cloth, in order to separate it from the fibres. When this paste has lost part of its moisture by evaporation, the Malays throw it into a kind of earthen vessels, of different shapes, where they allow it to dry and harden. This paste is a wholesome nourishing food, and may be preserved for many years. The Indians eat it diluted with water, and sometimes baked or boiled. Through a principle of humanity, they reserve the finest part of this meal for the aged and infirm. A jelly is sometimes made of it, which is white and of a delicious flavour.

SAGUM, in Roman antiquity, a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle or clasp. It was not different in shape from the *chlamys* of the Greeks and the *paludamentum* of the generals. The only difference between them was, that the paludamentum was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the sagum.

SAGUNIUM, an ancient town of Spain, now called *Morvedro*, where there are still the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre to be seen. The new town is seated on a river called *Morvedro*, 15 miles to the north of Valencia, in E. Long. 0. 10. N. Lat. 39. 38. It was taken by Lord Peterborough in 1706.

SAHARA, or ZAARA, the Great Desert, is a vast extent of sand in the interior parts of Africa, which, with the lesser deserts of Bornou, Bilma, Barca, Sort, &c. is equal to about one half of Europe. If the sand be considered as the ocean, the Sahara has its gulfs and bays, as also its islands, or OASES, fertile in groves and pastures, and in many instances containing a great population, subject to order and regular government.

The great body, or western division of this ocean, comprised between Fezzan and the Atlantic, is no less than 50 caravan journeys across, from north to south; or from 750 to 800 G. miles; and double that extent in length: without doubt the largest desert in the world. This division contains but a scanty portion of islands

(or oases), and those also of small extent: but the eastern division has many, and some of them very large. Fezzan, Gadamis, Taboo, Ghanat, Agadez, Augila, Berdoa, are amongst the principal ones: besides which, there are a vast number of small ones. In effect, this is the part of Africa alluded to by Strabo, when he says from *Cneius Piso*, that Africa may be compared to a leopard's skin.

From the best inquiries that Mr Park could make when a kind of captive among the Moors at Ludamar, the Western Desert, he says, may be pronounced almost destitute of inhabitants; except where the scanty vegetation, which appears in certain spots, affords pasturage for the flocks of a few miserable Arabs, who wander from one well to another. In other places, where the supply of water and pasturage is more abundant, small parties of the Moors have taken up their residence. Here they live, in independent poverty, secure from the tyrannical government of Barbary. But the greater part of the desert, being totally destitute of water, is seldom visited by any human being; unless where the trading caravans trace out their toilsome and dangerous route across it. In some parts of this extensive waste, the ground is covered with low stunted shrubs, which serve as land-marks for the caravans, and furnish the camels with a scanty forage. In other parts, the disconsolate wanderer, wherever he turns, sees nothing around him but a vast interminable expanse of sand and sky; a gloomy and barren void, where the eye finds no particular object to rest upon, and the mind is filled with painful apprehensions of perishing with thirst. Surrounded by this dreary solitude, the traveller sees the dead bodies of birds, that the violence of the wind has brought from happier regions; and, as he ruminates on the fearful length of his remaining passage, listens with horror to the voice of the driving blast; the only sound that interrupts the awful repose of the desert.

The wild animals which inhabit these melancholy regions, are the antelope and the ostrich; their swiftness of foot enabling them to reach the distant watering-places. On the skirts of the desert, where the water is more plentiful, are found lions, panthers, elephants, and wild boars.

The only domestic animal that can endure the fatigue of crossing the desert is the camel; and it is therefore the only beast of burden employed by the trading caravans which traverse, in different directions, from Barbary to Nigritia. The flesh of this useful and docile creature, though to our author's taste it was dry and unfavoury, is preferred by the Moors to all others. The milk of the female, he says, is in universal esteem, and is indeed pleasant and nutritive.

That the desert has a dip towards the east, as well as the south, seems to be proved by the course of the Niger. Moreover, the highest points of North Africa, that is to say, the mountains of Mandinga and Atlas, are situated very far to the west. The desert, for the most part, abounds with salt. But we hear of salt mines only in the part contiguous to Nigritia, from whence salt is drawn for the use of those countries, as well as of the Moorish states adjoining; there being no salt in the Negro countries south of the Niger. There are salt lakes also in the eastern part of the desert.

SAHLITE, a species of mineral, see MINERALOGY Index.

Sai  
||  
Sail.

SAI, a large town near the banks of the Niger, which, according to Mr Park, is completely surrounded by two very deep trenches, at about two hundred yards distant from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of square towers: and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification. Inquiring into the origin of this extraordinary entrenchment, our author learned from two of the towns people the following particulars; which, if true, furnish a mournful picture of the enormities of African wars:

About fifteen years before our traveller visited Sai, when the king of Bambarra desolated Maniana, the Dooty of Sai had two sons slain in battle, fighting in the king's cause. He had a third son living; and when the king demanded a further reinforcement of men, and this youth among the rest, the Dooty refused to send him. This conduct so enraged the king, that when he returned from Maniana, about the beginning of the rainy season, and found the Dooty protected by the inhabitants, he sat down before Sai with his army, and surrounded the town with the trenches which had attracted our author's notice. After a siege of two months, the towns people became involved in all the horrors of famine; and whilst the king's army were feasting in their trenches, they saw with pleasure the miserable inhabitants of Sai devour the leaves and bark of the Bentang tree that stood in the middle of the town. Finding, however, that the besieged would sooner perish than surrender, the king had recourse to treachery. He promised, that if they would open the gates, no person should be put to death, nor suffer any injury, but the Dooty alone. The poor old man determined to sacrifice himself, for the sake of his fellow-citizens, and immediately walked over to the king's army, where he was put to death. His son, in attempting to escape, was caught and massacred in the trenches; and the rest of the towns-people were carried away captives, and sold as slaves to the different Negro traders. Sai, according to Major Rennel, is situated in N. Lat. 14°. and in W. Long. 3°. 7.

SAICK, or SAIQUE, a Turkish vessel, very common in the Levant for carrying merchandize.

SAIDE, the modern name of Sidon. See SIDON.

SAIL, in *Navigation*, an assemblage of several breadths of canvas sewed together by the lifts, and edged round with cord, fastened to the yards of a ship, to make it drive before the wind. See SHIP.

The edges of the cloths, or pieces, of which a sail is composed, are generally sewed together with a double seam; and the whole is skirted round at the edges with a cord, called the *bolt rope*.

Although the form of sails is extremely different, they are all nevertheless triangular or quadrilateral figures; or, in other words, their surfaces are contained either between three or four sides.

The former of these are sometimes spread by a yard, as lateen-sails; and otherwise by a stay, as stay-sails; or by a mast, as shoulder-of-mutton sails; in all which cases the foremost leech or edge is attached to the said yard, mast, or stay, throughout its whole length. The latter, or those which are four-sided, are either extended by yards, as the principal sails of a ship; or by yards and booms, as the studding-sails, drivers, ring-tails, and all those sails which are set occasionally; or

by gaffs and booms, as the main-sails of sloops and brigantines.

The principal sails of a ship (fig. 1.) are the courses or lower sails *a*; the top-sails *b*, which are next in order above the courses; and the top-gallant sails *c*, which are expanded above the top-sails.

The courses are the main-sail, fore-sail, and mizen, main stay-sail, fore stay-sail, and mizen stay-sail: but more particularly the three first. The main stay-sail is rarely used except in small vessels.

In all quadrangular sails the upper edge is called the *head*; the sides or skirts are called *leeches*; and the bottom or lower edge is termed the *foot*. If the head is parallel to the foot, the two low corners are denominated *clues*, and the upper corners earings.

In all triangular sails, and in those four-sided sails wherein the head is not parallel to the foot, the foremost corner at the foot is called the *tack*, and the after lower-corner the *clue*; the foremost perpendicular or sloping edge is called the *fore-leech*, and the hindmost the *after-leech*.

The heads of all four-sided sails, and the fore-leeches of lateen-sails, are attached to their respective yard or gaff by a number of small cords called *ro-bands*; and the extremities are tied to the yard-arms, or to the peak of the gaff, by earings.

The stay-sails are extended upon stays between the masts, whereon they are drawn up or down occasionally, as a curtain slides upon its rod, and their lower parts are stretched out by a tack and sheet. The clues of a top-sail are drawn out to the extremities of the lower yard, by two large ropes called the *top-sail sheets*; and the clues of the top-gallant sails are in like manner extended upon the top-sail yard-arms, as exhibited by fig. 2.

The studding-sails are set beyond the leeches or skirts of the main-sail and fore-sail, or of the top-sails or top-gallant sails of a ship. Their upper and lower edges are accordingly extended by poles run out beyond the extremities of the yards for this purpose. Those sails, however, are only set in favourable winds and moderate weather.

All sails derive their name from the mast, yard, or stay, upon which they are extended. Thus the principal sail extended upon the main-mast is called the *main-sail*, *d*; the next above, which stands upon the main-top mast, is termed the *main-top sail*, *e*; and the highest, which is spread across the main-top-gallant mast, is named the *main-top-gallant sail*, *f*.

In the same manner there is the fore-sail, *g*; the fore-top sail, *h*; and the fore-top-gallant-sail, *i*; the mizen, *k*; the mizen-top sail, *l*; and mizen-top-gallant-sail, *m*. Thus also there is the main stay-sail, *o*; main top-mast stay-sail, *p*; and main-top-gallant stay-sail, *q*; with a middle stay-sail which stands between the two last.

N. B. All these stay-sails are between the main and fore-masts.

The stay-sails between the main-mast and mizen-mast are the mizen stay-sail, *r*; and the mizen top-mast stay-sail, *s*; and sometimes a mizen top-gallant stay-sail above the latter.

The stay-sails between the foremast and the bowsprit are the fore stay-sail, *t*; the fore top-mast stay-sail

Sail.  
Plate  
CCCLXVIII  
Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



SAIL.

Plate CCCCLXVIII.

Fig. 1.

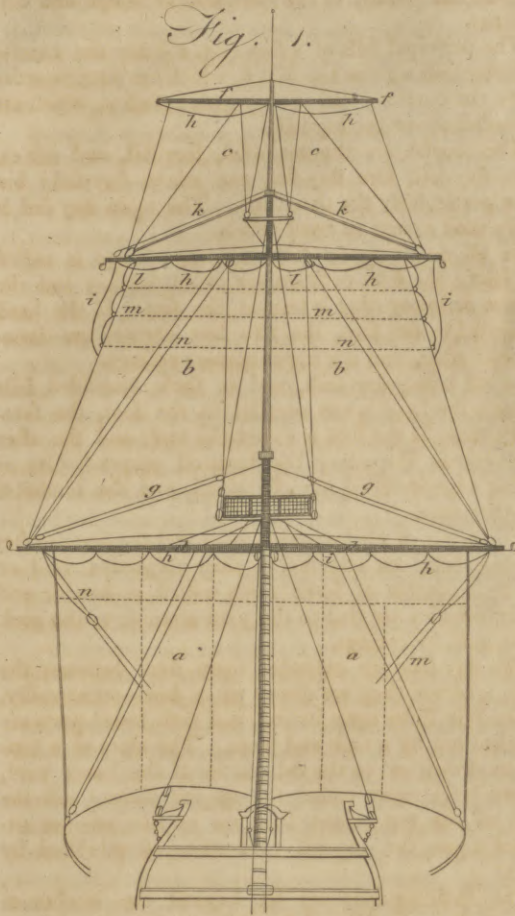
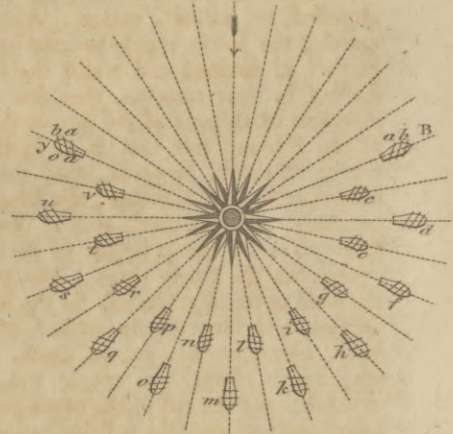


Fig. 2.

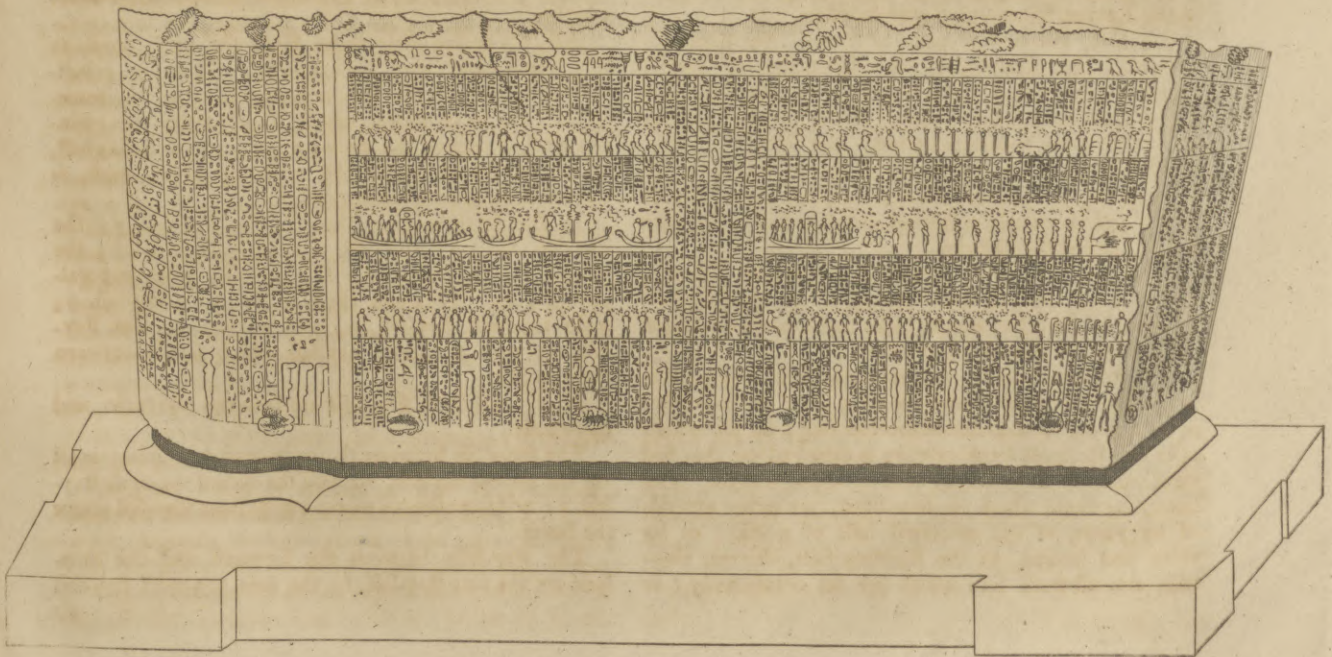


SAILING.



SARCOPHAGUS

of Alexander the Great.



Abell Prin. Wal. Sculptor. fecit.

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*Sail.* *u*; and the jib, *v*. There is besides two square sails extended by yards under the bow-sprit, one of which is called the *sprit-sail*, *y*; and the other the *sprit-sail top-sail*, *z*.

The studding-sails being extended upon the different yards of the main-mast and fore-mast, are likewise named according to their situations, the *lower*, *top-mast*, or *top-gallant studding sails*.

The ropes by which the lower yards of a ship are hoisted up to their proper height on the masts, are called the *jeers*. In all other sails the ropes employed for this purpose are called *haliards*.

The principal sails are then expanded by haliards, sheets, and bowlines; except the courses, which are always stretched out below by a tack and sheet. They are drawn up together, or trussed up, by bunt-lines, clue-lines, *dd*; leech-lines, *ee*; reef-tackles, *ff*; slab-line, *g*; and spiling-lines. As the bunt-lines and leech-lines pass on the other side of the sail, they are expressed by the dotted lines in the figure.

The courses, top-sails, and top-gallant sails, are wheeled about the mast, so as to suit the various directions of the wind, by braces. The higher studding-sails, and in general all the stay-sails, are drawn down, so as to be furled, or taken in, by down-hauls.

Some experienced sail-makers contend, that it would be of much advantage if many of the sails of ships were made of equal magnitude; in which case, when necessity required it, they could be interchangeably used. For example, as the mizen top-sail is now made nearly as large as the main top-gallant sail, it would be easy to make the yards, masts, and sails, so as mutually to suit each other. The main and fore-top sails differ about two feet at head and foot, and from one to three feet in depth. These likewise could be easily made alike, and in some cases they are so. The same may be said of the main and fore top-gallant sails, and of the mizen top-gallant sail, and main fore-royal. The main-sail and fore-sail might also, with respect to their head, be made alike; but as the former has a gore at the leech, and a larger gore at the foot for clearing it of the galleys, boats, &c. which the latter has not, there might be more difficulty in arranging them. The difficulty, however, appears not to be insurmountable. These alterations, it is thought, would be extremely useful in the event of losing sails by stress of weather. Fewer sails would be thus necessary, less room would be required to stow them, and there would be less danger of confusion in taking them out. But perhaps the utility of these alterations will be more felt in the merchant-service than in the navy, which latter has always a large store of spare sails, and sufficient room to stow them in order. Thus, too, spare yards and masts might be considerably reduced in number, and yet any casual damages more easily repaired at sea. Top-mast studding sails are occasionally substituted for awnings, and might, by a very little attention in planning the rigging of a ship, be so contrived as to answer both purposes. See SHIP-BUILDING.

SAIL is also a name applied to any vessel seen at a distance under sail, and is equivalent to ship.

To *set SAIL*, is to unfurl and expand the sails upon their respective yards and stays, in order to begin the action of sailing.

To *Make SAIL*, is to spread an additional quantity of sail, so as to increase the ship's velocity.

To *shorten SAIL*, is to reduce or take in part of the sails, with an intention to diminish the ship's velocity.

To *Strike SAIL*, is to lower it suddenly. This is particularly used in saluting or doing homage to a superior force, or to one whom the law of nations acknowledges as superior in certain regions. Thus all foreign vessels strike to a British man of war in the British seas.

SAILING, the movement by which a vessel is wafted along the surface of the water, by the action of the wind upon her sails.

When a ship changes her state of rest into that of motion, as in advancing out of a harbour, or from her station at anchor, she acquires her motion very gradually, as a body which arrives not at a certain velocity till after an infinite repetition of the action of its weight.

The first impression of the wind greatly affects the velocity, because the resistance of the water might destroy it; since the velocity being but small at first, the resistance of the water which depends on it will be very feeble: but as the ship increases her motion, the force of the wind on the sails will be diminished; whereas, on the contrary, the resistance of the water on the bow will accumulate in proportion to the velocity with which the vessel advances. Thus the repetition of the degrees of force, which the action of the sails adds to the motion of the ship, is perpetually decreasing; whilst, on the contrary, the new degrees added to the effort of resistance on the bow are always augmenting. The velocity is then accelerated in proportion as the quantity added is greater than that which is subtracted; but when the two powers become equal; when the impression of the wind on the sails has lost so much of its force, as only to act in proportion to the opposite impulse of resistance on the bow, the ship will then acquire no additional velocity, but continue to sail with a constant uniform motion. The great weight of the ship may indeed prevent her from acquiring her greatest velocity; but when she has attained it, she will advance by her own intrinsic motion, without gaining any new degree of velocity, or lessening what she has acquired. She moves then by her own proper force *in vacuo*, without being afterwards subject either to the effort of the wind on the sails, or to the resistance of the water on the bow. If at any time the impulsion of the water on the bow should destroy any part of the velocity, the effort of the wind on the sails will revive it, so that the motion will continue the same. It must, however, be observed, that this state will only subsist when these two powers act upon each other in direct opposition; otherwise they will mutually destroy one another. The whole theory of working ships depends on this counter action, and the perfect equality which should subsist between the effort of the wind and the impulsion of the water.

The effect of sailing is produced by a judicious arrangement of the sails to the direction of the wind. Accordingly the various modes of sailing are derived from the different degrees and situations of the wind with regard to the course of the vessel. See SEAMANSHIP.

Sail.  
Fig. 3.

To illustrate this observation by examples, the plan of a number of ships proceeding on various courses is represented by fig. 3. which exhibits the 32 points of the compass, of which C is the centre; the direction of the wind, which is northerly, being expressed by the arrow.

It has been observed in the article *CLOSE-HAULED*, that a ship in that situation will sail nearly within six points of the wind. Thus the ships B and y are close-hauled; the former being on the larboard tack, steering E. N. E. and the latter on the starboard tack, sailing W. N. W. with their yards *a b* braced obliquely, as suitable to that manner of sailing. The line of battle on the larboard tack would accordingly be expressed by CB, and on the starboard by Cy.

When a ship is neither close-hauled, nor steering afore the wind, she is in general said to be sailing large. The relation of the wind to her course is precisely determined by the number of points between the latter and the course close hauled. Thus the ships *c* and *x* have the wind one point large, the former steering E. b N. and the latter W. b N. The yards remain almost in the same position as in B and y; the bowlines and sheets of the sails being only a little slackened.

The ships *d* and *u* have the wind two points large, the one steering east and the other west. In this manner of sailing, however, the wind is more particularly said to be upon the beam, as being at right angles with the keel, and coinciding with the position of the ship's beams. The yards are now more across the ship, the bowlines are cast off, and the sheets more relaxed; so that the effort of the wind being applied nearer to the line of the ship's course, her velocity is greatly augmented.

In *e* and *t* the ships have the wind three points large, or one point abaft the beam, the course of the former being E. b S. and that of the latter W. b S. The sheets are still more flowing, the angle which the yards make with the keel further diminished, and the course accelerated in proportion.

The ships *f* and *s*, the first of which steers E. S. E. and the second W. S. W. have the wind four points large, or two points abaft the beam. In *g* and *r* the wind is five points large, or three points abaft the beam, the former sailing S. E. b E. and the latter S. W. b W. In both these situations the sheets are still farther slackened, and the yards laid yet more athwart the ship's length, in proportion as the wind approaches the quarter.

The ships *h* and *q*, steering S. E. and S. W. have the wind six points large, or more properly on the quarter; which is considered as the most favourable manner of sailing, because all the sails co-operate to increase the ship's velocity: whereas, when the wind is right aft, as in the ship *m*, it is evident that the wind in its passage to the foremast sails will be intercepted by those which are farther aft. When the wind is on the quarter, the fore-tack is brought to the cat-head; and the main-tack being cast off, the weather-clue of the main-sail is hoisted up to the yard, in order to let the wind pass freely to the fore-sail; and the yards are disposed so as to make an angle of about two points, or nearly  $22^{\circ}$ , with the keel.

The ships *i* and *p*, of which the former sails S. E. b S. and the latter S. W. b S. are said to have the wind

three points on the larboard or starboard quarter: and those expressed by *k* and *o*, two points; as steering S. S. E. and S. S. W. in both which positions the yards make nearly an angle of  $16^{\circ}$ , or about a point and a half, with the ship's length.

When the wind is one point on the quarter, as in the ships *l* and *n*, whose courses are S. b E. and S. b W. the situation of the yards and sails is very little different from the last mentioned; the angle which they make with the keel being somewhat less than a point, and the stay-sails being rendered of very little service. The ship *m* sails right afore the wind, or with the wind right aft. In this position the yards are laid at right angles with the ship's length: the stay-sails being entirely useless, are hauled down; and the main-sail is drawn up in the brails, that the fore-sail may operate; a measure which considerably facilitates the steering, or effort of the helm. As the wind is then intercepted by the main-top-sail and main-top-gallant-sail, in its passage to the fore-top-sail and fore-top-gallant sail, these latter are by consequence entirely becalmed; and might therefore be furled, to prevent their being fretted by flapping against the mast, but that their effort contributes greatly to prevent the ship from broaching-to, when she deviates from her course to the right or left thereof.

Thus all the different methods of sailing may be divided into four, viz. close-hauled, large, quartering, and afore the wind; all which relate to the direction of the wind with regard to the ship's course, and the arrangement of the sails.

SAILING also implies a particular mode of navigation, formed on the principles, and regulated by the laws, of trigonometry. Hence we say, Plain Sailing, Mercator's, Middle-latitude, Parallel, and Great-circle Sailing. See the article NAVIGATION.

SAIL-MAKING, the art of making sails. See SAIL and SHIP-BUILDING.

SAILOR, the same with MARINER and SEAMAN.

SAINT, means a person eminent for piety and virtue, and is generally applied by us to the apostles and other holy persons mentioned in Scripture. But the Romanists make its application much more extensive. Under the word CANONIZATION we have already said something on their practice of creating saints. Our readers, however, will not, we trust, be displeased with the following more enlarged account, which they themselves give of the matter. The canonization of saints, then, they tell us, is the enrolment of any person in the canon or catalogue of those who are called *saints*; or, it is a judgement and sentence of the church, by which it is declared, that a deceased person was eminent for sanctity during his lifetime, and especially towards the end of it; and that consequently he must now be in glory with God, and deserves to be honoured by the church on earth with that veneration which she is wont to pay to the blessed in heaven.

The discipline with regard to this matter has varied. It would seem that in the first ages every bishop in his own diocese was wont to declare what persons were to be honoured as saints by his people. Hence St Cyprian, about the middle of the third century, B. 3. ep. 6. requires that he be informed of those who should die in prison for the faith, that so he might make mention of them in the holy sacrifice with the martyrs,

and

Sail  
||  
Saint.

*Saint.* and might honour them afterwards on the anniversary day of their happy death. This veneration continued sometimes to be confined to one country; but sometimes it extended to distant provinces, and even became universal all over the church. It was thus that St Lawrence, St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Basil, and many others, appear to have been canonized by custom and universal persuasion. In those ages none were reckoned faints but the apostles, the martyrs, and very eminent confessors, whose sanctity was notorious everywhere.

Afterwards it appears that canonizations were wont to be performed in provincial synods under the direction of the metropolitan. It was thus that St Isidore of Seville was canonized in the 7th century, by the 8th council of Toledo, 14 years after his death. This manner of canonization continued occasionally down to the 12th century. The last instance of a faint canonized in that way, is that of St Walter abbot of Pontoise, who was declared a faint by the archbishop of Rouen in the year 1153.

In the 12th century, in order to prevent mistakes in so delicate a matter, Pope Alexander III. judged it proper to reserve this declaration to the holy see of Rome exclusively; and decreed that no one should for the future be honoured by the church as a faint without the express approbation of the pope.

Since that time, the canonization of faints has been carried on in the form of a process; and there is at Rome a congregation of cardinals, called the *congregation of holy rites*, who are assisted by several divines under the name of *consultors*, who examine such matters, and prepare them for the decision of his holiness. When therefore any potentate, province, city, or religious body, think fit, they apply to the pope for the canonization of any person.

The first juridical step in this business must be taken by the bishop in whose diocese the person for whom the application is made had lived and died, who by his own authority calls witnesses to attest the opinion of the holiness, the virtues, and miracles, of the person in question. When the deceased has resided in different dioceses, it may be necessary that different bishops take such depositions; the originals of which are preserved in the archives of their respective churches, and authentic copies sealed up are sent to Rome by a special messenger, where they are deposited with the congregation of rites, and where they must remain for the space of ten years without being opened. They are then opened, and maturely examined by the congregation, and with their advice the pope allows the cause to go on or not as he thinks proper. The solicitors for the canonization are then referred by his holiness to the said congregation, which, with his authority, gives a commission to one or more bishops, or other respectable persons, to examine, on the spot and in the places where the person in question has lived and died, into his character and whole behaviour. These commissioners sum-

*Saint.* mon witnesses, take depositions, and collect letters and other writings of the venerable man, and get all the intelligence they can concerning him, and the opinion generally entertained of him. The report of these commissioners is considered attentively and at length by the congregation, and every part of it discussed by the consultors, when the congregation determines whether or not they can permit the process to go on. If it be allowed to proceed, a cardinal, who is called *ponent*, undertakes to be the principal agent in that affair. The first question then that comes to be examined is, whether or not the person proposed for canonization can be proved to have been in an eminent degree endued with the moral virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; and with the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity? All this is canvassed with great deliberation; and there is a distinguished ecclesiastic called the *promoter of the holy faith*, who is sworn to make all reasonable objections to the proofs that are adduced in favour of the canonization. If the decision be favourable, then the proofs of miracles done to show the sanctity of the person in question are permitted to be brought forward; when two miracles must be verified to the satisfaction of the congregation, both as to the reality of the facts, and as to their having been truly above the power of nature. If the decision on this comes out likewise favourable, then the whole is laid before the pope and what divines he chooses (A). Public prayer and fasting are likewise prescribed, in order to obtain light and direction from heaven. After all this long procedure, when the pope is resolved to give his approbation, he issues a bull, first of *beatification*, by which the person is declared *blest*, and afterwards another of *sanctification*, by which the name of *saint* is given him. These bulls are published in St Peter's church with very great solemnity.

A person remarkable for holiness of life, even before he is canonized, may be venerated as such by those who are persuaded of his eminent virtue, and his prayers may be implored; but all this must rest on private opinion. After his canonization, his name is inserted in the Martyrology, or catalogue of faints, of which the respective portion is read every day in the choir at the divine office. A day is also appointed for a yearly commemoration of him. His name may be mentioned in the public church service, and his intercession with God besought. His relics may be enshrined: he may be painted with rays of glory, and altars and churches may be dedicated to God in honour of him, and in thanksgiving to the divine goodness for the blessings bestowed on him in life, and for the glory to which he is raised in heaven.

The affair of a canonization is necessarily very expensive, because so many persons must be employed about it; so many journeys must be made; so many writings for and against it must be drawn out. The expence altogether amounts to about 25,000 Roman crowns, or 6000l. sterling. But it is generally contrived

(A) His holiness generally appoints three consistories; in the first of which the cardinals only assist, and give their opinion; in the second, a preacher pronounces a speech in praise of the candidate before a numerous audience; to the third, not only the cardinals, but all the bishops who are at Rome, are invited, and all of them give their vote by word of mouth.

Saint,  
Saintes.

trived to canonize two or three at a time, by which means the particular expence of each is very much lessened, the solemnity being common.

It often happens that the solicitors for a canonization are unsuccessful. Thus the Jesuits, even when their interest at Rome was greatest, could not obtain the canonization of Bellarmine; and it is remarkable, that the objection is said to have been, his having defended the indirect power of the pope over Christian princes even in temporals.

Several authors have written on canonization, and particularly Prosper Lambertini, afterwards pope under the name of Benedict XIV. who had held the office of *promoter of the faith* for many years. He published on it a large work in several volumes, in folio, of which there is an abridgment in French. In this learned performance there is a full history of the canonization of saints in general, and of all the particular processes of that kind that are on record: an account is given of the manner of proceeding in these extraordinary trials; and it is shown, that, besides the assistance of providence, which is implored and expected in what is so much connected with religion, all prudent human means are made use of, in order to avoid mistakes, and to obtain all the evidence of which the matter is susceptible, and which must appear more than sufficient to every impartial judge. See POPE, POPYERY, &c.

*SAINT Catherine*, a Portuguese island in the South sea, not far distant from the coast of Brazil. It was visited by La Perouse, who ascertained it to lie between  $27^{\circ} 19' 10''$  and  $27^{\circ} 49'$  N. Lat. and its most northerly point to lie in  $49^{\circ} 49'$  W. Long. from Paris. Its breadth from east to west is only six miles, and it is separated from the main land by a channel only about 200 fathoms broad. On the point stretching farthest into this channel is situated the city of *Nofra Senora del Deftero*, the metropolis of the government, and the place of the governor's residence. It contains about 400 houses, and 3000 inhabitants, and has an exceedingly pleasant appearance. In the year 1712, this island served as a retreat to vagabonds, who effected their escape from different parts of the Brazils, being only nominal subjects of Portugal. Its whole population has been estimated at 20,000. The soil is extremely fertile, producing all sorts of fruit, vegetables, and corn, almost spontaneously. The whale fishery is very successful; but it is the property of the crown, and is farmed by a company at Lisbon, which has three considerable establishments upon the coast. Every year they kill about 400 whales, the produce of which, both oil and spermaceti, is sent to Lisbon by the way of Rio Janeiro. The inhabitants are idle spectators of this fishery, from which they derive not the smallest advantage. A very amiable picture, however, is given of their hospitality to strangers, by M. La Perouse.

*SAINT-Foin*, a species of hedyсарum. See HEDYSARUM, BOTANY *Index*, and AGRICULTURE *Index*.

*SAINTEs*, an ancient and considerable town of France, in the department of Lower Charente. It is the capital of Saintonge, and before the revolution was a bishop's see. It contained likewise several convents, a Jesuits college, and an abbey remarkable for its steeple, which is said to be one of the loftiest in France. It is seated on an eminence, 37 miles south-east of Rochelle, and 262 south-south-west of Paris. W. Long.

o. 38. N. Lat. 45. 54. The castle is seated on a rock, and is reckoned impregnable.

This city was a Roman colony; and those conquerors of the earth, who polished the nations they subdued, have left behind them the traces of their magnificence. In a hollow valley between two mountains, and almost adjoining to one of the suburbs, are the ruins of the amphitheatre. Though now in the last stage of decay, its appearance is august and venerable. In some parts, scarcely any of the arches are to be seen; but the east end is still in a great degree of preservation. From its situation in a valley, and from the ruins of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the town from near three leagues distance, it has been supposed that Naumachiae were represented in it; but this amounts only to conjecture. A triumphal arch, on which is an inscription in Roman letters, merits likewise attention. It was erected to Germanicus, on the news of his death, so universally lamented throughout the empire. The river Charente surrounds this city, as the Severn does that of Shrewsbury, describing the form of a horse-shoe.

Except the remains of Roman grandeur yet visible at Saintes, the place contains very little to detain or amuse a traveller. It is built with great irregularity; the streets are narrow and winding, the houses mean, and almost all of them are some centuries old. The cathedral has been repeatedly defaced and destroyed by Normans and Huguenots, who made war alike on every monument of art or piety. One tower only escaped their rage, which is said to have been built as early as the year 800 by Charlemagne. It is of an enormous magnitude, both as to height and circumference. These circumstances have probably conducted more to its preservation during the fury of war, than any veneration for the memory of its founder, or for the sanctity of its institution.

*SAINTOGNE*, a province of France, now forming with the province of Aunis the department of Lower Charente, is bounded on the east by Angoumois and Perigord, on the north by Poitou and the territory of Aunis, on the west by the ocean, and on the south by Bourdelois and Giron, about 62 miles in length and 30 in breadth. The river Charente runs through the middle of it, and renders it one of the finest and most fertile provinces in France, abounding in all sorts of corn and fruits; and it is said the best salt in Europe is made here.

*THE SAINTS*, are three small islands, three leagues distant from Guadaloupe, which form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648, but were soon driven away by an excessive drought, which dried up their only spring before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, and permanent plantations were established, which now yield 50,000 weight of coffee, and 100,000 of cotton.

*SAJENE*, a Russian measure of length, equal to about seven English feet.

*SAKRADAWENDRA* is the name of one of the Ceylonese deities, who commands and governs all the rest, and formerly answered the prayers of his worshippers; but according to the fabulous account which is given of him, the golden chair, on which he sat, and the foot of which was made of wax, that was softened by their prayers and tears, and sunk downward, so that

Saintes  
||  
Sakradawendra.

Sal  
||  
Salamis.

he could take notice of their requests and relieve them, being disposed of among the poor, they no longer derive any benefit from him, or pay him any reverence. See **BUDUN**.

**SAL.** See **SALT**.

**SALADIN**, a famous sultan of Egypt, equally renowned as a warrior and legislator. He supported himself by his valour, and the influence of his amiable character, against the united efforts of the chief Christian potentates of Europe, who carried on the most unjust wars against him, under the false appellation of *Holy Wars*. See the articles **EGYPT** and **CROISADE**.

**SALAMANCA**, an ancient, large, rich, and populous city of Spain, in the kingdom of Leon, situated on the river Tormes, about 75 miles west from Madrid. It is said to have been founded by Teucer the son of Telamon, who called it *Salamis* or *Salmanica*, in memory of the ancient Salamis. Here is an university, the greatest in Spain, consisting of 24 colleges, and perhaps inferior to none in the whole world, in respect at least to its revenues, buildings, number of scholars, and masters. Here are also many grand and magnificent palaces, squares, convents, churches, colleges, chapels, and hospitals. The bishop of this country is suffragan to the archbishop of Compostella, and has a yearly revenue of 1000 ducats. A Roman way leads from hence to Merida and Seville, and there is an old Roman bridge over the river. Of the colleges in the university, four are appropriated to young men of quality; and near it is an infirmary for poor sick scholars. W. Long. 6. 10. N. Lat. 41. 0.

**SALAMANDER.** See **LACERTA**, **HERPETOLOGY** *Index*.

**SALAMIS**, an island of the Archipelago, situated in E. Long. 34. 0. N. Lat. 37. 32.—It was famous in antiquity for a battle between the Greek and Persian fleets. In the council of war held among the Persians on this occasion, all the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen Artemisia was the only person who opposed this resolution. She was queen of Halicarnassus; and followed Xerxes in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequence of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians; alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war, and advancing into the heart of Greece, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country; and that the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of Greece. This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. Xerxes, in order to encourage his men by his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened; having several scribes about him, to write down the names of such as should signalize themselves against the enemy. The approach of the Persian fleet, with the news that a strong detachment from the army

was marching against Cleombrotus, who defended the isthmus, struck such a terror into the Peloponnesians, that they could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at Salamis. Being therefore determined to put to sea, and sail to the isthmus, Themistocles privately dispatched a trusty friend to the Persian commanders, informing them of the intended flight; and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island, in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured Xerxes, that Themistocles, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the Persians, as soon as the battle began, with all the Athenian ships. The king giving credit to all he said, immediately caused a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night in order to cut off the enemy's flight. Early next morning, as the Peloponnesians were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the Persian fleet; and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of Salamis and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The Grecian fleet consisted of 380 sail, that of the Persians of 2000 and upwards. Themistocles avoided the engagement till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind, he gave the signal for battle. The Persians, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarrassing them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the Greeks observing, used such efforts, that in a short time breaking into the Persian fleet, they entirely disordered them: some flying towards Phalarus, where their army lay encamped; others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The Ionians were the first that betook themselves to flight. But Queen Artemisia distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled: which Xerxes observing, cried out that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of 10,000 drachmas to any one that should take her alive: but she, in spite of all their efforts, got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of Asia. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the Grecians lost 40 ships; and the Persians 200, besides a great many more that were taken, with all the men and ammunition they carried.

The island of Salamis is of a very irregular shape; it was reckoned 70 or 80 stadia, i. e. 8 or 10 miles long, reaching westward as far as the mountains called *Kerata* or *The Horns*. Pausanias informs us, that on one side of this island stood in his time a temple of Diana, and on the other a trophy for a victory obtained by Themistocles, together with the temple of Cychreus, the site of which is now thought to be occupied by the church of St Nicholas.

The city of Salamis was demolished by the Athenians, because in the war with Cassander it surrendered to the Macedonians, from disaffection. In the second century, when it was visited by Pausanias, some ruins of the Agora or market-place remained, with a temple and image of Ajax; and not far from the port was shown a stone,

Salamis

Salamis  
||  
Sale.

on which, they related, Telamon sat to view the Salaminian ships on their departure to join the Grecian fleet at Aulis. The walls may still be traced, and it has been conjectured were about four miles in circumference. The level space within them was now covered with green corn. The port is choked with mud, and was partly dry. Among the scattered marbles are some with inscriptions. One is of great antiquity, before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet. On another, near the port, the name of Solon occurs. This renowned lawgiver was a native of Salamis, and a statue of him was erected in the market-place, with one hand covered by his vest, the modest attitude in which he was accustomed to address the people of Athens. An inscription on black marble was also copied in 1676 near the ruin of a temple, probably that of Ajax. The island of Salamis is now inhabited by a few Albanians, who till the ground. Their village is called *Ampelaki*, "the Vineyard," and is at a distance from the port, standing more inland. In the church are marble fragments and some inscriptions.

**SALARY**, a recompense or consideration made to a person for his pains and industry in another man's business. The word is used in the statute 23 Edw. III. cap. 1. *Salarium* at first signified the rents or profits of a sale, hall, or house (and in Gascoigne they now call the seats of the gentry *sala's*, as we do *halls*); but afterwards it was taken for any wages, stipend, or annual allowance.

**SALACIA**, a genus of plants belonging to the gymnodia class. See *BOTANY Index*.

**SALE**, is the exchange of a commodity for money; barter, or permutation, is the exchange of one commodity for another. When the bargain is concluded, an obligation is contracted by the buyer to pay the value, and by the seller to deliver the commodity, at the time and place agreed on, or immediately if no time be specified.

In this, as well as other mercantile contracts, the safety of commerce requires the utmost good faith and veracity. Therefore, although by the laws of England, a sale above the value of 10l. be not binding, unless earnest be paid, or the bargain confirmed by writing, a merchant would lose all credit who refused to perform his agreement, although these legal requisites were omitted.

When a specific thing is sold, the property, even before delivery, is in some respect vested in the buyer; and if the thing perishes, the buyer must bear the loss. For example, if a horse dies before delivery, he must pay the value: but if the bargain only determines the quantity and quality of the goods, without specifying the identical articles, and the seller's warehouse, with all his goods, be burned, he is intitled to no payment. He must also bear the loss if the thing perish through his fault; or when a particular time and place of delivery is agreed on, if it perish before it be tendered, in terms of the bargain.

If a person purchase goods at a shop without agreeing for the price, he is liable for the ordinary market-price at the time of purchase.

If the buyer proves insolvent before delivery, the seller is not bound to deliver the goods without payment or security.

If the importation, or use of the commodities sold,

be prohibited by law, or if the buyer knows that they were smuggled, no action lies for delivery.

The property of goods is generally presumed, in favour of commerce, to belong to the possessor, and cannot be challenged in the hands of an onerous purchaser. But to this there are some exceptions. By the Scots law, stolen goods may in all cases be reclaimed by the proprietor, and also by the English law, unless they were bought *bona fide* in open market; that is, in the accustomed public places, on stated days, in the country, or in a shop in London; and horses may be reclaimed, unless the sale be regularly entered by the book-keeper of the market. In all cases, if the goods be evicted by the lawful proprietor, the seller is liable to the purchaser for the value.

Actions for payment of shop-accounts, as well as other debts not constituted by writing, are limited in England to six years. The testimony of one witness is admitted; and the seller's books, although the person that kept them be dead, are good evidence for one year. In Scotland, merchants books may be proved within three years of the date of the last article, by one witness, and the creditor's books and oath in supplement. After three years, they can only be proved by the oath or writ of the debtor. A merchant's books are in all cases good evidence against him.

**SALEP**, in the *Materia Medica*, the dried root of a species of orchis. See *ORCHIS*, *BOTANY Index*.

Several methods of preparing salep have been proposed and practised. Geoffroy has delivered a very judicious process for this purpose in the *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1740; and Retmus, in the *Swedish Transactions*, 1764, has improved Geoffroy's method. But Mr Moulton of Rochdale has lately favoured the public with a new manner of curing the orchis root; by which salep is prepared, at least equal, if not superior, to any brought from the Levant. The new root is to be washed in water; and the fine brown skin which covers it is to be separated by means of a small brush, or by dipping the root in hot water, and rubbing it with a coarse linen cloth. When a sufficient number of roots have been thus cleaned, they are to be spread on a tin-plate, and placed in an oven heated to the usual degree, where they are to remain six or ten minutes, in which time they will have lost their milky whiteness, and acquired a transparency like horn, without any diminution of bulk. Being arrived at this state, they are to be removed, in order to dry and harden in the air, which will require several days to effect; or by using a very gentle heat, they may be finished in a few hours.

Salep thus prepared, may be afforded in those parts of England where labour bears a high value, at about eightpence or tenpence per pound: And it might be sold still cheaper, if the orchis were to be cured, without separating from it the brown skin which covers it; a troublesome part of the process, and which does not contribute to render the root either more palatable or salutary. Whereas the foreign salep is now sold at five or six shillings per pound.

Salep is said to contain the greatest quantity of vegetable nourishment in the smallest bulk. Hence a very judicious writer, to prevent the dreadful calamity of famine at sea, has lately proposed that the powder of it should constitute part of the provisions of every ship's company.

Salep  
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Salep.



Salep.

company. This powder and portable soup, dissolved in boiling water, form a rich thick jelly, capable of supporting life for a considerable length of time. An ounce of each of these articles, with two quarts of boiling water, will be sufficient subsistence for a man a-day; and as being a mixture of animal and vegetable food, must prove more nourishing than double the quantity of rice-cake, made by boiling rice in water: which last, however, sailors are often obliged solely to subsist upon for several months; especially in voyages to Guinca, when the bread and flour are exhausted, and the beef and pork, having been salted in hot countries, are become unfit for use.

salt, and yeast. The flour amounted to two pounds, the yeast to two ounces, and the salt to 80 grains. The loaf when baked was remarkably well fermented, and weighed three pounds two ounces. Another loaf, made with the same quantity of flour, &c. weighed two pounds and 12 ounces; from which it appears that the salep, though used in so small a proportion, increased the gravity of the loaf six ounces, by absorbing and retaining more water than the flour alone was capable of. Half a pound of flour and an ounce of salep were mixed together, and the water added according to the usual method of preparing bread. The loaf when baked weighed 13 ounces and a half; and would probably have been heavier if the salep had been previously dissolved in about a pint of water. But it should be remarked, that the quantity of flour used in this trial was not sufficient to conceal the peculiar taste of the salep.

Salep  
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Salic.\* Essays  
Medical  
and Expe-  
rimental.

"But as a wholesome nourishment (says Dr Percival\*), rice is much inferior to salep. I digested several alimentary mixtures prepared of mutton and water, beat up with bread, sea-biscuit, salep, rice-flower, sago-powder, potato, old cheese, &c. in a heat equal to that of the human body. In 48 hours they had all acquired a vinous smell, and were in brisk fermentation, except the mixture with rice, which did not emit many air-bubbles, and was but little changed. The third day several of the mixtures were sweet, and continued to ferment; others had lost their intestine motion, and were sour; but the one which contained the rice was become putrid. From this experiment it appears, that rice as an aliment is slow of fermentation, and a very weak corrector of putrefaction. It is therefore an improper diet for hospital-patients; but more particularly for sailors in long voyages; because it is incapable of preventing, and will not contribute much to check, the progress of that fatal disease, the sea scurvy. Under certain circumstances, rice seems disposed of itself, without mixture, to become putrid; for by long keeping it sometimes acquires an offensive foetor. Nor can it be considered as a very nutritive kind of food, on account of its difficult solubility in the stomach. Experience confirms the truth of this conclusion; for it is observed by the planters in the West Indies, that the negroes grow thin, and are less able to work, whilst they subsist upon rice.

"Salep has the singular property of concealing the taste of salt water; a circumstance of the highest importance at sea, when there is a scarcity of fresh water. I dissolved a dram and a half of common salt in a pint of the mucilage of salep, so liquid as to be potable, and the same quantity in a pint of spring water. The salep was by no means disagreeable to the taste, but the water was rendered extremely unpalatable. This experiment suggested to me the trial of the orchis root as a corrector of acidity, a property which would render it a very useful diet for children. But the solution of it, when mixed with vinegar, seemed only to dilute like an equal proportion of water, and not to cover its sharpness. Salep, however, appears by my experiments to retard the acetous fermentation of milk; and consequently would be a good lithing for milk-pottage, especially in large towns, where the cattle being fed upon four draff must yield acetous milk.

"Salep in a certain proportion, which I have not yet been able to ascertain, would be a very useful and profitable addition to bread. I directed one ounce of the powder to be dissolved in a quart of water, and the mucilage to be mixed with a sufficient quantity of flour,

"The restorative, mucilaginous, and demulcent qualities of the orchis root, render it of considerable use in various diseases. In the sea scurvy it powerfully obtunds the acrimony of the fluids, and at the same time is easily assimilated into a mild and nutritious chyle. In diarrhoeas and the dysentery it is highly serviceable, by sheathing the internal coat of the intestines, by abating irritation, and gently correcting putrefaction. In the symptomatic fever, which arises from the absorption of pus from ulcers in the lungs, from wounds, or from amputation, salep used plentifully is an admirable demulcent, and well adapted to resist the dissolution of the crasis of the blood, which is so evident in these cases. And by the same mucilaginous quality, it is equally efficacious in the strangury and dysury; especially in the latter, when arising from a venereal cause, because the discharge of urine is then attended with the most exquisite pain, from the ulceration about the neck of the bladder and through the course of the urethra. I have found it also an useful aliment for patients who labour under the stone or gravel." The ancient chemists appear to have entertained a very high opinion of the orchis root, as appears from the *secreta secretorum* of Raymond Lully, a work dated 1565.

SALERNO, an ancient and considerable town of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and capital of the Hither Principato, with an archbishop's see, a castle, harbour, and an university chiefly for medicine. It is seated at the bottom of a bay of the same name. E. Long. 14. 53. N. Lat. 40. 35.

SALET, in *War*, a light covering or armour for the head, anciently worn by the light-horse, only different from the casque in that it had no crest and was little more than a bare cap.

SALIENT, in *Fortification*, denotes projecting. There are two kinds of angles, the one salient, which have their point outwards; the other, re-entering, which have their points inwards.

SALIENT, SALIENT, or SAILLANT, in *Heraldry*, is applied to a lion, or other beast, when its fore-legs are raised in a leaping posture.

SALIC, or SALIQUE, LAW, (*Lex Salica*), an ancient and fundamental law of the kingdom of France, usually supposed to have been made by Pharamond, or at least by Clovis; in virtue of which males only are to inherit.

Salic  
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Salino.

Some, as Postellus, would have it to have been called *Salic*, q. d. *Gallie*, because peculiar to the Gauls. Fer. Montanus insists, it was because Pharamond was at first called *Salicus*. Others will have it to be so named, as having been made for the salic lands. These were noble fiefs which their first kings used to bestow on the salians, that is, the great lords of their salle or court, without any other tenure than military service; and for this reason, such fiefs were not to descend to women, as being by nature unfit for such a tenure. Some, again, derive the origin of this word from the Saliens, a tribe of Franks that settled in Gaul in the reign of Julian, who is said to have given them lands on condition of their personal service in war. He even passed the conditions into a law, which the new conquerors acquiesced in, and called it *salic*, from the name of their former countrymen.

**SALICORNIA**, JOINTED GLASS-WORT, or *Saltwort*: a genus of plants belonging to the monandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 12th order, *Holoraceæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

The inhabitants near the sea-coasts where these plants grow, cut them up toward the latter end of summer, when they are fully grown; and, after having dried them in the sun, they burn them for their ashes, which are used in making glass and soap. These herbs are by the country people called *kelp*, and promiscuously gathered for use.

**SALII**, in Roman antiquity, priests of Mars, whereof there were 12, instituted by Numa, wearing painted, particoloured garments, and high bonnets; with a steel cuirasse on the breast. They were called *salii*, from *saltare* "to dance"; because, after assisting at sacrifices, they went dancing about the streets, with bucklers in their left hand, and a rod in their right, striking musically with their rods on one another's bucklers, and singing hymns in honour of the gods.

**SALINO**, one of the Lipari islands, situated between Sicily and Italy, consists of two mountains, both in an high state of cultivation. The one lying more towards the north than the other is rather the highest of the two, and is called *del Capo*, "the head." The other is called *della Fossa felice*, or the "happy valley." One third of the extent of these hills from the bottom to the summit is one continued orchard, consisting of vines, olive, fig, plum, apricot, and a vast diversity of other trees. The white roofs of the houses, which are everywhere interspersed amid this diversity of verdure and foliage, contribute to variegate the prospect in a very agreeable manner. The back part of almost all the houses is shaded by an arbour of vines, supported by pillars of brick, with cross poles to sustain the branches and foliage of the vines. Those arbours shelter the houses from the rays of the sun, the heat of which is quite scorching in these southern regions. The vines are extremely fruitful; the poles bending under the weight of the grapes.

The scenes in this island are more interesting to the lover of natural history than to the antiquarian. See **RETICULUM**.

On the south side of the island, however, there are still to be seen some fine ruins of an ancient bath, a Roman work. They consist of a wall 10 or 11 fathoms in extent, and terminating in an arch of no great height,

of which only a small part now remains. The building seems to have been reduced to its present state rather by the ravages of men than the injuries of time. Almost all the houses in the island are built of materials which have belonged to ancient monuments. The ancients had, in all probability, baths of fresh as well as of salt water in this island; for whenever the present habitations have occasion for a spring of fresh water, they have only to dig a pit on the shore, and pure sweet water flows in great abundance.

There were formerly mines of alum here, from which the inhabitants drew a very considerable yearly revenue. But whether they are exhausted, or whatever circumstance may have caused them to be given up, they are now no longer known. The island abounds in a variety of fruits.

On the east side it is very populous. There are two places which are both called *Lingua*, "the tongue," and which contain a good number of inhabitants; the one is near Salino, the other is distinguished by the name of *St Marina*: there are besides these two other villages. All these places together may contain about 4000 inhabitants: the circumference of the island may be about 14 miles.

**SALISBURY**, the capital of the county of Wiltshire in England, situated in W. Long. 1. 55. N. Lat. 51. 3. This city owed its first rise to its cathedral, which was begun in 1219, and finished in 1258. According to an estimate delivered in to Henry III. it cost forty thousand merks. It is a Gothic building, and is certainly the most elegant and regular in the kingdom. The doors and chapels are equal in number to the months, the windows to the days, and the pillars and pilasters to the hours in a year. It is built in the form of a lantern, with a spire in the middle, and nothing but buttresses and glass windows on the outside. The spire is the highest in the kingdom, being 410 feet, which is twice the height of the Monument in London. The pillars and pilasters in the church are of fusile marble; the art of making which is now either entirely lost or little known. This magnificent church has lately undergone most beautiful alterations; with an addition of two fine windows, and an organ presented by the king. The roof of the chapter house, which is 50 feet in diameter and 150 in circumference, bears entirely upon one slender pillar, which is such a curiosity as can hardly be matched in Europe. The turning of the western road through the city in the reign of Edward III. was a great advantage to it. The chancellorship of the most noble order of the garter, which is annexed to this see, was first conferred on Bishop Richard Beauchamp. The hospital of St Michael's, near this city, was founded by one of its bishops. Dr Seth Ward, bishop of this see in the reign of Charles II. contributed greatly to the making the river Avon navigable to Christ-church in Hampshire. The same prelate, in 1683, built an hospital for the entertainment of the widows of poor clergymen. There are three other churches besides the cathedral, which is without the liberty of the city, and a greater number of boarding schools, especially for young ladies, than in any other town in England. Here is a manufacture of druggets, flannels, bonelace, and those cloths called *Salisbury whites*; in consideration of which, and its fairs, markets, assizes, boarding-

Salino  
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Salisbury.

Salisbury boarding-schools, and clergy, the city may be justly said to be in a flourishing condition. It was incorporated by Henry III; and is governed by a mayor, high-steward, recorder, deputy-recorder, 24 aldermen, and 30 assistants or common-council men. The number of souls is about 7668. A new council chamber, with proper courts of justice, was built here in the year 1794 by the earl of Radnor; to which Mr Hufley was also a great benefactor. That quarter called the *Clofe*, where the canons and prebendaries live, is like a fine city of itself. In this town are several charity-schools; the expence of one of them is entirely defrayed by the bishop. The city gives title of earl to the noble family of Cecil.

*SALISBURY Plain.* The extensive downs in Wiltshire, which are thus denominated, form in summer one of the most delightful parts of Great Britain for extent and beauty. It extends 28 miles west of Weymouth, and 25 east to Winchester; and in some places is near 40 miles in breadth. That part about Salisbury is a chalky down, and is famous for feeding numerous flocks of sheep. Considerable portions of this tract are now enclosing, the advantages of which are so great, that it is hoped the whole will undergo so beneficial a change. This plain contains, beside the famous Stonehenge, numerous other remains of antiquity.

*SALIVA*, is that fluid by which the mouth and tongue are continually moistened in their natural state; and is supplied by glands which form it, that are called *salivary glands*. This humour is thin and pellucid, incapable of being concentered by the fire, almost without taste and smell. By chewing, it is expressed from the glands which separate it from the blood, and is intimately mixed with our food, the digestion of which it greatly promotes. In hungry persons it is acrid, and copiously discharged; and in those who have fasted long it is highly acrid, penetrating, and resolvent. A too copious evacuation of it produces thirst, loss of appetite, bad digestion, and an atrophy.

*SALIVATION*, in *Medicine*, a promoting of the flux of saliva, by means of medicines, mostly by mercury. The chief use of salivation is in diseases belonging to the glands and membrana adiposa, and principally in the cure of the venereal disease; though it is sometimes also used in epidemic diseases, cutaneous diseases, &c. whose crises tend that way.

*SALIX*, the *WILLOW*, a genus of plants belonging to the diœcia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 50th order, *Amentaceæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

Willow trees have been frequently the theme of poetical description, both in ancient and modern times. In Virgil, Horace, and in Ovid, we have many exquisite allusions to them and their several properties; and for a melancholy lover or a contemplative poet, imagination cannot paint a fitter retreat than the banks of a beautiful river, and the shade of a drooping willow. The *Babylonica*, *Babylonian pendulous salix*, commonly called *weeping willow*, grows to a large size, having numerous, long, slender, pendulous branches, hanging down loosely all around in a curious manner, and long, narrow, spear-shaped, serrated, smooth leaves. This curious willow is a native of the east, and is retained in our hardy plantations for ornament; and exhibits a most agreeable variety, particularly when disposed singly by

the verges of any piece of water, or in spacious openings of grass ground.

All the species of *salix* are of the tree kind, very hardy, remarkably fast growers, and several of them attaining a considerable stature when permitted to run up to standards. They are mostly of the aquatic tribe, being generally the most abundant and of most prosperous growth in watery situations: they however will grow freely almost anywhere, in any common soil and exposure; but grow considerably the fastest and strongest in low moist land, particularly in marshy situations, by the verges of rivers, brooks, and other waters; likewise along the sides of watery ditches, &c. which places often lying waste, may be employed to good advantage, in plantations of willows, for different purposes.

*SALLEE*, an ancient and considerable town of Africa in the kingdom of Fez, with a harbour and several ports. The harbour of Sallee is one of the best in the country; and yet, on account of a bar that lies across it, ships of the smallest draught are forced to unload and take out their guns before they can get into it. There are docks to build ships; but they are hardly ever used, for want of skill and materials. It is a large place, divided by the river Guero into the Old and New Towns. It has long been famous for its rovers or pirates, which make prizes of all Christian ships that come in their way, except there is a treaty to the contrary. The town of Sallee in its present state, though large, presents nothing worthy the observation of the traveller, except a battery of 24 pieces of cannon fronting the sea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad, and penetrates several miles into the interior country. W. Long. 6. 30. N. Lat 34. 0.

*SALLEET*, or *SALAD*, a dish of eatable herbs, ordinarily accompanying roast meat; composed chiefly of crude fresh herbage, seasoned with salt, oil, and vinegar.

*Menage* derives the word from the Latin *salata*; of *sal*, "salt;" others from *salcedo*; Du-Cange from *sal-gama*, which is used in Ausonius and Columella in the same sense.

Some add mustard, hard eggs, and sugar; others, pepper, and other spices, with orange-peel, saffron, &c.

The principal *fallet-herbs*, and those which ordinarily make the basis of our English *fallets*, are lettuce, celery, endive, cresses, radish, and rape; along with which, by way of furniture, or additional, are used purslane, spinach, sorrel, tarragon, burnet, corn-fallet, and chervil.

The gardeners call some plants *small herbs* in *fallets*; these should always be cut while in the seed-leaf: as cresses, mustard, radish, turnep, spinach, and lettuce; all which are raised from seeds sown in drills, or lines, from the middle of February to the end of March, under glasses or frames; and thence to the middle of May, upon natural beds, warmly exposed; and during the summer heats in more shady places; and afterwards in September, as in March, &c.; and lastly, in the rigour of the winter, in hot-beds. If they chance to be frozen in very frosty weather, putting them in spring-water two hours before they are used recovers them.

*SALLO*, *DENIS DE*, a French writer, famous for being

Salisbury  
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Salix.

Salix  
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Sallo.

Sallo  
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Sallustius.

being the projector of literary journals, was born at Paris in 1626. He studied the law, and was admitted a counsellor in the parliament of Paris in 1652. It was in 1664 he schemed the plan of the *Journal des Savans*; and the year following began to publish it under the name of Sieur de Heronville, which was that of his valet de chambre. But he played the critic so severely, that authors, surpris'd at the novelty of such attacks, retorted so powerfully, that M. de Sallo, unable to weather the storm, after he had published his third Journal, declined the undertaking, and turned it over to the abbé Gallois; who, without presuming to criticise, contented himself merely with giving titles, and making extracts. Such was the origin of literary journals, which afterwards sprang up in other countries under different titles; and the success of them, under judicious management, is a clear proof of their utility. M. de Sallo died in 1669.

SALLUSTIUS, CATUS CRISPUS, celebrated Roman historian, was born at Amiternum, a city of Italy, in the year of Rome 669, and before Christ 85. His education was liberal, and he made the best use of it. His Roman history in six books, from the death of Sylla to the conspiracy of Catiline, the great work from which he chiefly derived his glory among the ancients, is unfortunately lost excepting a few fragments; but his two detached pieces of history which happily remain entire, are sufficient to justify the great encomiums he has received as a writer.—He has had the singular honour to be twice translated by a royal hand: first by our Elizabeth, according to Camden; and secondly, by the present Infant of Spain, whose version of this elegant historian, lately printed in folio, is one of the most beautiful books that any country has produced since the invention of printing. No man has inveighed more sharply against the vices of his age than this historian; yet no man had fewer pretensions to virtue. His youth was spent in a most lewd and profligate manner; and his patrimony almost squandered away when he had scarcely taken possession of it. Marcus Varro, a writer of undoubted credit, relates, in a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius, that Sallust was actually caught in bed with Fausta the daughter of Sylla, by Milo her husband; who scourged him very severely, and did not suffer him to depart till he had redeemed his liberty with a considerable sum. A. U. C. 694, he was made questor, and in 702 tribune of the people; in neither of which places is he allowed to have acquitted himself at all to his honour. By virtue of his questorship, he obtained an admission into the senate; but was expelled thence by the censors in 704, on account of his immoral and debauched way of life. In the year 705 Cæsar restored him to the dignity of a senator; and to introduce him into the house with a better grace, made him questor a second time. In the administration of this office he behaved himself very scandalously: exposed every thing to sale for which he could find a purchaser; and if we may believe the author of the *investive*, thought nothing wrong which he had a mind to do: *Nihil non venale habuerit, cujus aliquis emptor fuit, nihil non æquum et verum duxit, quod ipsi facere collibisset.* In the year 707, when the African war was at an end, he was made prætor for his services to Cæsar, and sent to Numidia. Here he acted the same part as Verres had done in Sicily; out-

rageously plundered the province; and returned with such immense riches to Rome, that he purchased a most magnificent building upon Mount Quirinal, with those gardens which to this day retain the name of *Sallustian gardens*, besides his country house at Tivoli. How he spent the remaining part of his life, we have no account from ancient writers. Eusebius tells us that he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero; and that he died at the age of 50, in the year 710, which was about four years before the battle of Actium. Of the many things which he wrote, beside his Histories of the Catilinarian and Jugurthine wars, we have some orations or speeches, printed with his fragments.

SALLY-PORTS, in fortification, or *Postern-Gates*, as they are sometimes called, are those under-ground passages which lead from the inner works to the outward ones; such as from the higher flank to the lower, or to the tenailles, or the communication from the middle of the curtain to the ravelin. When they are made for men to go through only, they are made with steps at the entrance and going out. They are about 6 feet wide and 8½ feet high. There is also a gutter or shore made under the sally-ports, which are in the middle of the curtains, for the water which runs down the streets to pass into the ditch; but this can only be done when they are wet ditches. When sally ports serve to carry guns through them for the out-works, instead of making them with steps, they must have a gradual slope, and be 8 feet wide.

SALMASIUS, CLAUDIUS, a French writer of uncommon abilities and immense erudition, descended from an ancient and noble family, and born at or near Semur in 1596. His mother, who was a Protestant, infused her notions of religion into him, and he at length converted his father: he settled at Leyden; and in 1650 paid a visit to Christina queen of Sweden, who is reported to have shown him extraordinary marks of regard. Upon the violent death of Charles I. of England, he was prevailed on by the royal family, then in exile, to write a defence of that king; which was answered by our famous Milton in 1651, in a work intitled *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Claudii Salmastii Defensionem Regiam*. This book was read over all Europe; and conveyed such a proof of the writer's abilities, that he was respected even by those who hated his principles. Salmastius died in 1653; and some did not scruple to say, that Milton killed him by the acuteness of his reply. His works are numerous, and of various kinds; but the greatest monuments of his learning are, his *Notæ in Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, and his *Exercitationes Pliniane in Solinum*.

SALMO, the SALMON; a genus of fishes belonging to the order of abdominales. See *ICHTHYOLOGY Index*.

SALMON. See *SALMO, ICHTHYOLOGY Index*.

SALMON-Fishery. See *Salmon-FISHERY*.

SALON, or SALOON, in architecture, a lofty, spacious sort of hall, vaulted at top, and usually comprehending two stories, with two ranges of windows.

The saloon is a grand room in the middle of a building, or at the head of a gallery, &c. Its faces, or sides, are all to have a symmetry with each other; and as it usually takes up the height of two stories, its ceiling, Daviler observes, should be with a moderate sweep.

The

Sallustius  
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Salon.

Salon  
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Salfette.

The saloon is a state-room much used in the palaces in Italy; and from thence the mode came to us. Ambassadors, and other great visitors, are usually received in the saloon.

It is sometimes built square, sometimes round or oval, sometimes octagonal, as at Marly, and sometimes in other forms.

\* Fortis's  
Travels in  
Dalmatia.

SALONA, a sea-port town of Dalmatia, seated on a bay of the gulf of Venice. It was formerly a very considerable place, and its ruins show that it was 10 miles in circumference. It is 18 miles north of Spalatto, and subject to Venice. It is now a wretched village, preserving few distinguishable remains of its ancient splendor. Doubtless the two last ages have destroyed all that had escaped the barbarity of the northern nations that demolished it. In a valuable MS. relation of Dalmatia, written by the senator Giambattista Guistiniani, about the middle of the 16th century, there is a hint of what existed at the time. "The nobility, grandeur, and magnificence of the city of Salona, may be imagined from the vaults and arches of the wonderful theatre, which are seen at this day; from the vast stones of the finest marble, which lie scattered on, and buried in the fields; from the beautiful column of three pieces of marble, which is still standing in the place where they say the arsenal was, towards the sea-shore; and from the many arches of surprising beauty, supported by very high marble columns; the height of the arches is a stone-throw, and above them there was an aqueduct, which reached from Salona to Spalatro. There are to be seen many ruins and vestiges of large palaces, and many ancient epitaphs may be read on fine marble stones; but the earth, which is increased, has buried the most ancient stones, and the most valuable things." E. Long. 17. 29. N. Lat. 24. 10.

SALONICHI, formerly called *Thessalonica*, a sea-port town of Turkey in Europe, and capital of Macedonia, with an archbishop's see. It is ancient, large, populous, and rich, being about 10 miles in circumference. It is a place of great trade, carried on principally by the Greek Christians and Jews, the former of which have 30 churches, and the latter as many synagogues; the Turks also have a few mosques. It is surrounded with walls flanked with towers, and defended on the land-side by a citadel, and near the harbour with three forts. It was taken from the Venetians by the Turks in 1431. The principal merchandize is silk. It is seated at the bottom of a gulf of the same name, partly on the top, and partly on the side of a hill, near the river Vardar. E. Long. 23. 13. N. Lat. 40. 41.

SALSES, a very strong castle of France, in Rouffillon, on the confines of Languedoc. It was taken from the Spaniards by the French in 1642; and is seated on a lake of the same name, among mountains, 10 miles north of Perpignan. E. Long. 3. 0. N. Lat. 43. 35.

SALSETTE, an island of the East Indies, adjacent to Bombay, from which it is in one place divided only by a narrow pass fordable at low water. It is about 26 miles long, and eight or nine broad. The soil is rich, and by a proper cultivation capable of producing any thing that will grow in tropical climates. It is everywhere well watered, and when in the possession of the Portuguese furnished such quantities of rice, that it

was called the *Granary of Goa*. It abounds also in all kinds of provisions, and has great plenty of game, both of the four-footed and feathered kind. It has pretty high mountains; and there is a tradition that the whole was thrown up from the bottom of the sea: in confirmation of which it is said, that on the top of the highest hill there was found, some years ago, a stone anchor, such as was anciently used by the inhabitants of that country. Here we meet with the ruins of a place called *Canara*, where there are excavations of rocks, supposed to be contemporary with those of ELEPHANTA. They are much more numerous, but not comparable to the former either in extent or workmanship.

The island of Salfette lately formed part of the Portuguese dominions in India. It ought to have been ceded to the English along with Bombay, as part of the dower of Catharine of Lisbon, espoused to Charles II. The fulfilment of this article, however, being evaded, the island remained in possession of the Portuguese; and notwithstanding the little care they took of it, the revenue of it was valued at 60,000*l*. Such was the negligence of the Portuguese government, that they took no care to fortify it against the attacks of the Mahrattas, from whose dominions Salfette was only separated by a very narrow pass fordable at low water. Here they had only a miserable redoubt of no consequence, till, on the appearance of an approaching war with the Mahrattas, they began to build another, which indeed would have answered the purpose of protecting the island, provided the Mahrattas had allowed them to finish it. This, however, was not their intention. They allowed them indeed to go on quietly with their works till they saw them almost completed, when they came and took possession of them. The Mahrattas thus became dangerous neighbours to the English at Bombay, until it was ceded to the latter by the treaty concluded with these people in 1730. E. Long. 72. 15. N. Lat. 19. 0.

SALSOLA, GLASS-WORT, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 12th order, *Holoraceæ*. See BOTANY Index.

All the sorts of glass-wort are sometimes promiscuously used for making the sal kali, but it is the third sort which is esteemed best for this purpose. The manner of making it is as follows: Having dug a trench near the sea, they place laths across it, on which they lay the herb in heaps, and, having made a fire below, the liquor, which runs out of the herbs, drops to the bottom, which at length thickening, becomes sal kali, which is partly of a black, and partly of an ash-colour, very sharp and corrosive, and of a saltish taste. This, when thoroughly hardened, becomes like a stone; and in that state is transported to different countries for making of glass.

SALT, one of the great divisions of natural bodies. The characteristic marks of salt have usually been reckoned its power of affecting the organs of taste, and of being soluble in water. But this will not distinguish salt from quicklime, which also affects the sense of taste, and dissolves in water; yet quicklime has been universally reckoned an earth, and not a salt. The only distinguishing property of salts, therefore, is their crystallization in water: but this does not belong to all salts; for the nitrous and marine acids, though allowed on all hands to be salts, are yet incapable of crystallization, at least

Salfette  
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Salt.

least by any method hitherto known. Several of the imperfect neutral salts also, such as combinations of the nitrous, muriatic, and vegetable acids, with some kinds of earths, crystallize with very great difficulty. However, by the addition of spirit of wine, or some other substances which absorb part of the water, keeping the liquor in a warm place, &c. all of them may be reduced to crystals of one kind or other. Salt, therefore, may be defined a substance affecting the organs of taste, soluble in water, and capable of crystallization, either by itself or in conjunction with some other body; and, universally, every salt capable of being reduced into a solid form, is also capable of crystallization *per se*. Thus the class of saline bodies will be sufficiently distinguished from all others; for quicklime, though soluble in water, cannot be crystallized without addition either of fixed air or some other acid; yet it is most commonly found in a solid state. The precious stones, basalt, &c. though supposed to be formed by crystallization, are nevertheless distinguished from salts by their insipidity and insolubility in water.

But acids and alkalis, and combinations of both, when in a concrete form, are salts, and of the purest form. Hence we conclude, that the bodies, to which the name of *salts* more properly belongs, are the concretions of those substances; which are accordingly called *acid salts*, *alkaline salts*, and *neutral salts*. These last are combinations of acid and alkaline salts, in such proportion as to render the compounds neither four nor alkaline to the taste. This proportionate combination is called *saturation*: thus common kitchen salt is a neutral salt, composed of muriatic acid and soda combined together to the point of saturation. The appellation of *neutral salts* is also extended to denote all those combinations of acids, and any other substance with which they can unite, so as to lose, wholly or in great measure, their acid properties.

But although this general definition of salts is commonly received, yet there are many writers, especially mineralogists, who confine the denomination of *salts* in the manner we first mentioned, viz. to those substances only which, besides the general properties of salts, have the power of crystallizing, that is, of arranging their particles so as to form regular shaped bodies, called *crystals*, when the water superfluous to their concrete existence has been evaporated.

*Common SALT*, or *Sea-Salt*, the name of that salt extracted from the waters of the ocean, which is used in greater quantities for preserving provisions, &c.

It is a perfect neutral salt, composed of marine or muriatic acid, saturated with mineral alkali. It has a saline but agreeable flavour. It requires about four times its weight of cold water to be dissolved, and nearly the same quantity of boiling water, according to Macquer. But according to Kirwan, it only requires 2.5 its weight of water to be dissolved in the temperature of sixty degrees of Fahrenheit. This salt always contains some part formed with a calcareous base; and, in order to have it pure, it must be dissolved in distilled

water; then a solution of mineral alkali is to be poured in it until no white precipitation appears; then by filtering and evaporating the solution, a pure common salt is produced. Its figure is perfectly cubic, and those hollow pyramids, or *tremies* as the French call them, as well as the parallelepipeds formed sometimes in its crystallization, consist all of a quantity of small cubes disposed in those forms. Its decrepitation on the fire, which has been reckoned by some as a characteristic of this salt, although the vitriolated tartar, nitrous lead, and other salts, have the same property, is owing chiefly to the water, and perhaps also to the air of its crystallization.

Its specific gravity is 2,120 according to Kirwan. The acid of tartar precipitates nothing from it. One hundred parts of common salt contain thirty-three of real acid, fifty of mineral alkali, and seventeen of water. It is commonly found in salt water and salt springs, in the proportion of even thirty-six per cent. It is found also in coals, and in beds of gypsum. This salt is unalterable by fire, though it fuses, and becomes more opaque: nevertheless a violent fire, with the free access of air, causes it to evaporate in white flowers, which adhere to the neighbouring bodies. It is only decomposed, as Macquer affirms, by the sulphuric and nitric acids; and also by the boracic or sedative salt. But although nitre is decomposed very easily by arsenic, this neutral marine salt is nowise decomposed by the same. According to Monge, the fixed vegetable alkali, when caustic, decomposes all this marine salt. It preserves from corruption almost all sorts of animal food much better for use than any other salt, as it preserves them without destroying their taste and qualities; but when applied in too small a quantity, it then promotes putrefaction.

Of this most useful commodity there are ample stores on land as well as in the ocean. There are few countries which do not afford vast quantities of rock or fossil salt. Mines (A) of it have long been discovered and wrought in England, Spain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and other countries of Europe. In several parts of the world, there are huge mountains which wholly consist of fossil salt. Of this kind are two mountains in Russia, nigh Astracan; several in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers, in Africa; and several also in Asia; and the whole island of Ormus in the Persian gulf almost entirely consists of fossil salt. The new world is likewise stored with treasures of this useful mineral, as well as with all other kinds of subterranean productions. Moreover, the sea affords such vast plenty of common salt, that all mankind might thence be supplied with quantities sufficient for their occasions. There are also innumerable springs, ponds, lakes, and rivers, impregnated with common salt, from which the inhabitants of many countries are plentifully supplied therewith. In some countries which are remote from the sea, and have little commerce, and which are not blessed with mines of salt or salt-waters, the necessities of the inhabitants have forced them to invent a method of extracting

(A) Amongst the salt mines of chief note are those of Northwich in Cheshire, Altemonte in Calabria, Halle in Tyrol, Cardona in Catalonia: also those stupendous mines at Wilieczka in Poland, to be noticed in the sequel of this article, and Soowar in Upper Hungary; of which see accounts in Phil. Trans. No 61. and 413.

*Salt.* ting their common salt from the ashes of vegetables. The muriatic salt of vegetables was described by Dr Grew under the title of *lixiviated marine salt*. Leeuwenhoek obtained cubical crystals of this salt from a lixivium of foda or kelp, and also from a solution of the lixivial salt of *carduus benedictus*; of which he hath given figures in a letter to the Royal Society, published in N<sup>o</sup> 175. of their Transactions. Dr Dagner, in *Act. Acad. N. C.* vol. v. obs. 150. takes notice of great quantities of it which he found mixed in pot-ashes. And the ingenious Dr Fothergill extracted plenty of it from the ashes of fern: See *Medical Essays*, vol. v. article 13.

The muriatic salt which the excellent Mr Boyle extracted from sandiver, and supposed to be produced from the materials used in making glass, was doubtless separated from the kelp made use of in that process. Kunckel also informs us, that he took an alkaline salt; and after calcining it with a moderate fire, dissolved it in pure water, and placing the solution in a cool cellar, obtained from it many crystals of a neutral salt. He supposes, that the alkaline salt was by the process converted into this neutral salt. But it is more reasonable to believe, that the alkaline salt which he applied was not pure, but mixed with the muriatic salt of vegetables, which by this process was only separated from it.

It is doubtless chiefly this muriatic salt which, in some of the inland parts of Asia, they extract from the ashes of duck-weed and of Adam's fig-tree, and use for their common salt.

That they are able in those countries to make common salt to profit from vegetables, ought not to be wondered at, since in Dehli and Agra, capitals of Indostan, salt is so scarce as usually to be sold for half-a-crown a pound. We may therefore give some credit to Marco Polo, when he informs us, that in the inner parts of the same quarter of the world, in the province of Caidu, lying west of Tibet, the natives used salt instead of money, it being first made up in cakes, and sealed with the stamp of their prince; and that they made great profit of this money by exchanging it with the neighbouring nations for gold and musk. We are also told by Ludolfus, in his *Historia Æthiopia*, that in the country of the Abyssines there are mountains of salt, the which when dug out is soft, but soon grows hard; and that this salt serves them instead of money to buy all things. The same is confirmed by Ramusio.

Mr Boyle discovered common salt in human blood and urine. "I have observed it (says Mr Brownrigg), not only in human urine, but also in that of dogs, horses, and black cattle. It may easily be discovered in these, and many other liquids impregnated with it, by certain very regular and beautiful starry figures which appear in their surfaces after congelation. These figures I first observed in the great frost in the year 1739. The dung of such animals as feed upon grass or grain, doth also contain plenty of common salt."

Naturalists, observing the great variety of forms under which this salt appears, have thought fit to rank the several kinds of it under certain general classes; distinguishing it, most usually, into rock or fossil salt, sea-salt, and brine or fountain salt. To which classes, others might be added, of those muriatic salts which are found in vegetable and animal substances. These se-

veral kinds of common salt often differ from each other in their outward form and appearance, or in such accidental properties as they derive from the heterogeneous substances with which they are mixed. But when perfectly pure, they have all the same qualities; so that chemists, by the exactest inquiries, have not been able to discover any essential difference between them; for which reason we shall distinguish common salt after a different manner, into the three following kinds, viz. into rock or native salt, bay salt, and white salt.

By *rock salt*, or *native salt*, is understood all salt dug out of the earth, which hath not undergone any artificial preparation. Under the title of *bay salt* may be ranked all kinds of common salt extracted from the water wherein it is dissolved, by means of the sun's heat, and the operation of the air; whether the water from which it is extracted be sea-water, or natural brine drawn from wells and springs, or salt water stagnating in ponds and lakes. Under the title of *white salt*, or *boiled salt*, may be included all kinds of common salt extracted by coction from the water wherein it is dissolved; whether this water be sea water, or the salt water of wells, fountains, lakes or rivers; or water of any sort impregnated with rock-salt, or other kinds of common salt.

The first of these kinds of salt is in several countries found so pure, that it serves for most domestic uses, without any previous preparation (trituration excepted); for of all natural salts rock-salt is the most abundantly furnished by nature in various parts of the world, being found in large masses, occupying great tracts of land. It is generally found in strata under the surface of the earth, as in Hungary, Muscovy, Siberia, Poland, Calabria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East Indies. "In England (says Magellan), the salt mines at Northwich are in a high ground, and contain it in layers or strata of various colours, of which the yellow and brown are the most plentiful, as I have observed on the spot, which I visited in June 1782, in company with my worthy and learned friend Mr Volta, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Pavia, and well known by his great abilities, and many discoveries in that branch of knowledge. The mine into which we descended was excavated in the form of a vast dome or vault under ground, supported by various columns of the salt, that were purposely left to support the incumbent weight. And the workmen having lighted a number of candles all round its circumference, it furnished us with the most agreeable and surprising sight, whilst we were descending in the large tub, which serves to bring up the lumps that are broken from the mine," &c.

Wraxall gives the following description of the famous salt mines near Cracow in Poland.

"After being let down (says he) by a rope to the depth of 230 feet, our conductors led us through galleries, which, for loftiness and breadth, seemed rather to resemble the avenues to some subterraneous palace, than passages cut in a mine. They were perfectly dry in every part, and terminated in two chapels composed entirely of salt, hewn out of the solid mass. The images which adorn the altars, as well as the pillars and ornaments, were all of the same transparent materials; the points and spars of which, reflecting the rays of light from the lamps which the guides held in their hands, produced an effect equally novel and beautiful. Descending low-

Salt.

er into the earth by means of ladders, I found myself in an immense hall or cavern of salt, many hundred feet in height, length, and dimensions, the floor and sides of which were cut with exact regularity. A thousand persons might dine in it without inconvenience, and the eye in vain attempted to trace or define its limits. Nothing could be more sublime than this vast subterranean apartment, illuminated by flambeaux, which faintly discover its prodigious magnitude, and leave the imagination at liberty to enlarge it indefinitely. After remaining about two hours and a half under ground, I was drawn up again in three minutes with the greatest facility."

See also an account of the same mines by Mr Bernard, *Journal de Physique*, vol. xvi. for 1780, in which the miraculous tales concerning those subterraneous habitations, villages; and towns, are reduced to their proper magnitude and estimate.

The English fossil salt is unfit for the uses of the kitchen, until by solution and coction it is freed from several impurities, and reduced into white salt. The British white salt also is not so proper as several kinds of bay salt for curing fish and such flesh-meats as are intended for sea provisions, or for exportation into hot countries. So that for these purposes we are obliged, either wholly or in part, to use bay salt, which we purchase in France, Spain, and other foreign countries.

However, it does not appear that there is any other thing requisite in the formation of bay salt than to evaporate the sea-water with an exceedingly gentle heat; and it is even very probable, that our common sea-salt by a second solution and crystallization might attain the requisite degree of purity. Without entering into any particular detail of the processes used for the preparation of bay-salt in different parts of the world, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief account of the best methods of preparing common salt.

At some convenient place near the sea-shore is erected the saltern. This is a long, low building, consisting of two parts; one of which is called the *fore-house*, and the other the *pan-house*, or *boiling-house*. The fore-house serves to receive the fuel, and cover the workmen; and in the boiling-house are placed the furnace, and pan in which the salt is made. Sometimes they have two pans, one at each end of the saltern; and the part appropriated for the fuel and workmen is in the middle.

The furnace opens into the fore-house by two mouths, beneath each of which is a mouth to the ash-pits. To the mouths of the furnace doors are fitted; and over them a wall is carried up to the roof, which divides the fore-house from the boiling-house, and prevents the dust of the coal and the ashes and smoke of the furnace from falling into the salt pan. The fore-house communicates with the boiling-house by a door, placed in the wall which divides them.

The body of the furnace consists of two chambers, divided from each other by a brick partition called the *mid feather*; which from a broad base terminates in a narrow edge nigh the top of the furnace; and by means of short pillars of cast iron erected upon it, supports the bottom of the salt pan; it also fills up a considerable part of the furnace, which otherwise would be too large, and would consume more coals than, by the help of this contrivance, are required. To each chamber of the

furnace is fitted a grate, through which the ashes fall into the ash-pits. The grates are made of long bars of iron, supported underneath by strong cross bars of the same metal. They are not continued to the farthest part of the furnace, it being unnecessary to throw in the fuel so far: for the flame is driven from the fire on the grate to the farthest part of the furnace; and from thence passes together with the smoke, through two flues into the chimney; and thus the bottom of the salt pan is everywhere equally heated.

The salt pans are made of an oblong form, flat at the bottom, with the sides erected at right angles; the length of some of these pans is 15 feet, in breadth 12 feet, and the depth 16 inches; but at different works they are of different dimensions. They are commonly made of plates of iron, joined together with nails, and the joints are filled with a strong cement. Within the pan five or six strong beams of iron are fixed to its opposite sides, at equal distances, parallel to each other and to the bottom of the pan, from which they are distant about eight inches. From these beams hang down strong iron hooks, which are linked to other hooks or clasps of iron firmly nailed to the bottom of the pan; and thus the bottom of the pan is supported, and prevented from bending down or changing its figure. The plates most commonly used are of malleable iron, about four feet and a half long, a foot broad, and the third of an inch in thickness. The Scots prefer smaller plates, 14 or 15 inches square. Several make the sides of the pan, where they are not exposed to the fire, of lead; those parts, when made of iron, being found to consume salt in rust from the steam of the pan. Some have used plates of cast iron, five or six feet square, and an inch in thickness; but they are very subject to break when unequally heated, and shaken (as they frequently are) by the violent boiling of the liquor. The cement most commonly used to fill the joints is plaster made of lime.

The pan, thus formed, is placed over the furnace, being supported at the four corners by brick work; but along the middle, and at the sides and ends, by round pillars of cast iron called *taplins*, which are placed at three feet distance from each other, being about eight inches high, and at the top, where smallest, four inches in diameter. By means of these pillars the heat of the fire penetrates equally to all parts of the bottom of the pan, its four corners only excepted. Care is also taken to prevent the smoke of the furnace from passing into the boiling-house, by bricks and strong cement, which are closely applied to every part of the salt pan. In some places, as at Blyth in Northumberland, besides the common salt pans here described, they have a preparing pan placed between two salt pans, in the middle part of the building, which in other works is the fore house. The sea-water being received into this preparing pan, is there heated and in part evaporated by the flame and heat conveyed under it through flues from the two furnaces of the salt pans. And the hot water, as occasion requires, is conveyed through troughs from the preparing pan into the salt pans. Various other contrivances have been invented to lessen the expense of fuel, and several patents have been obtained for that purpose; but the salt-boilers have found their old methods the most convenient.

Between the sides of the pan and walls of the boiling-

Brownrigg  
on the Art  
of Preparing  
Salt.



Salt. ing-house, there runs a walk five or six feet broad, where the workmen stand when they draw the salt, or have any other business in the boiling-house. The same walk is continued at the end of the pan, next to the chimney; but the pan is placed close to the wall at the end adjoining to the fore-house.

The roof of the boiling-house is covered with boards fastened on with nails of wood, iron nails quickly mouldering into rust. In the roof are several openings, to convey off the watery vapours; and on each side of it a window or two, which the workmen open when they look into the pan whilst it is boiling.

Not far distant from the saltern, on the sea-shore, between full sea and low-water marks, they also make a little pond in the rocks, or with stones on the sand, which they call their *sump*. From this pond they lay a pipe, through which, when the tide is in, the sea-water runs into a well adjoining to the saltern; and from this well they pump it into troughs, by which it is conveyed into their ship or cistern, where it is stored up until they have occasion to use it.

The cistern is built close to the saltern, and may be placed most conveniently between the two boiling-houses, on the back side of the fore-house; it is made either of wood, or brick and clay; it sometimes wants a cover, but ought to be covered with a shed, that the salt water contained therein may not be weakened by rains, nor mixed with foot and other impurities. It should be placed so high, that the water may conveniently run out of it, through a trough, into the salt pans.

Besides the buildings already mentioned, several others are required; as store houses for the salt, cisterns for the bittern, an office for his majesty's salt-officers, and a dwelling-house for the salt-boilers.

All things being thus prepared, and the sea-water having stood in the cistern till the mud and sand are settled to the bottom, it is drawn off into the salt pan. And at the four corners of the salt pan, where the flame does not touch its bottom, are placed four small lead pans, called *scratch pans*, which, for a salt pan of the size above-mentioned, are usually about a foot and a half long, a foot broad, and three inches deep; and have a bow or circular handle of iron, by which they may be drawn out with a hook, when the liquor in the pan is boiling.

The salt pan being filled with sea-water, a strong fire of pit-coal is lighted in the furnace; and then, for a pan which contains about 400 gallons, the salt-boiler takes the whites of three eggs, and incorporates them well with two or three gallons of sea-water, which he pours into the salt pan while the water contained therein is only lukewarm; and immediately stirs it about with a rake, that the whites of eggs may everywhere be equally mixed with the salt water.

Instead of whites of eggs, at many salterns, as at most of those nigh Newcastle, they use blood from the butchers, either of sheep or black cattle, to clarify the sea-water: And at many of the Scots salterns they do not give themselves the trouble of clarifying it.

As the water grows hot, the whites of eggs separate from it a black frothy scum, which arises to the surface of the water, and covers it all over. As soon as the pan begins to boil, this scum is all risen, and it is then time to skim it off.

The most convenient instruments for this purpose are skimmers of thin ash boards, six or eight inches broad, and so long that they may reach above half way over the salt pan. These skimmers have handles fitted to them; and the salt-boiler and his assistant, each holding one of them on the opposite sides of the pan, apply them so to each other that they overlap in the middle, and beginning at one end of the pan, carry them gently forward together, along the surface of the boiling liquor, to the other end; and thus, without breaking the scum, collect it all to one end of the pan, from whence they easily take it out.

After the water is skimmed, it appears perfectly clear and transparent; and they continue boiling it briskly, till so much of the fresh or aqueous part is evaporated, that what remains in the pan is a strong brine almost fully saturated with salt, so that small saline crystals begin to form on its surface; which operation, in a pan filled 15 inches deep with water, is usually performed in five hours.

The pan is then filled up a second time with clear sea-water drawn from the cistern; and about the time when it is half filled, the scratch-pans are taken out, and being emptied of the scratch found in them, are again placed in the corners of the salt pan. The scratch taken out of these pans is a fine white calcareous earth found in the form of powder, which separates from the sea-water during its coction, before the salt begins to form into grains. This subtil powder is violently agitated by the boiling liquor, until it is driven to the corners of the pan, where the motion of the liquor being more gentle, it subsides into the scratch pans placed there to receive it, and in them it remains undisturbed, and thus the greatest part of it is separated from the brine.

After the pan hath again been filled up with sea-water, three whites of eggs are mixed with the liquor, by which it is clarified a second time, in the manner before described; and it is afterwards boiled down to a strong brine as at first; which second boiling may take up about four hours.

The pan is then filled up a third time with clear sea-water; and after that, a fourth time; the liquor being each time clarified and boiled down to a strong brine, as before related; and the scratch-pans being taken out and emptied every time that the pan is filled up.

Then, at the fourth boiling, as soon as the crystals begin to form on the surface of the brine, they slacken the fire, and only suffer the brine to simmer, or boil very gently. In this heat they constantly endeavour to keep it all the time that the salt corns or granulates, which may be nine or ten hours. The salt is said to granulate, when its minute crystals cohere together into little masses or grains, which sink down in the brine and lie at the bottom of the salt pan.

When most of the liquor is evaporated, and the salt thus lies in the pan almost dry on its surface, it is then time to draw it out. This part of the process is performed by raking the salt to one side of the pan into a long heap, where it drains a while from the brine, and is then filled out into barrows or other proper vessels, and carried into the store-house, and delivered into the custody of his majesty's officers. And in this manner the whole process is performed in 24 hours; the salt being usually drawn every morning.

Salt.

In the store-house the salt is put hot into drabs, which are partitions like stalls for horses, lined on three sides and at the bottom with boards, and having a sliding-board on the fore-side to put in or draw out as occasion requires. The bottoms are made shelving, being highest at the back-side, and gradually inclining forwards; by which means the saline liquor, which remains mixed with the salt, easily drains from it; and the salt, in three or four days, becomes sufficiently dry; and is then taken out of the drabs, and laid up in large heaps, where it is ready for sale.

The saline liquor which drains from the salt is not a pure brine of common salt, but hath a sharp and bitter taste, and is therefore called *bittern*; this liquor, at some works, they save for particular uses, at others throw away. A considerable quantity of this bittern is left at the bottom of the pan after the process is finished; which, as it contains much salt, they suffer to remain in the pan, when it is filled up with sea-water. But at each process this liquor becomes more sharp and bitter, and also increases in quantity: so that, after the third or fourth process is finished, they are obliged to take it out of the pan; otherwise it mixes in such quantities with the salt, as to give it a bitter taste, and disposes it to grow soft and run in the open air, and renders it unfit for domestic uses.

After each process there also adheres to the bottom and sides of the pan, a white stony crust, of the same calcareous substance with that before collected from the boiling liquor. This the operators call *stone-scratch*, distinguishing the other found in the lead-pans by the name of *powder-scratch*. Once in eight or ten days they separate the stone-scratch from their pans with iron picks, and in several places find it a quarter of an inch in thickness. If this stony crust is suffered to adhere to the pan much longer, it grows so thick that the pan is burnt by the fire, and quickly wears away.

Salt.

In M. de Pagés's Travels round the World, we find the following important fact. "I had been anxious (says that author) to ascertain by comparison, whether sea-water contains salt in greater quantity under the torrid than under the other zones; and my experiments on this subject served to show, contrary to what I expected, that sea-water is impregnated with salt in less quantity within than without the tropics." These experiments were made on a hundred pounds of sea-water, taken at the depth of ten fathoms, and weighed in water-scales. M. de Pagés has given a table of these experiments, from which it appears that 100 lb. of sea-water in  $46^{\circ} 12''$  S. lat. gave  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of salt, and in  $1^{\circ} 16''$  only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lb.; and that in  $74^{\circ}$  N. lat. it gave  $4\frac{1}{4}$  lb. and in  $4^{\circ} 22'$  only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lb. these being the highest and lowest latitudes in which the experiments were made, and also the greatest and least quantities of salt.

*Duty on SALT*, is a distinct branch of his majesty's extraordinary revenue, and consists in an excise of 3s. 4d. per bushel imposed upon all salt, by several statutes of King William and other subsequent reigns. This is not generally called an excise, because under the management of different commissioners: but the commissioners of the salt-duties have, by statute 1 Ann. c. 21. the same powers, and must observe the same regulations, as those of other excises. This tax had usually been only temporary: but by statute 26 Geo. II. c. 3. was made perpetual.

*SALTS*, effects of in producing great degrees of cold. In the account of the remarkable effects of frigorific mixtures, in which saline bodies act so important a part, given in our article *CHEMISTRY*, some errors had crept in. These errors through the liberal attention of Mr Walker of Oxford, whose researches on this subject have been carried farther than any other chemist, we are enabled to correct by laying before our readers the following tables, most obligingly communicated to us by that gentleman.

TABLES,

TABLES, exhibiting a collective View of all the Frigorific Mixtures contained in Mr Walker's Publication, 1808.

TABLE I.—This Table consists of Frigorific Mixtures, having the power of *generating* or *creating* cold, *without the aid of ice*, sufficient for all useful and philosophical purposes, in any part of the world, at any season.

Frigorific Mixtures, *without ice.*

| Mixtures.  | Thermometer sinks.                    | Degr. of cold produced. |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Muriate of ammonia 5 parts<br>Nitrate of potash 5<br>Water 16                                    | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $+10^{\circ}$ . | 40                      |
| Muriate of ammonia 5 parts<br>Nitrate of potash 5<br>Sulphate of soda 8<br>Water 16              | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $+4^{\circ}$ .  | 46                      |
| Nitrate of ammonia 1 part<br>Water 1   | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $+4^{\circ}$ .  | 46                      |
| Nitrate of ammonia 1 part<br>Carbonate of soda 1<br>Water 1                                      | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-7^{\circ}$ .  | 57                      |
| Sulphate of soda 3 parts<br>Diluted nitric acid 2  | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-3^{\circ}$ .  | 53                      |
| Sulphate of soda 6 parts<br>Muriate of ammonia 4<br>Nitrate of potash 2<br>Diluted nitric acid 4 | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-10^{\circ}$ . | 60                      |
| Sulphate of soda 6 parts<br>Nitrate of ammonia 5<br>Diluted nitric acid 4                        | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-14^{\circ}$ . | 64                      |
| Phosphate of soda 9 parts<br>Diluted nitric acid 4   | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-12^{\circ}$ . | 62                      |
| Phosphate of soda 9 parts<br>Nitrate of ammonia 6<br>Diluted nitric acid 4                       | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $-21^{\circ}$ . | 71                      |
| Sulphate of soda 8 parts<br>Muriatic acid 5  | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $0^{\circ}$ .   | 50                      |
| Sulphate of soda 5 parts<br>Diluted sulphuric acid 4   | From $+50^{\circ}$ to $+3^{\circ}$ .  | 47                      |

N. B. If the materials are mixed at a *warmer* temperature, than that expressed in the table, the effect will be proportionably *greater*; thus, if the most powerful of these mixtures be made, when the air is  $+85^{\circ}$ , it will sink the thermometer to  $+2^{\circ}$ .

TABLE II.

TABLE II.—This Table consists of Frigorific Mixtures, composed of *ice*, with chemical salts and acids.Frigorific Mixtures, with *Ice*.

| Mixtures.  | Thermometer sinks.                  | Degr. of cold produced. |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Snow, or pounded ice 2 parts<br>Muriate of soda 1  | From any Temperature                | to $-50^{\circ}$ *      |
| Snow, or pounded ice 5 parts<br>Muriate of soda 2<br>Muriate of ammonia 1                          |                                     | to $-12^{\circ}$ *      |
| Snow, or pounded ice 24 parts<br>Muriate of soda 10<br>Muriate of ammonia 5<br>Nitrate of potash 5 |                                     | to $-18^{\circ}$ *      |
| Snow, or pounded ice 12 parts<br>Muriate of soda 5<br>Nitrate of ammonia 5                         |                                     | to $-25^{\circ}$ *      |
| Snow - - 3 parts<br>Diluted sulphuric acid 2   | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-23^{\circ}$ | 55                      |
| Snow - - 8 parts<br>Muriatic acid 5 parts  | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-27^{\circ}$ | 59                      |
| Snow - - 7 parts<br>Diluted nitrid acid 4  | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-30^{\circ}$ | 62                      |
| Snow - - 4 parts<br>Muriate of lime 5  | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-40^{\circ}$ | 72                      |
| Snow - - 2 parts<br>Chryst. muriate of lime 3  | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-50^{\circ}$ | 82                      |
| Snow - - 3 parts<br>Potash - - 4   | From $+32^{\circ}$ to $-51^{\circ}$ | 83                      |

N. B. The reason for the *omissions* in the last column of this table, is, the thermometer sinking in these mixtures to the degree mentioned in the preceding column, and never lower, whatever may be the temperature of the materials at mixing.

TABLE III.

Salt.

Salt

||  
Salting.

TABLE III.—This Table consists of Frigorific Mixtures selected from the foregoing tables, and combined, so as to increase or extend cold to the extreme degrees.

## Combinations of Frigorific Mixtures.

| Mixtures.  | Thermometer sinks. | Degr. of cold produced. |
|--|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Phosphate of soda 5 parts<br>Nitrate of ammonia 3<br>Diluted nitric acid 4 | From 0° to -34°    | 34                      |
| Phosphate of soda 3 parts<br>Nitrate of ammonia 2<br>Diluted mixed acids 4 | From -34° to -50°  | 16                      |
| Snow 3 parts<br>Diluted nitric acid 2                                      | From 0° to -46°    | 46                      |
| Snow 8 parts<br>Diluted fulphuric acid 3 }<br>Diluted nitric acid 3 }      | From -10° to -56°  | 46                      |
| Snow 1 part<br>Diluted fulphuric acid 1                                    | From -20° to -60°  | 40                      |
| Snow 3 parts<br>Muriate of lime 4  | From +20° to -48°  | 68                      |
| Snow 3 parts<br>Muriate of lime 4  | From +10° to -54°  | 64                      |
| Snow 2 parts<br>Muriate of lime 3  | From -15° to -68°  | 53                      |
| Snow 1 part<br>Chryst. muriate of lime. 2                                  | From 0° to -66°    | 66                      |
| Snow 1 part<br>Chryst. muriate of lime 3 parts                             | From -40° to -73°  | 33                      |
| Snow 8 parts<br>Diluted fulphuric acid 10                                  | From -68° to -91   | 23                      |

N. B. The materials in the first column are to be cooled, previously to mixing, to the temperature required, by mixtures taken from either of the preceding tables.

*Triple SALTS*, a kind of salts formed by the union of three ingredients; the common neutrals being composed only of two, as for instance, common alum, which is composed of sulphuric acid, alumina, and potash.

*SALT-Mines*. See SALT.

*Rock-SALT*. See SALT.

*SALT-Water*, or *Sea-water*, *Distillation of*. See *SEA-Water*.

*Neutral SALTS*. See CHEMISTRY, *passim*.

*SALT-Springs*. Of these there are great numbers in different parts of the world, which undoubtedly have their origin from some of the large collections of fossil salt mentioned under the article *Common SALT*. See that article, and likewise *SPRING*.

*SALTIER*, one of the honourable ordinaries.—See *HERALDRY*.

This, says G. Leigh, in his *Accedence of Arms*, p. 70. was anciently made of the height of a man, and driven full of pins, the use of which was to scale walls, &c. Upton says it was an instrument to catch wild beasts, whence he derives this word from *saltus*, i. e. a forest." The French call this ordinary *sautoir*, from *sauter* "to leap;" because it may have been used by soldiers to leap over walls of towns, which in former times were but low; but some modern authors think it is borne in imitation of St Andrew's cross.

*SALTING MEAT FOR THE USE OF THE NAVY*. The following is the method recommended by the late Admiral

Salting,  
Saltpetre.

Admiral Sir Charles Knowles. When the ox is killed, let it be skinned and cut up into pieces fit for use as quick as possible, and salted while the meat is hot. For which purpose we must have a sufficient quantity of saltpetre and bay-salt pounded together and made hot in an oven, of each equal parts; with this sprinkle the meat at the rate of about two ounces to the pound; then lay the pieces on shelving boards to drain for 24 hours; which done, turn them and repeat the same operation, and let them lie for 24 hours longer. By this time the salt will be all melted, and have penetrated the meat, and the pieces be drained off; each piece must then be wiped dry with clean coarse cloths. A sufficient quantity of common salt must then be made hot likewise in an oven, and mixed when taken out with about one-third of brown sugar; then the casks being ready, rub each piece well with this mixture, and pack them well down, allowing about half a pound of the salt and sugar to each pound of meat, and it will keep good several years.

It is best to proportion the casks to the quantity used at one time, as the less it is exposed to the air the better. The same process does for pork, only a larger quantity of salt and less sugar must be used; but the preservation of both depends equally upon the meat being hot when first salted.

One pound of beef requires two ounces of saltpetre and two ounces of bay-salt, because it is to be sprinkled twice; an ounce of each to a pound of beef both times. The saltpetre requisite for 100 lb. of beef is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  lb. which at 12d. per lb. is 12s. 6d.; and the same quantity of bay-salt (for 100 lb. of beef), at three half-pence per lb. is 1s. 6d.; of brown sugar and common salt mixed together half a pound is required, the former in the proportion of one-third, the latter of two-thirds, to a pound of beef. The brown sugar at 8d. per pound. A hundred pounds of beef will take 250 ounces of it, which costs 10s. 5d. The quantity of common salt requisite for 100 lb. of beef is 533 ounces, which at 2d. per lb. amounts to 5s. 6d. The expence therefore will stand thus.

|  |      |    |    |
|--|------|----|----|
| Saltpetre, $12\frac{1}{2}$ lb. for 100 lb. of beef, is | L. 0 | 12 | 6  |
| Bay-salt, $12\frac{1}{2}$ lb. for do. is               | -    | 0  | 1  |
| Brown sugar, 250 oz. for do. is                        | -    | 0  | 10 |
| Beef, 100 lb. at 6d. per pound, is                     | -    | 2  | 10 |
| Three casks for it at 1s. 6d. each,                    | -    | 0  | 4  |
| Labour, and heating the oven twice,                    | -    | 0  | 4  |
| Common salt, 533 oz. for do. is                        | -    | 0  | 5  |

L. 4 8 5

These articles are taken high; and if beef costs 6d. per pound, meat cured thus will cost less than 1s. per pound; and therefore comes much cheaper than live-stock in long sea voyages.

**SALTPETRE**, or **NITRE**, (*nitrate of potash*), a compound of nitric acid and potash. See **POTASH**, **CHEMISTRY Index**. The importance of this salt in various manufactures renders every information relative to its production valuable. The following method has been long practised by the farmers of Appenzell in Switzerland. In so hilly a country, most houses and stables are built on slopes, one side of the edifice resting on the hill, and the other being supported by two strong posts, elevated two or three feet above the

ground; so that the air has a free current under the building. Immediately under the stable a pit is dug, usually occupying both in breadth and length the whole space of ground covered by the building; and instead of the clayey earth which is dug out, the pit is filled up with sandy soil. This is the whole process, and all the rest is done by nature. The animal water, which is continually oozing through the planks of the floor, having drenched the earth contained in the pit for the space of two or three years, the latter is emptied, and the saltpetre is refined and prepared in the usual manner.

That manner, however, is not the best; and the French chemists, during the incessant wars occasioned by the revolution, have, for the sake of supplying their armies with gunpowder, turned their attention to the best method of refining saltpetre. The following are directions given for this purpose by Chaptal, Champy, and Bonjour.

The crude saltpetre is to be beaten small with mallets, in order that the water may more easily attack every part of the mass. The saltpetre is then to be put into tubs, five or six hundred pounds in each tub. Twenty per cent. of water is to be poured into each tub, and the mixture well stirred. It must be left to macerate or digest until the specific gravity of the fluid ceases to augment. Six or seven hours are sufficient for this first operation, and the water acquires the density of between 25 and 35 degrees. (Sp. gr. 1.21, and 1.306, ascertained by Baumé's hydrometer.)

The first water must then be poured off, and a second portion of water must be poured on the same saltpetre amounting to 10 per cent.; after which the mixture must be stirred up, suffered to macerate for one hour, and the fluid drawn or poured off.

Five per cent. of water must then be poured on the saltpetre; and after stirring the whole, the fluid must be immediately drawn off.

When the water is drained from the saltpetre, the salt must be thrown into a boiler containing 50 per cent. of boiling water. When the solution is made, it will mark between 66 and 68 degrees of the hydrometer. (Sp. gr. 1.848, and 1.898.)

The solution is to be poured into a proper vessel, where it deposits by cooling about two-thirds of the saltpetre originally taken. The precipitation begins in about half an hour, and terminates in between four and six hours. But as it is of importance to obtain the saltpetre in small needles, because in this form it is more easily dried, it is necessary to agitate the fluid during the whole time of the crystallization. A slight motion is communicated to this liquid mass by a kind of rake; in consequence of which the crystals are deposited in very slender needles.

In proportion as the crystals fall down, they are scraped to the borders of the vessel, whence they are taken with a skimmer, and thrown to drain in baskets placed on trestles, in such a manner that the water which passes through may either fall into the crystallizing vessel, or be received in basons underneath.

The saltpetre is afterwards put into wooden vessels in the form of a mill-hopper or inverted pyramid with a double bottom. The upper bottom is placed two inches above the lower on wooden ledges, and has many small perforations through which water may pass to the

Saltpetre. the lower bottom, which likewise affords a passage by one single aperture. A reservoir is placed beneath. The crystallized saltpetre is washed in these vessels with 5 per cent. of water; which water is afterwards employed in the solution of saltpetre in subsequent operations.

The saltpetre, after sufficient draining, and being dried by exposure to the air upon tables for several hours, may then be employed in the manufacture of gunpowder.

But when it is required to use the saltpetre in the speedy and immediate manufacture of gunpowder, it must be dried much more strongly. This may be effected in a stove, or more simply by heating it in a flat metallic vessel. For this purpose the saltpetre is to be put into the vessel to the depth of five or six inches, and heated to 40 or 50 degrees of the thermometer (or about 135° of Fahrenheit). The saltpetre is to be stirred for two or three hours, and dried so much that, when strongly pressed in the hand, it shall acquire no consistence, nor adhere together, but resemble a very fine dry sand. This degree of dryness is not required when the powder is made by pounding.

From these circumstances, we find that two saline liquids remain after the operation; (1) the water from the washing; and (2) that from the crystallizing vessels.

We have already remarked, that the washing of the saltpetre is performed in three successive operations, in which, upon the whole, the quantity of fluid made use of amounts to 35 per cent. of the weight of the crude saltpetre. These washings are established on the principle, that cold water dissolves the muriates of soda, and the earthy nitrates and muriates, together with the colouring principle, but scarcely attacks the nitrate of potash.

The water of these three washings therefore contains the muriate of soda, the earthy salts, the colouring principle, and a small quantity of nitrate of potash; the amount of which is in proportion to that of the muriate of soda, which determines its solution. The water of the crystallizing vessels contains a portion of the muriates of soda, and of the earthy salts which escaped the operation of washing, and a quantity of nitrate of potash, which is more considerable than that of the former solution. The waters made use of at the end of the operation, to whiten and wash the crystals deposited in the pyramidal vessel, contain nothing but a small quantity of nitrate of potash. These waters are therefore very different in their nature. The water of the washings is really a mother water. It must be collected in vessels, and treated with potash by the known processes. It must be evaporated to 66 degrees (or 1,848 sp. gr.), taking out the muriate of soda as it falls. This solution is to be saturated with 2 or 3 per cent. of potash, then suffered to settle, decanted, and poured into crystallizing vessels, where 20 per cent. of water is to be added to keep the whole of the muriate of soda suspended.

The waters which are thus obtained by treatment of the mother water may be mixed with the water of the first crystallization. From these the marine salt may be separated by simple evaporation; and the nitrate of potash, which they hold in solution, may be afterwards obtained by cooling. The small quantity of water made use of to wash and whiten the refined saltpetre,

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contains nothing but the nitrate of potash: it may therefore be used in the solution of the saltpetre when taken from the tubs.

Saltpetre,  
Salzburg.

From this description it follows, that a manufactory for the speedy refining of saltpetre ought to be provided with mallets or rammers for pounding the saltpetre; tubs for washing; a boiler for solution; a crystallizing vessel of copper or lead, in which the saltpetre is to be obtained by cooling; baskets for draining the saltpetre; scales and weights for weighing; hydrometers and thermometers, to ascertain densities and temperatures; rakes to agitate the liquor in the crystallizing vessel; skimmers to take out the crystals, and convey them to the baskets; syphons or hand-pumps to empty the boilers. The number and dimensions of these several articles must vary according to the quantity of saltpetre intended to be refined.

SALZSBURG, an archbishopric of Germany, in the circle of Bavaria, bounded on the east by Stiria and the Upper Austria, on the west by the county of Tyrol, on the north by the duchy of Bavaria, and on the south by the duchy of Carinthia and the bishopric of Brixen. It is said to be about 100 miles from east to west, and upwards of 60 from north to south. With respect to the soil, it is very mountainous, yielding, however, excellent pasturage, and, in consequence of that, abounding in cattle, and horses remarkable for their mettle and hardiness. This country is particularly noted for the great quantities of salt it produces, and its strong passes and castles. Here are also considerable mines of silver, copper, lead, iron, and lapis calaminaris, with quarries of marble, and a natural hot-bath. The principal rivers are the Salza, the Inn, the Ens, and Muer; which, as well as the lakes and other streams, are well stored with fish. The peasants here are all allowed the use of arms, and trained to military duty. There are no nobles in the country, and most of the lands belong to the clergy. The states consist of the prelates, the cities, and towns. Notwithstanding this country is under the power of a Popish ecclesiastic, and the violent, arbitrary, and oppressive manner in which the Protestants have always been treated, great numbers of them still remained in it till the year 1732, when no less than 30,000 of them withdrew from it, dispersing themselves in the several Protestant states of Europe, and some of them were even sent from Great Britain to the American colonies. Besides brass and steel wares, and all sorts of arms and artillery, there are manufactures of coarse cloth and linen here. The archbishop has many and great prerogatives: he is a prince of the empire, and perpetual legate of the holy see in Germany, of which he is also primate. He has the first voice in the diet of this circle, and next to the electors in that of the empire, in the college of princes, in which he and the archduke of Austria preside by turns. No appeal lies from him either in civil or ecclesiastical causes, but to the pope alone: and he is entitled to wear the habit of a cardinal. He has also the nomination to several bishoprics; and the canonicates that fall vacant in the months in which the popes, by virtue of the concordat, are allowed to nominate, are all in his gift. His suffragans are the bishops of Freydingen, Ratibon, Brixen, Gurk, Chiemsee, Seckan, and Lavant; and of these, the four last are nominated, and even confirmed by him and not by the pope. At the diet of the em-

Salzburg.-pire, his envoy takes place of all the princes that are present, under the degree of an elector. His revenue is said to amount to near 200,000*l.* a-year, a great part of it arising from the salt-works. He is able to raise 25,000 men; but keeps in constant pay, besides his guards, only one regiment, consisting of 1000 men. His court is very magnificent; and he has his hereditary great officers, and high colleges. The chapter consists of 24 canons, who must be all noble, but are obliged only to four months residence. At his accession to the see, the archbishop must pay 100,000 crowns to Rome for the pall. There is an order of knighthood here, instituted in 1711, in honour of St Rupert, who was the first bishop of Salzburg, about the beginning of the 8th century.

SALZBURG, the capital of a German archbishopric of the same name, and which takes its own from the river Salza, on which it stands, and over which it has a bridge. It is a very handsome place, well fortified, and the residence of the archbishop. The houses are high, and all built of stone: the roofs are in the Italian taste, and you may walk upon them. The castle here is very strong, and as strongly garrisoned, and well provided with provisions and warlike stores. The archbishop's palace is magnificent; and in the area before it is a fountain, esteemed the largest and grandest in Germany. The stables are very lofty; and the number of the horses usually kept by the archbishop is said to be upwards of 200. The city, of which one part stands on a steep rock, is well built, but the streets are narrow and badly paved. Besides the above mentioned, there are two other stately palaces belonging to the archbishop, one of which is called the *Nuebau*, and the other *Mirabella*. The latter of these has a very beautiful garden; and the number of trees in the orangery is so great, that Mr Keyser tells us, 20,000 oranges have been gathered from them in one year. The river Salza runs close by the walls of this garden. There are a great many other fine structures in the city, public and private, such as palaces, monasteries, hospitals, and churches. In the cathedral dedicated to St Rupert (the apostle of Bavaria, and a Scotchman by birth), all the altars are of marble of different kinds, and one of the organs has above 3200 pipes. The whole structure is extremely handsome. It is built of freestone in imitation of St Peter's at Rome. The portico is of marble, and the whole is covered with copper. Before the portico there is a large quadrangular place, with arches and galleries, in which is the prince's residence; and in the middle of this place there is a statue of the Virgin in bronze; it is a fine piece of art, but of an unnatural size. There are large areas encompassed with handsome buildings on both sides of the church. In the middle of that which is to the left, there is a most magnificent fountain of marble, and some valuable figures of gigantic size. There is likewise a fountain in that to the right, but it is not to be compared with the former one, and the Neptune of it makes but a very pitiful figure. This town contains many more excellent buildings and statues, which remind one that the borders of Italy are not far distant. The winter and summer riding schools here are noble structures. The university was founded in 1629, and committed to the care of the Benedictines. Besides it, there are two colleges, in

which the young noblemen are educated. E. Long. 33. Salvadora  
o. N. Lat. 47. 45.

SALVADORA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those of which the order is doubtful. See BOTANY Index.

SALVAGE-MONEY, a reward allowed by the civil and statute law for the saving of ships or goods from the danger of the sea, pirates, or enemies.—Where any ship is in danger of being stranded, or driven on shore, justices of the peace are to command the constables to assemble as many persons as are necessary to preserve it; and, on its being preserved by their means, the persons assisting therein shall, in 30 days after, be paid a reasonable reward for their salvage; otherwise the ship or goods shall remain in the custody of the officers of the customs as a security for the same.

SALVATION, means the safety or preservation of any thing which is or has been in danger, and is generally used in a religious sense, when it means preservation from eternal death, or reception to the happiness of heaven, which is now offered to all men by the Christian religion upon certain conditions. The Hebrews but rarely make use of concrete terms as they are called, but often of abstracted. Thus, instead of saying that God saves them and protects them, they say that God is their salvation. Thus the word of salvation, the joy of salvation, the rock of salvation, the shield of salvation, the horn of salvation, &c. is as much as to say, The word that declares deliverance; the joy that attends the escaping a great danger, a rock where any one takes refuge, and where he may be in safety from his enemy; a buckler, that secures him from the arm of the enemy; a horn or ray of light, of happiness and salvation, &c. See THEOLOGY, &c.

SALVATOR ROSA. See ROSA.

SALVE REGINA, among the Romanists, the name of a Latin prayer, addressed to the Virgin, and sung after complines, as also upon the point of executing a criminal. Durandus says, it was composed by Peter bishop of Compostella. The custom of singing the *salve regina* at the close of the office was begun by order of St Dominic, and first in the congregation of Dominicans at Bologna, about 1237. Gregory IX. first appointed it to be general. St Bernard added the conclusion, *O dulcis! O pia*, &c.

SALVIA, SAGE, a genus of plants belonging to the digynia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 42d order, *Verticillatæ*. See BOTANY Index.

SALVIANUS, an ancient father of the Christian church, who flourished in the 5th century, and was well skilled in the sciences. It is said he lived in continence with his wife Palladia, as if she had been his sister; and that he was so afflicted at the wickedness of that age, that he was called the *Jeremiah of the fifth century*. He acquired such reputation for his piety and learning, that he was named the *master of the bishops*. He wrote a Treatise on Providence; another on Avarice; and some epistles, of which Baluze has given an excellent edition; that of Conrad Ritterhusius, in 2 vols octavo, is also esteemed.

SALUTATION, the act of saluting, greeting, or paying respect and reverence to any one.

When men (writes the compiler of *L'Esprit des Usages*



Salutation. *Usages et des Coutumes*) salute each other in an amicable manner, it signifies little whether they move a particular part of the body, or practise a particular ceremony. In these actions there must exist different customs. Every nation imagines it employs the most reasonable ones; but all are equally simple, and none are to be treated as ridiculous. This infinite number of ceremonies may be reduced to two kinds; to reverences or salutations; and to the touch of some part of the human body. To bend and prostrate one's self to express sentiments of respect, appears to be a natural motion; for terrified persons throw themselves on the earth when they adore invisible beings. The affectionate touch of the person they salute, is an expression of tenderness. As nations decline from their ancient simplicity, much farce and grimace are introduced. Superstition, the manners of a people, and their situation, influence the modes of salutation; as may be observed from the instances we collect.

Modes of salutation have sometimes very different characters, and it is no uninteresting speculation to examine their shades. Many display a refinement of delicacy, while others are remarkable for their simplicity, or for their sensibility. In general, however, they are frequently the same in the infancy of nations, and in more polished societies. Respect, humility, fear, and esteem, are expressed much in a similar manner; for these are the natural consequences of the organization of the body. These demonstrations become, in time, only empty civilities, which signify nothing; we shall notice what they were originally, without reflecting on what they are.

The first nations have no peculiar modes of salutation; they know no reverences, or other compliments, or they despise and disdain them. The Greenlanders laugh when they see an European uncover his head and bend his body before him whom he calls his superior. The islanders, near the Philippines, take the hand or foot of him they salute, and with it they gently rub their face. The Laplanders apply their nose strongly against that of the person they salute. Dampier says, that at New Guinea they are satisfied in placing on their heads the leaves of trees, which have ever passed for symbols of friendship and peace. This is at least a picturesque salute.

Other salutations are very incommodious and painful; it requires great practice to enable a man to be polite in an island situated in the straits of Sunda. Houtman tells us, they saluted him in this odd way: "They raised his left foot, which they passed gently over the right leg, and from thence over his face." The inhabitants of the Philippines bend their body very low, in placing their hands on their cheeks, and raising at the same time one foot in the air, with their knee bent. An Ethiopian takes the robe of another, and ties it about his own waist, so that he leaves his friend half naked. This custom of undressing on these occasions takes other forms; sometimes men place themselves naked before the person whom they salute; it is to show their humility, and that they are unworthy of appearing in his presence. This was practised before Sir Joseph Banks, when he received the visit of two female Otaheitanes. Their innocent simplicity, no doubt, did not appear immodest in the eyes of the *virtuosi*. Sometimes they only undress partially. The Japanese only take off

a slipper; the people of Arracan, their sandals in the street, and their stockings in the house.

In the progress of time, it appears servile to uncover one's self. The grandees of Spain claim the right of appearing covered before the king, to show that they are not so much subjected to him as the rest of the nation; and (this writer observes) we may remark, that the English do not uncover their heads so much as the other nations of Europe. In a word, there is not a nation (observes the humorous Montaigne), even to the people who, when they salute, turn their backs on their friends, but that can be justified in their customs. It must be observed of the negroes, that they are lovers of ludicrous actions, and thus make all their ceremonies farcical. The greater part pull the fingers till they crack. Snelgrave gives an odd representation of the embassy which the king of Dahomy sent to him. The ceremonies of salutation consisted in the most ridiculous contortions. When two negro monarchs visit, they embrace in snapping three times the middle finger.

Barbarous nations frequently imprint on their salutations the dispositions of their character. When the inhabitants of Carmana (says Atheneus) would show a peculiar mark of esteem, they breathed a vein, and presented for the beverage of their friend the blood as it issued. The Franks tore hair from their head, and presented it to the person they saluted. The slave cut off his hair, and offered it to his master. The Chinese are singularly affected in their personal civilities: they even calculate the number of their reverences. These are their most remarkable postures. The men move their hands in an affectionate manner, while they are joined together on the breast, and bow their head a little. If they respect a person, they raise their hands joined, and then lower them to the earth in bending the body. If two persons meet after a long separation, they both fall on their knees, and bend the face to the earth, and this ceremony they repeat two or three times. Surely we may differ here with the sentiment of Montaigne, and confess this ceremony to be ridiculous. It arises from their national affectation. They substitute artificial ceremonies for natural actions. Their expressions mean as little as their ceremonies. If a Chinese is asked how he finds himself in health? he answers, *Very well; thanks to your abundant felicity*. If they would tell a man that he looks well, they say, *Prosperity is painted on your face*; or, *Your air announces your happiness*. If you render them any service, they say, *My thanks should be immortal*. If you praise them, they answer, *How shall I dare to persuade myself of what you say of me?* If you dine with them, they tell you at parting, *We have not treated you with sufficient distinction*. The various titles they invent for each other it would be impossible to translate.

It is to be observed, that all these answers are prescribed by the Chinese ritual, or academy of compliments. There are determined the number of bows; the expressions to be employed; the genuflections, and the inclinations which are to be made to the right or left hand; the salutations of the master before the chair where the stranger is to be seated, for he salutes it most profoundly, and wipes the dust away with the skirts of his robe; all these and other things are noticed, even to the silent gestures, by which you are entreated to enter the house. The lower class of people are equally

Salutation,  
Salute.

nice in these punctilios; and ambassadors pass 40 days in practising them before they are enabled to appear at court. A tribunal of ceremonies has been erected, and every day very odd decrees are issued, to which the Chinese most religiously submit.

The marks of honour are frequently arbitrary; to be seated, with us, is a mark of repose and familiarity; to stand up, that of respect. There are countries, however, in which princes will only be addressed by persons who are seated, and it is considered as a favour to be permitted to stand in their presence. This custom prevails in despotic countries: a despot cannot suffer without disgust the elevated figure of his subjects; he is pleased to bend their bodies with their genius: his presence must lay those who behold him prostrate on the earth: he desires no eagerness, no attention; he would only inspire terror.

The pope makes no reverence to any mortal except the emperor, to whom he stoops a very little when he permits him to kiss his lips.

**SALUTE**, in military matters, a discharge of artillery, or small arms, or both, in honour of some person of extraordinary quality. The *colours* likewise salute royal persons, and generals commanding in chief; which is done by lowering the point to the ground. In the field, when a regiment is to be reviewed by the king or his general, the drums beat a march as he passes along the line, and the officers salute one another, bowing their half-pikes or swords to the ground; then recover and take off their hats. The ensigns salute all together, by lowering their colours.

**SALUTE**, in the navy, a testimony of deference or homage rendered by the ships of one nation to another, or by ships of the same nation to a superior or equal.

This ceremony is variously performed, according to the circumstances, rank, or situation, of the parties. It consists in firing a certain number of cannon, or volleys of small arms; in striking the colours or top-sails; or in one or more general shouts of the whole ship's crew, mounted on the masts or rigging for that purpose.

The principal regulations with regard to salutes in the royal navy are as follow:

“When a flag-officer salutes the admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, he is to give him fifteen guns; but when captains salute him, they are to give him seventeen guns. The admiral and commander in chief of the fleet is to return two guns less to flag-officers, and four less to captains. Flag-officers saluting their superior or senior officer, are to give him thirteen guns. Flag-officers are to return an equal number of guns to flag-officers bearing their flags on the same mast, and two guns less to the rest, as also to captains.

“When a captain salutes an admiral of the white or blue, he is to give him fifteen guns; but to vice and rear admirals, thirteen guns. When a flag officer is saluted by two or more of his majesty's ships, he is not to return the salute till all have finished, and then to do it with such a reasonable number of guns as he shall judge proper.

“In case of the meeting of two squadrons, the two chiefs only are to exchange salutes. And if single ships meet a squadron consisting of more than one flag, the principal flag only is to be saluted. No salutes shall be

repeated by the same ships, unless there has been a separation of six months at least.

“None of his majesty's ships of war, commanded only by captains, shall give or receive salutes from one another, in whatsoever part of the world they meet.

“A flag officer commanding in chief shall be saluted, upon his first hoisting his flag, by all the ships present, with such a number of guns as is allowed by the first, third, or fifth articles.

“When any of his majesty's ships shall meet with any ship or ships belonging to any foreign prince or state, within his majesty's seas (which extend to Cape Finisterre), it is expected, that the said foreign ships do strike their top-sail, and take in their flag, in acknowledgement of his majesty's sovereignty in those seas: and if any shall refuse or offer to resist, it is enjoined to all flag officers and commanders to use their utmost endeavours to compel them thereto, and not suffer any dishonour to be done to his majesty. And if any of his majesty's subjects shall so much forget their duty, as to omit striking their top-sail in passing by his majesty's ships, the name of the ship and master, and from whence, and whither bound, together with affidavits of the fact, are to be sent up to the secretary of the admiralty, in order to their being proceeded against in the admiralty court. And it is to be observed, that in his majesty's seas, his majesty's ships are in nowise to strike to any; and that in other parts, no ship of his majesty's is to strike her flag or top-sail to any foreigner, unless such foreign ship shall have first struck, or at the same time strike, her flag or top-sail to his majesty's ship.

“The flag-officers and commanders of his majesty's ships are to be careful to maintain his majesty's honour upon all occasions, giving protection to his subjects, and endeavouring, what in them lies, to secure and encourage them in their lawful commerce; and they are not to injure, in any manner, the subjects of his majesty's friends and allies.

“If a foreign admiral meet with any of his majesty's ships, and salutes them, he shall receive gun for gun. If he be a vice-admiral, the admiral shall answer with two guns less. If a rear-admiral, the admiral and vice-admiral shall return two less. But if the ship be commanded by a captain only, the flag-officer shall give two guns less, and captains an equal number.

“When any of his majesty's ships come to an anchor in a foreign port or road, within cannon-shot of its forts, the captain may salute the place with such a number of guns as have been customary, upon good assurance of having the like number returned, but not otherwise. But if the ship bears a flag, the flag-officer shall first carefully inform himself how flags of like rank, belonging to other crowned heads, have given or returned salutes, and to insist upon the same terms of respect.

“It is allowed to the commanders of his majesty's ships in foreign parts, to salute the persons of any admirals, commanders in chief, or captains of ships of war of foreign nations, and foreign noblemen, or strangers of quality, as also the factories of the king's subjects, coming on board to visit the ship; and the number of guns is left to the commander, as shall be suitable to the occasion and the quality of the persons visiting; but he is nevertheless to remain accountable for any excesses in the abuse of this liberty. If the ship visited be in company

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Samaneans. } pany with other ships of war, the captain is not to make use of the civilities allowed in the preceding articles but with leave and consent of the commander in chief or the senior captain.

“ Merchant-ships, whether foreigners or belonging to his majesty’s subjects, saluting the admiral of the fleet, shall be answered by six guns less; when they salute any other flag-ships, they shall be answered by four guns less; and if they salute men of war commanded by captains, they shall be answered by two guns less. If several merchant-ships salute in company, no return is to be made till all have finished, and then by such a number of guns as shall be thought proper; but though the merchant-ships should answer, there shall be no second return.

“ None of his majesty’s ships of war shall salute any of his majesty’s forts or castles in Great Britain or Ireland, on any pretence whatsoever.”

SALUZZO, called by the French *Saluces*, a town and castle of Italy, in Piedmont, and capital of a marquisate of the same name, with a bishop’s see. It is situated on an eminence at the foot of the Alps near the river Po, in E. Long. 18. 27. N. Lat. 44. 35. It was formerly subject to the king of Sardinia.

SALUZZO, the marquisate of, a province of Piedmont in Italy, bounded on the north by Dauphiny and the province of the Four Valleys, on the east by those of Savigliano and Fossano, on the south by that of Cona and the county of Nice, and on the west by Barcelonetta. It was ceded to the duke of Savoy in 1601.

SAMA, a town and fort in the hands of the Dutch on the Gold Coast of Africa, stands on an eminence, the fort being watered by the pleasant river of St George, that discharges itself into the sea. The town contains above 200 houses, which seem to form three distinct villages, one of which is immediately under the cannon of the Dutch fort St Sebastian. Des Marchais deems this town to be one of the largest on the whole coast, Barbot likewise agreeing with him in its situation, extent, and number of inhabitants. The sole employment of the natives is fishing; a circumstance which easily accounts for their poverty. The government of this place is republican, the magistrates having the supreme power, being subject to periodical changes, and under the authority of the king of Gavi, who seldom however interferes in the affairs of the state. This prince resides some leagues distant from the sea, is rich, and much respected by his neighbours.

SAMANEANS, in antiquity, a kind of magi or philosophers, have been confounded by some with the Bramins. They proceeded from Ariana, a province of Persia, and the neighbouring countries, spread themselves in India, and taught new doctrines.

The Bramins, before their arrival, it is said, were in the highest period of their glory, were the only oracles of India, and their principal residence was on the banks of the Ganges, and in the adjacent mountains; while the Samaneans were settled towards the Indus. Others say, that the Bramins acquired all their knowledge from the Samaneans, before whose arrival it would be difficult to prove that the Bramins were the religious teachers of the Indians. The most celebrated and ancient of the Samanean doctors was Boutta, or Budda, who

was born 683 years before Christ. His scholars paid him divine honours; and his doctrine, which consisted chiefly in the transmigration of souls, and in the worship of cows, was adopted not only in India, but also in Japan, China, Siam, and Tartary. It was propagated according to M. de Sainte Croix, in Thibet, in the 8th century, and succeeded there the ancient religion of Zamolxis. The Samaneans, or Buddists, were entirely destroyed in India by the jealous rage of the Bramins, whose absurd practices and fables they affected to treat with contempt; but several of their books are still preserved and respected on the coasts of Malabar.

We are told, too, that several of the Bramin orders have adopted their manner of living, and openly profess the greatest part of their doctrines. *L’Exour Vedam, ou Ancien Comment du Vedam*, published by M. de S. Croix, Paris 1779. See BRAMINS.

SAMAR, a Spanish island not far from Manilla in the East Indies, is called *Samar* on the side which looks towards the other isles, and *Ibabao* on that next the ocean. Its greatest length, from Cape Baliquaton, which, with the point of Manilla, makes the strait of St Bernardino, in 13 deg. 30 min. north latitude, extends to that of Guignan in 11 deg. towards the south. The other two points, making the greatest breadth of the island, are Cabo de Spirito Santo, or *Cape of the Holy Ghost*, the high mountains of which are the first discovered by ships from New Spain; and that which lying opposite to Leyte westward, makes another strait, scarce a stone’s throw over. The whole compass of the island is about 130 leagues. Between Guignan and Cape Spirito Santo is the port of Borognon, and not far from thence those of Palapa and Catubig, and the little island of Bin, and the coast of Catarman. Vessels from countries not yet discovered are very frequently cast away on the before-mentioned coast of Palapa. Within the straits of St Bernardino, and beyond Baliquaton, is the coast of Samar, on which are the villages of Ibatan, Bangahon, Cathalogan, Paranos, and Calviga. Then follows the strait of St Juanillo, without which, standing eastward, appears the point and little island of Guignan, where the compass of the island ends. It is mountainous and craggy, but the few plains which it contains are very fertile. The fruits are much the same as those of LEYTE; but there is one particular sort, called by the Spaniards *chicoy*, and by the Chinese, who put a great value on it, *seyzu*, without kernels.

SAMARA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class. See BOTANY Index.

SAMARCAND, or SARMACAND, an ancient and famous town of Asia, capital of the kingdom of the same name in the country of the Ubeck Tartars, with a castle and a famous university. The houses are built with stones, and it carries on a trade in excellent fruits. It is pleasantly seated near the river Sogde, a branch of the Amu. E. Long. 69. 0. N. Lat. 39. 50. This town was the capital of the kingdom of Sogdia in the time of Alexander the Great, when it was called *Maracanda*. It was afterwards the capital of the empire of Tamerlane the Great. In the time of Jenghiz Khan, it was forced to yield to the arms of that cruel conqueror; by whom the garrison, amounting to 30,000 men, were butchered; 30,000 of the inhabitants, with their wives

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Samaria and children, were presented to his generals; the rest were permitted to live in the city, on paying a tribute of 300,000 dinars or crowns of gold.

SAMARIA, in *Ancient Geography*, one of the three larger Cisjordan districts, situated in the middle between Galilee to the north and Judea to the south, beginning at the village Gimæa, in the Campus Magnus, and ending at the toparchy called *Acrobatena* (Josephus). Its soil differing in nothing from that of Judæa; both equally hilly and champaign, both equally fertile in corn and fruit (ib.). Called the *kingdom of Samaria in Ephraim* (Bible); comprising the ten tribes, and consequently all the country to the north of Judea and east and west of Jordan.

SAMARIA, the capital city of the kingdom of Samaria, or of the ten tribes. It was built by Omri king of Israel, who began to reign in the year of the world 3079, and died 3086 (1 Kings xvi. 24.). He bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, or for the sum of 684l. 7s. 6d. It took the name of *Samaria* from Shemer the owner of the hill; though some think there were already some beginnings of a city, because, before the reign of Omri there is mention made of Samaria (1 Kings xiii. 32.) in the year of the world 3030. But others take this for a prolepsis, or an anticipation, in the discourse of the man of God, who speaks of Samaria under the reign of Jeroboam.

However this be, it is certain that Samaria was no considerable place, and did not become the capital city of the kingdom of Israel till after the reign of Omri. Before him, the kings of Israel dwelt at Shechem, or Tirzah. Samaria was situated upon an agreeable and fruitful hill, in an advantageous situation, and was 12 miles from Dothaim, 12 from Merrom, and four from Atharoth. Josephus says, it was a day's journey from Jerusalem. Besides, though it was built upon an eminence, yet it must have water in abundance; since we find medals struck in this city, whereon is represented the goddesses Astarte treading a river under foot; which proves it to have been well watered. And Josephus observes, that when it was taken by John Hircanus the prince of the Jews, he entirely demolished it, and caused even the brook to flow over its ruins, to obliterate all the footsteps of it.

The kings of Samaria omitted nothing to make this city the strongest, the finest, and the richest, that was possible. Ahab built there a palace of ivory (1 Kings xxii. 39.), that is, in which there were many ornaments of ivory. Amos describes Samaria under Jeroboam II. as a city sunk into all excesses of luxury and effeminacy (Amos iii. 15. and iv. 1, 2.).

Ben-hadad king of Syria built public places or streets in Samaria (1 Kings xx. 34.) probably for traffic, where his people dwelt to promote trade. His son Ben-hadad besieged this place under the reign of Ahab (1 Kings xx. 1, 2, 3, &c.) in the year of the world 3103.

The following year, Ben-hadad brought an army into the field, probably with a design to march against Samaria: but his army was again cut in pieces. Some years after this, Ben-hadad came a third time, lay down before Samaria, and reduced it to such necessities by famine, that a mother was there forced to eat her own child; but the city was relieved by a sensible effect of the protection of God.

Lastly, it was besieged by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, in the ninth year of Hothæa king of Israel (2 Kings xvii. 6, 7, &c.), which was the fourth of Hezekiah king of Judah. It was taken three years after, in the year of the world 3283. The prophet Hcsea speaks of the cruelties exercised by Shalmaneser against the besieged (Hos. x. 4, 8, 9. xiv. 1.); and Micah says, that this city was reduced to a heap of stones (Mic. i. 6.). The Cuthites that were sent by Esar-haddon to inhabit the country of Samaria, did not think it worth their while to repair the ruins of this city; they dwelt at Shechem, which they made the capital city of their state. They were still upon this footing when Alexander the Great came into Phœnicia and Judea. However, the Cuthites had rebuilt some of the houses of Samaria, even from the time of the return from the captivity, since Ezra then speaks of the inhabitants of Samaria (Ezra iv. 17. Nehem. iv. 2.); and that the Samaritans, being jealous of the favours that Alexander the Great had conferred on the Jews, revolted from him while this prince was in Egypt, and burnt Andromachus alive, whom Alexander had left governor of Syria. Alexander marched against them, took Samaria, and put in Macedonians to inhabit it; giving the country round it to the Jews; and to encourage them to cultivate it, he granted them an exemption from tribute. The king of Egypt and Syria, who succeeded Alexander, deprived them of the property of this country.

But Alexander Balas king of Syria restored to Jonathan Maccabæus the cities of Lydda, Ephrem, and Ramatha, which he cut off from the country of Samaria (1 Mac. x. 30, 38, and xi. 28, 34.). Lastly, the Jews re-entered into the full possession of this whole country under John Hircanus the Asmonæan, who took Samaria, and ruined it in such a manner, according to Josephus, that he made the river run through its ruins. It continued in this condition to the year of the world 3947, when Aulus Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, rebuilt it, and gave it the name of Gabiniana. But it was yet but very inconsiderable, till Herod the Great restored it to its ancient lustre, and gave it the Greek name of Sebaste, which in Latin is Augusta, in honour of the emperor Augustus, who had given him the property of this place.

The sacred authors of the New Testament speak but little of Samaria; and when they do mention it, it is rather in respect of the country about it, than of the city itself. (See Luke xvii. 11. John iv. 4, 5.)—It was there our Lord had the conversation with the woman of Samaria, that is, with a Samaritan woman of the city of Sychar. After the death of St Stephen, (Acts viii. 1, 2, 3.), when the disciples were dispersed through the cities of Judea and Samaria, St Philip the deacon withdrew into the city of Samaria, where he made several converts. When the apostles heard that this city had received the word of God, they sent Peter and John thither, to communicate the Holy Ghost to such as had been baptized. It was there they found Simon Magus, who offered money to the apostles, being in hopes to buy this power of communicating the Holy Ghost. Samaria is never called Sebaste in the books of the New Testament, though strangers hardly knew it but by this name. St Jerome says, that it was thought Obadiah was buried at Samaria. They also shewed there the tombs of Elisha and of St John the Baptist. There are found

*Samaritans.* found many ancient medals that were struck at Sebaste, or Samaria, and some bishops of this city have subscribed to the ancient councils.

**SAMARITANS.** We have already spoken of the Samaritans under the article **CUTH.** The Samaritans are the people of the city of Samaria, and the inhabitants of the province of which Samaria was the capital city. In this sense, it should seem that we might give the name of Samaritans to the Israelites of the ten tribes, who lived in the city and territory of Samaria. However, the sacred authors commonly give the name of Samaritans only to those strange people whom the kings of Assyria sent from beyond the Euphrates to inhabit the kingdom of Samaria, when they took away captive the Israelites that were there before. Thus we may fix the epoch of the Samaritans at the taking of Samaria by Salmaneser, in the year of the world 3283. This prince carried away captive the Israelites that he found in the country, and assigned them dwellings beyond the Euphrates, and in Assyria, (2 Kings xvii. 24.). He sent other inhabitants in their stead, of which the most considerable were the Cuthites, a people descended from Cush, and who are probably of the number of those whom the ancients knew by the name of Scythians.

After Salmaneser, his successor Efar-haddon was informed, that the people which had been sent to Samaria were infested by lions that devoured them, (2 Kings xvii. 25.); this he imputed to the ignorance of the people in the manner of worshipping the god of the country. Wherefore Efar-haddon sent a priest of the God of Israel that he might teach them the religion of the Hebrews. But they thought they might blend this religion with that which they professed before; so they continued to worship their idols as before, in conjunction with the God of Israel, not perceiving how absurd and incompatible these two religions were.

It is not known how long they continued in this state; but at the return from the captivity of Babylon, it appears they had entirely quitted the worship of their idols; and when they asked permission of the Israelites that they might labour with them at the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, they affirmed, that from the time that Efar-haddon had brought them into this country they had always worshipped the Lord, (Ezra iv. 1, 2, 3.). And indeed, after the return from the captivity, the Scripture does not anywhere reproach them with idolatrous worship, though it does not dissemble either their jealousy against the Jews, nor the ill offices they had done them at the court of Persia, by their slanders and calumnies, or the stratagems they contrived to hinder the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem.—(Nehem. ii. 10, 19. iv. 2, &c. vi. 1, 2, &c.)

It does not appear that there was any temple in Samaria, in common to all these people who came thither from beyond the Euphrates, before the coming of Alexander the Great into Judea. Before that time, every one was left to his own discretion, and worshipped the Lord where he thought fit. But they presently comprehended, from the books of Moses which they had in their hands, and from the example of the Jews their neighbours, that God was to be worshipped in that place only which he had chosen. So that since they could not go to the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews would not allow of, they bethought themselves of building a

temple of their own upon Mount Gerizim, near the city *Samaritans.* of Shechem, which was then their capital. Therefore Sanballat, the governor of the Samaritans, applied himself to Alexander, and told him he had a son-in-law, called Manasses, son to Jaddus the high-priest of the Jews, who had retired to Samaria with a great number of other persons of his own nation; that he desired to build a temple in this province, where he might exercise the high-priesthood; that this undertaking would be to the advantage of the king's affairs, because in building a temple in the province of Samaria, the nation of the Jews would be divided, who are a turbulent and seditious people, and by such a division would be made weaker, and less in a condition to undertake new enterprises.

Alexander readily consented to what Sanballat desired, and the Samaritans presently began their building of the temple of Gerizim, which from that time they have always frequented, and still frequent to this day, as the place where the Lord intended to receive the adoration of his people. It is of this mountain, and of this temple, that the Samaritan woman of Sychar spoke to our Saviour, (John iv. 20.). See **GARIZIM.**

The Samaritans did not long continue under the obedience of Alexander. They revolted from him the very next year, and Alexander drove them out of Samaria, put Macedonians in their room, and gave the province of Samaria to the Jews. This preference that Alexander gave to the Israelites contributed not a little to increase that hatred and animosity that had already obtained between these two people. When any Israelite had deserved punishment for the violation of some important point of the law, he presently took refuge in Samaria or Shechem, and embraced the way of worship according to the temple of Garizim. When the Jews were in a prosperous condition, and affairs were favourable to them, the Samaritans did not fail to call themselves Hebrews, and pretended to be of the race of Abraham. But no sooner were the Jews fallen into discredit or persecution, but the Samaritans immediately disowned them, would have nothing in common with them, acknowledged themselves to be Phoenicians originally, or that they were descended from Joseph and Manasseh his son. This used to be their practice in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The Samaritans, having received the Pentateuch, or the five books of Moses, from the priest that was sent by Efar-haddon, have preserved it to this day, in the same language and character it was then, that is, in the old Hebrew or Phoenician character, which we now call the Samaritan, to distinguish it from the modern Hebrew character, which at present we find in the books of the Jews. These last, after their captivity, changed their old characters, and took up those of the Chaldee, which they had been used to at Babylon, and which they continue still to use. It is wrong, says F. Calmet, to give this the name of the Hebrew character, for that can be said properly only of the Samaritan text. The critics have taken notice of some variations between the Pentateuch of the Jews and that of the Samaritans; but these varieties of reading chiefly regard the word Gerizim, which the Samaritans seem to have purposely introduced to favour their pretensions, that Mount Gerizim was the place in which the Lord was to be adored.

Samaritans adored. The other various readings are of small importance.

The religion of this people was at first the Pagan. Every one worshipped the deity they had been used to in their own country (2 Kings xvii. 25, 30, 31.). The Babylonians worshipped Succoth-benoth; the Cushites, Nergal; the Hamathites, Ashima; the Avites, Nibhaz and Tartak; the Sepharvites, Adrammelech and Anammelech. If we would enumerate all the names of false gods to whom the Samaritans have paid a sacrilegious worship, we should have enough to do. This matter is sufficiently perplexed, by reason of the different names by which they were adored by different nations, inasmuch that it would be almost impossible to clear up this affair. See SUCCOTH-BENOTH, &c. Afterwards, to this profane worship the Samaritans added that of the Lord, the God of Israel, (2 Kings xvii. 29, 30, 31, 32.). They gave a proof of their little regard to this worship of the true God, when under Antiochus Epiphanes they consecrated their temple at Gerizim to Jupiter Argivus. In the time of Alexander the Great, they celebrated the sabbatical year, and consequently the year of jubilee also. We do not know whether they did it exactly at the same time with the Jews, or whether they observed any other epoch; and it is to little purpose that some critics have attempted to ascertain the first beginning of it. Under the kings of Syria they followed the epoch of the Greeks, or that of the Seleucidæ, as other people did that were under the government of the Seleucidæ. After that Herod had re-established Samaria, and had given it the name of Sebaste, the inhabitants of this city, in their medals, and all public acts, took the date of this new establishment. But the inhabitants of Samaria, of which the greater part were Pagans or Jews, were no rule to the other Samaritans, who probably reckoned their years according to the reigns of the emperors they were subject to, till the time they fell under the jurisdiction of the Mahometans, under which they live at this day; and they reckon their year by the Hegira, or, as they speak, according to the reign of Ishmael, or the Ishmaelites. Such of our readers as desire to be further acquainted with the history of the ancient Samaritans, we refer to the works of Josephus, where they will find that subject largely treated of.

As to their belief, it is objected to them, that they receive only the Pentateuch, and reject all the other books of Scripture, chiefly the prophets, who have more expressly declared the coming of the Messiah.—They have also been accused of believing God to be corporeal, of denying the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the dead. Jesus Christ reproaches them (John iv. 22.) with worshipping they know not what; and in the place already referred to he seems to exclude them from salvation, when he says, that “Salvation is of the Jews.” True it is, that these words might only signify, that the Messiah was to proceed from the Jews; but the crime of schism alone, and a separation from the true church, was sufficient to exclude them from salvation. The Samaritan woman is a sufficient testimony that the Samaritans expected a Messiah, who they hoped would clear up all their doubts (John iv. 25.). Several of the inhabitants of Shechem believed at the preaching of Jesus Christ, and several of Samaria be-

lieved at that of St Philip; but it is said, they soon fell back to their former errors, being perverted by Simon Magus.

The Samaritans at present are very few in number. Joseph Scaliger, being curious to know their usages, wrote to the Samaritans of Egypt, and to the high priest of the whole sect who resided at Neapolis in Syria. They returned two answers to Scaliger, dated in the year of the Hegira 998. These were preserved in the French king's library, and were translated into Latin by Father Morin, and printed in England in the collection of that father's letters, in 1682, under the title of *Antiquitates Ecclesie Orientalis*. By these letters it appears, that they believe in God, in his servant Moses, the holy law, the mountain Gerizim, the house of God, the day of vengeance and of peace; that they value themselves upon observing the law of Moses in many points more rigidly than the Jews themselves.—They keep the sabbath with the utmost strictness required by the law, without stirring from the place they are in, but only to the synagogue. They go not out of the city, and abstain from their wives on that day. They never delay circumcision beyond the eighth day. They still sacrifice to this day in the temple on Mount Gerizim, and give to the priest what is enjoined by the law. They do not marry their own nieces, as the Jews do, nor do they allow themselves a plurality of wives. Their hatred for the Jews may be seen through all the history of Josephus, and in several places of the New Testament. The Jewish historian informs us, that under the government of Coponius, one passover night, when they opened the gates of the temple, some Samaritans had scattered the bones of dead men there, to insult the Jews, and to interrupt the devotion of the festival. The evangelists shew us, that the Jews and Samaritans held no correspondence together (John iv. 9.) “The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.” And the Samaritan woman of Sychar was much surprised that Jesus talked with her, and asked drink of her, being a Samaritan. When our Saviour sent his apostles to preach in Judea, he forbade them to enter into the Samaritan cities, (Mat. x. 5.); because he looked upon them as schismatics, and as strangers to the covenant of Israel. One day when he sent his disciples to provide him a lodging in one of the cities of the Samaritans, they would not entertain him, because they perceived he was going to Jerusalem. (Luke ix. 53. 53.) “Because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem.” And when the Jews were provoked at the reproaches of Jesus Christ, they told him he was a Samaritan (John viii. 48.), thinking they could say nothing more severe against him. Josephus relates, that some Samaritans having killed several Jews as they were going to the feast at Jerusalem, this occasioned a kind of a war between them. The Samaritans continued their fealty to the Romans, when the Jews revolted from them; yet they did not escape from being involved in some of the calamities of their neighbours.

There are still at this day some Samaritans at Shechem, otherwise called Naplouse. They have priests there, who say they are of the family of Aaron. They have a high-priest, who resides at Shechem, or at Gerizim, who offers sacrifices there, and who declares the feast of the passover,

*Sambucus*, passover, and all the other feasts, to all the dispersed Samaritans. Some of them are to be found at Gaza, some at Damascus, and some at Grand Cairo.

*SAMBUCUS*, ELDER, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 43d order, *Dumoseæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

All the sorts of elder are of the deciduous tribe, very hardy, and grow freely anywhere; are generally free shooters, but particularly the common elder and varieties, which make remarkably strong, jointed shoots, of several feet in length, in one season; and they flower mostly in summer, except the racemose elder, which generally begins flowering in April; and the branches being large, spreading, and very abundant, are exceedingly conspicuous; but they emit a disagreeable odour. The flowers are succeeded in most of the sorts by large bunches of ripe berries in autumn, which, although very unpalatable to eat, are in high estimation for making that well known cordial liquor called *elder wine*, particularly the common black-berried elder. In gardening, the elder is both useful and ornamental, especially in extensive grounds.

*SAMIAN EARTH*, in the materia medica, the name of two species of marl used in medicine, viz. 1. The white kind, called by the ancients *collyrium samium*, being astringent, and therefore good in diarrhoeas, dysenteries, and hæmorrhagies; they also used it externally in inflammations of all kinds. 2. The brownish white kind, called *aster samius* by Dioscorides; this also stands recommended as an astringent.

*SAMIELS*, the Arabian name of a hot wind peculiar to the desert of Arabia. It blows over the desert in the months of July and August from the north-west quarter, and sometimes it continues with all its violence to the very gates of *Bagdad*, but never affects any body within the walls. Some years it does not blow at all, and in others it appears six, eight, or ten times, but seldom continues more than a few minutes at a time. It often passes with the apparent quickness of lightning. The Arabians and Persians, who are acquainted with the appearance of the sky at or near the time this wind arises, have warning of its approach by a thick haze, which appears like a cloud of dust arising out of the horizon; and they immediately upon this appearance throw themselves with their faces to the ground, and continue in that position till the wind is passed, which frequently happens almost instantaneously; but if, on the contrary, they are not careful or brisk enough to take this precaution, which is sometimes the case, and they get the full force of the wind, it is instant death.

The above method is the only one which they take to avoid the effects of this fatal blast; and when it is over, they get up and look round them for their companions; and if they see any one lying motionless, they take hold of an arm or leg, and pull and jerk it with some force; and if the limb thus agitated separates from the body, it is a certain sign that the wind has had its full effect; but if, on the contrary, the arm or leg does not come away, it is a sure sign there is life remaining, although to every outward appearance the person is dead; and in that case they immediately cover him or them with clothes, and administer some warm diluting liquor to cause a perspiration, which is certainly but slowly brought about.

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The Arabs themselves can say little or nothing about the nature of this wind, only that it always leaves behind it a very strong sulphureous smell, and that the air at these times is quite clear, except about the horizon, in the north-west quarter, before observed, which gives warning of its approach. We have not been able to learn whether the dead bodies are scorched, or dissolved into a kind of gelatinous substance; but from the stories current about them, there has been frequent reason to believe the latter; and in that case such fatal effects may be attributed rather to a noxious vapour than to an absolute and excessive heat. The story of its going to the gates of Bagdad and no farther may be reasonably enough accounted for, if the effects are attributed to a poisonous vapour, and not an excessive heat. The above-mentioned wind, Samiel, is so well known in the neighbourhood of Bagdad and Bassora, that the very children speak of it with dread.

*SAMOGITIA*, a province of Poland, bounded on the north by Courland, on the east by Lithuania, on the west by the Baltic sea, and on the south by Regal Prussia, being about 175 miles in length and 125 in breadth. It is full of forests and very high mountains, which feed a great number of cattle, and produce a large quantity of honey. There are also very active horses, in high esteem. The inhabitants are clownish, but honest; and they will not allow a young woman to go out in the night without a candle in her hand and two bells at her girdle. Rossenna and Wormia are the principal places.

*SAMOIEDA*, a country of the Russian empire, between Asiatic Tartary and Archangel, lying along the sea-coast as far as Siberia. The inhabitants are extremely rude and barbarous. They travel on the snow on sledges, drawn by an animal like a rein-deer, but with the horns of a stag. Their stature is short; their shoulders and faces are broad, with flat broad noses, hanging lips, and staring eyes; their complexion is dark, their hair long and black; and they have very little beard. If they have any religion at all, it is idolatry, though there has been some attempts of late to convert them. Their huts are made of birch bark sewed together, and laid upon stakes set in the ground; at the top is a hole to let out the smoke; the fire is made in the middle, round which they repose in the night.—Their chief employment is hunting and fishing.

*SAMOLUS*, *WATER PIMPERNEL*; a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class, and in the natural method ranking under the 21st order, *Preciæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

*SAMOS*, in *Ancient Geography*, an island at no great distance from the promontory Mycale, on the continent of the Hither Asia, and opposite to Ephesus; the distance only seven stadia (Strabo); a free island, in compass 87 miles (Pliny); or 100 (Isidorus); with a cognominal town (Ptolemy, Horace); famous for the worship and a temple of Juno, with a noted asylum (Virgil, Strabo, Tacitus); and hence their coin exhibited a peacock (Athenæus): The country of Pythagoras, who, to avoid the oppression of tyrants, retired to Italy, the land of freedom. Samos, though not so happy in producing wine, which Strabo wonders at, all the adjoining islands yielding a generous sort, yet abounds in all the necessaries of life. The *Vasa Samia*, among earthen ware, were held in high repute. *Sami*, the people

*Sambucus*,  
*Samuels*.

*Samuels*  
||  
*Samos*.

*Ives's Voy.*  
*age from*  
*England to*  
*India in*  
1754.

Samos,  
Sampan.

ple (Ovid).—The island is now in the hands of the Turks. It is about 32 miles in length, and 22 in breadth, and extremely fertile. The inhabitants live at their ease, their taxation by the Turks being moderate. The women are very nasty and ugly, and they never shift above once a month. They are clothed in the Turkish manner, except a red coat, and their hair hanging down their backs, with plates of silver or black-tin fastened to the ends.—They have abundance of melons, lentils, kidney-beans, and excellent muskadine grapes. They have white figs four times as big as the common sort, but not so well tasted. Their silk is very fine, and their honey and wax admirable; besides which, their poultry are excellent: they have iron mines, and most of the soil is of a rusty colour: they have also emery stone, and all the mountains are of white marble. The inhabitants are about 12,000, who are almost all Greeks; and the monks and priests occupy most part of the island. They have a bishop who resides at Cora. See POLYCRATES.

Osbec's Voyage to China and the East Indies.

SAMPAN, is a Chinese boat without a keel, looking almost like a trough; they are made of different dimensions, but are mostly covered. These boats are as long as sloops, but broader, almost like a baking trough; and have at the end one or more decks of bamboo sticks: the cover or roof is made of bamboo sticks, arched over in the shape of a grater; and may be raised or lowered at pleasure: the sides are made of boards, with little holes, with shutters instead of windows: the boards are fastened on both sides to posts, which have notches like steps on the inside, that the roof may be let down, and rest on them: on both ends of the deck are commonly two little doors, at least there is one at the hindmost end. A fine white smooth carpet spread up as far as the boards makes the floor, which in the middle consists of loose boards; but this carpet is only made use of to sleep on. As these boats greatly differ from ours in shape, they are likewise rowed in a different manner: for two rowers, posting themselves at the back end of the sampan, work it forwards very readily by the motion of two oars; and can almost turn the vessel just as they please: the oars, which are covered with a little hollow quadrangular iron, are laid on iron swivels, which are fastened in the sides of the sampan: at the iron the oars are pieced, which makes them look a little bent: in common, a rower sits before with a short oar; but this he is forced to lay aside when he comes near the city, on account of the great throng of sampans; and this inconvenience has confirmed the Chinese in their old way of rowing. Instead of pitch, they make use of a cement like our putty, which we call *chinam*, but the Chinese call it *kiang*. Some authors say that this cement is made of lime and a resin exuding from the tree *tong yea*, and bamboo ockam.

Besides a couple of chairs, they have the following furniture: two oblong tables or boards on which some Chinese characters are drawn; a lantern for the night-time, and a pot to boil rice in. They have also a little cover for their household god, decorated with gilt paper and other ornaments: before him stands a pot filled with ashes, into which the tapers are put before the idol. The candles are nothing else than bamboo chips, to the upper end of which saw-dust of sandal-

wood is stuck on with gum. These tapers are everywhere lighted before the idols in the pagodas, and before the doors in the streets; and, in large cities, occasion a smoke very pernicious to the eyes. Before this idol stands some *sanso*, or Chinese brandy, water, &c. We ought to try whether the Chinese would not like to use juniper-wood instead of sandal-wood; which latter comes from Surat, and has almost the same smell with juniper.

SAMSON, one of the judges of Israel, memorable for his supernatural strength, his victories over the Philistines, and his tragical end, as related in the book of *Judges*.

*SAMSON'S POST*, a sort of pillar erected in a ship's hold, between the lower deck and the keelson, under the edge of a hatchway, and furnished with several notches that serve as steps to mount or descend, as occasion requires. This post being firmly driven into its place, not only serves to support the beam and fortify the vessel in that place, but also to prevent the cargo or materials contained in the hold, from shifting to the opposite side, by the rolling of the ship in a turbulent and heavy sea.

Books of SAMUEL, two canonical books of the Old Testament, as being usually ascribed to the prophet Samuel.

The books of Samuel and the books of Kings are a continued history of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah; for which reason the books of Samuel are likewise styled *the first and second books of Kings*. Since the first 24 chapters contain all that relates to the History of Samuel, and the latter part of the first book and all the second include the relation of events that happened after the death of that prophet, it has been supposed that Samuel was author only of the first 24 chapters, and that the prophets Gad and Nathan finished the work. The first book of Samuel comprehends the transactions under the government of Eli and Samuel, and under Saul the first king; and also the acts of David while he lived under Saul; and is supposed to contain the space of 101 years. The second book contains the history of about 40 years, and is wholly spent in relating the transactions of David's reign.

SAMYDA, a genus of plants belonging to the decandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those of which the order is doubtful. See BOTANY Index.

SANA, or SANAA, a large, populous, and handsome town of Asia, capital of Arabia Felix, is situated in Proper Yemen, at the foot of Mount Nikkum, on which are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, which the Arabs suppose to have been built by Shem. Near this mountain stands the castle; a rivulet runs upon the other side; and near it is the Buztan el Metwokkel, a spacious garden, which was laid out by Imam Metwokkel, and has been embellished with a fine garden by the reigning imam. The walls of the city, which are built of bricks, exclude this garden, which is inclosed within a wall of its own. The city, properly so called, is not very extensive: one may walk round it all in an hour. The city-gates are seven. Here are a number of mosques, some of which have been built by Turkish pachas. Sana has the appearance of being more populous than it actually is; for the gardens occupy a part of

Sampan  
||  
Sana.

Niebuhr's  
Travels by  
Heron.



Sana. of the space within the walls. In Sana are only 12 public baths; but many noble palaces, three of the most splendid of which have been built by the reigning imam. The palace of the late imam El Manzor, with some others, belong to the royal family, who are very numerous.

The Arabian palaces are built in a style of architecture different from ours. The materials, are, however, burnt bricks, and sometimes even hewn stones; but the houses of the common people are of bricks which have been dried in the sun. There are no glass windows, except in one palace, near the citadel. The rest of the houses have, instead of windows, merely shutters, which are opened in fair weather, and shut when it is foul. In the last case, the house is lighted by a round wicket, fitted with a piece of Muscovy glass; some of the Arabians use small panes of stained glass from Venice.

At Sana, and in the other cities of the East, are great simseras or caravanseras for merchants and travellers. Each different commodity is sold in a separate market. In the market for bread, none but women are to be seen; and their little shops are portable. The several classes of mechanics work, in the same manner, in particular quarters in the open street. Writers go about with their desks, and make out briefs, copy-books, and instruct scholars in the art of writing, all at the same time. There is one market where old clothes are taken in exchange for new.

Wood for the carpenter's purpose is extremely dear through Yemen; and wood for the fire at Sana is no less so. All the hills near the city are bleak and bare, and wood is therefore to be brought hither from the distance of three days journey; and a camel's burthen commonly costs two crowns. This scarcity of wood is particularly supplied by the use of a little pit-coal. Peats are burnt here; but they are so bad, that straw must be intermixed to make them burn.

Fruits are, however, very plentiful at Sana. Here are more than 20 different species of grapes, which, as they do not all ripen at the same time, continue to afford a delicious refreshment for several months. The Arabs likewise preserve grapes, by hanging them up in their cellars, and eat them almost through the whole year. The Jews make a little wine, and might make more if the Arabs were not such enemies to strong liquors. A Jew convicted of conveying wine into an Arab's house is severely punished; nay, the Jews must even use great caution in buying and selling it among themselves. Great quantities of grapes are dried here; and the exportation of raisins from Sana is considerable. One sort of these grapes is without stones, and contains only a soft grain, the presence of which is not perceptible in eating the raisin.

In the castle, which stands on a hill, are two palaces. "I saw (says Niebuhr) about it some ruins of old buildings, but, notwithstanding the antiquity of the place, no remarkable inscriptions. There is the mint, and a range of prisons for persons of different ranks. The reigning imam resides in the city; but several princes of the blood-royal live in the castle. The battery is the most elevated place about these buildings; and there I met with what I had no expectation of, a German mortar, with this inscription, *Jorg Selos Gosmick, 1513*. I saw also upon the same battery seven iron cannons, partly

buried in the sand, and partly set upon broken carriages. These seven small cannons, with six others near the gates, which are fired to announce the return of the different festivals, are all the artillery of the capital of Yemen."

SANADON, NOEL ETIENNE, a Jesuit, was born at Rouen in 1676, and was a distinguished professor of humanity at Caen. He there became acquainted with Huet bishop of Avranches, whose taste for literature and poetry was similar to his own. Sanadon afterwards taught rhetoric at the university of Paris, and was entrusted with the education of the prince of Conti, after the death of Du Morceau. In 1728 he was made librarian to Louis XIV. an office which he retained to his death. He died on the 21st September 1733, in the 58th year of his age.

His works are, 1. Latin Poems, in 12mo, 1715, and reprinted by Barbou, in 8vo, 1754. His style possesses the graces of the Augustan age. His language is pure and nervous; his verses are harmonious, and his thoughts are delicate and well chosen; but sometimes his imagination flags. His Latin poems consist of Odes, Elegies, Epigrams, and others, on various subjects. 2. A translation of Horace, with Remarks, in 2 vols. 4to, printed at Paris in 1727; but the best edition of this work was printed at Amsterdam in 1735, in 8 vols. 12mo, in which are also inserted the versions and notes of M. Dacier. Sanadon translated with elegance and taste; but he has not preserved the sublimity of the original in the odes, nor the energy and precision in the epistles and satires. In general, his version is rather a paraphrase than a faithful translation. Learned men have justly censured him for the liberty which he has taken in making considerable changes in the order and structure of the odes. He has also given offence by his uncouth orthography. 3. A Collection of Discourses delivered at different times, which afford strong proofs of his knowledge of oratory and poetry. 4. A book entitled *Prieres et Instructions Chretiennes*.

SANBALLAT, the chief or governor of the Cutbites or Samaritans, was always a great enemy to the Jews. He was a native of Horon, or Horonaim, a city beyond Jordan, in the country of the Moabites. He lived in the time of Nehemiah, who was his great opponent, and from whose book we learn his history. There is one circumstance related of him which has occasioned some dispute among the learned; and the state of the question is as follows: When Alexander the Great came into Phoenicia, and sat down before the city of Tyre, Sanballat quitted the interests of Darius king of Persia, and went at the head of 8000 men to offer his service to Alexander. This prince readily entertained him, and being much solicited by him, gave him leave to erect a temple upon Mount Gerizim, where he constituted his son-in-law Manasseh the high-priest. But this story carries a flagrant anachronism: for 120 years before this, that is, in the year of the world 3550, Sanballat was governor of Samaria; wherefore the learned Dr Prideaux (in his Connection of the Histories of the Old and New Testament) supposes two Sanballats, and endeavours to reconcile it to truth and probability, by showing it to be a mistake of Josephus. This author makes Sanballat to flourish in the time of Darius Codomannus, and to build his temple upon

Sanballat,  
Sanchonia-  
tho.

Mount Gerizim by licence from Alexander the Great; whereas it was performed by leave from Darius Nottus, in the 15th year of his reign. This takes away the difficulty arising from the great age of Sanballat, and brings him to be contemporary with Nehemiah, as the Scripture history requires.

SANCHEZ, FRANCOIS, called in Latin *Sanctius*, was of Las Brocas in Spain, and has been dignified by his own countrymen with the pompous titles of *le Pere de la Langue Latine, et le Docteur de tous les Gens de-lettres*. He wrote, 1. An excellent treatise intitled *Minerva, or de Causis Linguae Latinae*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1714, in 8vo. The authors of the *Port-Royal Methode de la Langue Latine* have been much indebted to this work. 2. *The Art of Speaking*, and the Method of translating Authors. 3. Several other learned pieces on grammar. He died in the year 1600, in his 77th year.

We must be careful to distinguish him from another *François Sanchez*, who died at Toulouse in 1632. This last was a Portuguese physician who settled at Toulouse, and, though a Christian, was born of Jewish parents. He is said to have been a man of genius and a philosopher. His works have been collected under the title of *Opera Medica. His juncti sunt tractatus quidam philosophici non insubtiles*. They were printed at Toulouse in 1636.

SANCHONIATHO, a Phœnician philosopher and historian, who is said to have flourished before the Trojan war about the time of Semiramis. Of this most ancient writer, the only remains extant are sundry fragments of cosmogony, and of the history of the gods and first mortals, preserved by Eusebius and Theodoret; both of whom speak of Sanchoniatho as an accurate and faithful historian; and the former adds, that his work, which was translated by Philo-Byblus from the Phœnician into the Greek language, contains many things relating to the history of the Jews which deserve great credit, both because they agree with the Jewish writers, and because the author received these particulars from the annals of Hierombalus, a priest of the god Jao.

Several modern writers, however, of great learning, have called in question the very existence of Sanchoniatho, and have contended with much plausibility, that the fragments which Eusebius adopted as genuine upon the authority of Porphyry, were forged by that author, or the pretended translator Philo, from enmity to the Christians, and that the Pagans might have something to show of equal antiquity with the books of Moses. These opposite opinions have produced a controversy that has filled volumes, and of which our limits would hardly admit of an abstract. We shall therefore in few words state what to us appears to be the truth, and refer such of our readers as are desirous of fuller information

to the works of the authors (A) mentioned at the bottom of the page. Sanchonia-  
tho.

The controversy respecting Sanchoniatho resolves itself into two questions: 1. Was there in reality such a writer? 2. Was he of the very remote antiquity which his translator claims for him?

That there was really such a writer, and that the fragments preserved by Eusebius are indeed parts of his history, interpolated perhaps by the translator (B), we are compelled to believe by the following reasons. Eusebius, who admitted them into his work as authentic, was one of the most learned men of his age, and a diligent searcher into antiquity. His conduct at the Nicene council shows, that on every subject he thought for himself, neither biased by authority to the one side, nor carried over by the rage of innovation to the other. He had better means than any modern writer can have of satisfying himself with respect to the authenticity of a very extraordinary work, which had then but lately been translated into the Greek language, and made generally known; and there is nothing in the work itself, or at least in those parts of it which he has preserved, that could induce a wise and good man to obtrude it upon the public as genuine, had he himself suspected it to be spurious. Too many of the Christian fathers were indeed very credulous, and ready to admit the authenticity of writings without duly weighing the merits of their claim; but then such writings were always believed to be favourable to the Christian cause, and inimical to the cause of Paganism. That no man of common sense could suppose the cosmogony of Sanchoniatho favourable to the cause of revealed religion, a farther proof cannot be requisite than what is furnished by the following extract.

“He supposeth, or affirms, that the principles of the universe were a dark and windy air, or a wind made of dark air, and a turbulent evening *chaos*; and that these things were boundless, and for a long time had no bound or figure. But when this wind fell in love with his own principles, and a mixture was made, that mixture was called *desire* or *cupid* (*πρωτος*).

“This mixture completed, was the beginning of the (*κτισσις*) making of all things. But that wind did not know its own production; and of this, with that wind was begotten *Mot*, which some call *Mud*, others the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And of this came all the seed of this building, and the generation of the universe.

“But there were certain animals, which had no sense, out of which were begotten intelligent animals, and were called *Zophesemin*, that is, the spies or overseers of Heaven; and were formed alike in the shape of an egg. Thus shone out *Mot*, the sun and the moon, the less and the greater stars.

“And the air shining thoroughly with light, by its fiery

(A) Bochart, Scaliger, Vossius, Cumberland, Dodwell, Stillingfleet, Mosheim's Cudworth, and Warburton.

(B) Of these there are indeed several proofs. Philo makes Sanchoniatho speak of *Byblus* as the most ancient city of Phœnicia, which, in all probability, it was not. We read in the book of Judges of *Berih* or *Berytus*, the city where Sanchoniatho himself lived; but not of *Byblus*, which was the native city of Philo, and to which he is therefore partial. He makes him likewise talk of the Greeks at a period long before any of the Grecian states were known or probably peopled.

*Sanchoniatho.* fiery influence on the sea and earth, winds were begotten, and clouds and great defluxions of the heavenly waters. And when all these things first were parted, and were separated from their proper place by the heat of the sun, and then all met again in the air, and dashed against one another, and were so broken to pieces; whence thunders and lightnings were made: and at the stroke of these thunders the fore-mentioned intelligent animals were awakened, and frightened with the found; and male and female stirred in the earth and in the sea: This is their generation of animals.

"After these things our author (*Sanchoniatho*) goes on saying: These things are written in the *Cosmogony of Taautus*, and in his memoirs; and out of the conjectures, and surer natural signs which his mind saw, and found out, and wherewith he hath enlightened us.

"Afterwards declaring the names of the winds, *north* and *south* and the rest, he makes this epilogue. 'But these first men consecrated the plants shooting out of the earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped them; upon whom they themselves lived, and all their posterity and all before them: to these they made their meat and drink offerings.' Then he concludes: 'these were the devices of worship agreeing with the weakness and want of boldness in their minds.'

Let us suppose Eusebius to have been as weak and credulous as the darkest monk in the darkest age of Europe, a supposition which no man will make who knows any thing of the writings of that eminent historian; what could he see in this senseless jargon, which even a dreaming monk would think of employing in support of Christianity? Eusebius calls it, and calls it truly, direct atheism; but could he imagine that an ancient system of atheism would contribute so much to make the Pagans of his age admit as divine revelations the books of the Old and New Testaments, that he should be induced to adopt, without examination, an impudent forgery not 200 years old as genuine remains of the most remote antiquity?

If this Phœnician cosmogony be a fabrication of Porphyry, or of the pretended translator, it must surely have been fabricated for some purpose; but it is impossible for us to conceive what purpose either of these writers could have intended to serve by forging a system so extravagantly absurd. Porphyry, though an enemy to the Christians, was not an atheist, and would never have thought of making an atheist of him whom he meant to obtrude upon the world as the rival of Moses. His own principles were those of the Alexandrian Platonists; and had he been the forger of the works which bear the name of *Sanchoniatho*, instead of the incomprehensible jargon about *dark wind*, *evening chaos*, *Mot*, the *overseers of heaven in the shape of an egg*, and *animation proceeding from the sound of thunder*, we should doubtless have been amused with refined speculations concerning the operations of the *Demiurgus* and the other persons in the Platonic *Tiad*. See PLATONISM and PORPHYRY.

Father Simon of the oratory imagines\* that the purpose for which the history of *Sanchoniatho* was forged, was to support Paganism, by taking from it its mythology and allegories, which were perpetually objected to it by the Christian writers; but this learned man totally mistakes the matter. The primitive Chri-

*Sanchoniatho.* stians were too much attached to allegories themselves to rest their objections to Paganism on such a foundation: what they objected to that system was the immoral stories told of the priests. To this the Pagan priests and philosophers replied, that these stories were only *mythologic allegories*, which veiled all the great truths of Theology, Ethics, and Physics. The Christians said, this could not be; for that the stories of the gods had a substantial foundation in fact, these gods being only dead men deified, who, in life, had like passions and infirmities with other mortals. This then was the objection which the forger of the works of *Sanchoniatho* had to remove, if he really forged them in support of Paganism; but, instead of doing so, he gives the genealogy and history of all the greater gods, and shows, that they were men deified after death for the exploits, some of them grossly immoral, which they had performed in this world. We have elsewhere (POLYTHEISM, N<sup>o</sup> 17.) given his account of the deification of *Chryfor*, and *Ouranos*, and *Ge*, and *Hyphistos*, and *Muth*; but our readers may not perhaps be ill pleased to accompany him through the history of *Ouranos* and *Cronus*, two of his greatest gods; whence it will appear how little his writings are calculated to support the tottering cause of Paganism against the objections which were then urged to it by the Christian apologists.

"*Ouranos* (says he), taking the kingdom of his father, married *Ge* his sister, and by her had four sons; *Ilus*, who is called *Cronus*; *Betylus*; *Dagon*, who is *Siton*, or the god of corn; and *Atlas*. But by other wives *Ouranos* had much issue, wherefore *Ge* being grieved at it and jealous, reproached *Ouranos*, so as they parted from each other. But *Ouranos*, though he parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with her when he listed, went away again; and he also attempted to kill the children he had by her. *Ge* also often defended or avenged herself, gathering auxiliary powers unto her. But when *Cronus* came to man's age, using *Hermes Trismegistus* as his counsellor and assistant (for he was his secretary), he opposed his father *Ouranos*, avenging his mother. But *Cronus* had children, *Persephone* and *Athena*; the former died a virgin, but by the counsel of the latter *Athena*, and of *Hermes*, *Cronus* made of iron a scimitar and a spear. Then *Hermes*, speaking to the assistants of *Cronus* with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen desire to fight against *Ouranos* in the behalf of *Ge*; and thus *Cronus* warring against *Ouranos*, drove him out of his kingdom, and succeeded in the imperial power or office. In the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of *Ouranos* big with child. *Cronus* gave her in marriage to *Dagon*, and she brought forth at his house what she had in her womb by *Ouranos*, and called him *Demaroon*. After these things *Cronus* builds a wall round about his house, and founds *Byblus* the first city in Phœnicia. Afterwards *Cronus*, suspecting his own brother *Atlas*, with the advice of *Hermes*, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him, and having a son called *Sadid*, he dispatched him with his own sword, having a suspicion of him, and deprived his own son of life with his own hand. He also cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were amazed at the mind of *Cronus*. But in process of time, *Ouranos* being in flight, or banishment, sends his daughter *Astarte*, with two other sisters *Rhea* and *Dione*, to cut

\* *Bib. Crit.*  
vol. i. p  
140.

Sanchoniatho. off Cronus by deceit, when Cronus taking, made wives of these sisters. Ouranos, understanding this, sent Eimarmene and Hore, Fate and Beauty, with other auxiliaries, to war against him: but Cronus, having gained the affections of these also, kept them with himself. Moreover, the god Ouranos devised *Bætulia*, contriving stones that moved as having life. But Cronus begat on Astarte seven daughters called *Titanides* or *Artemides*; and he begat on Rhea seven sons, the youngest of whom, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a god. Also by Dione he had daughters, and by Astarte moreover two sons, *Pothos* and *Eros*, i. e. Cupid and Love. But Dagon, after he had found out bread, corn, and the plough, was called *Zeus Arotrius*. To *Sydye*, or the just, one of the *Titanides* bare *Asclepius*. Cronus had also in *Peræa* three sons, 1. *Cronus* his father's name-fake. 2. *Zeus Belus*. 3. *Apollo*."

Is it conceivable, that a writer so acute as Porphyry, or indeed that any man of common sense, either in his age or in that of Philo, would forge a book filled with such stories as these, in order to remove the Christian objections to the immoral characters of the Pagan divinities? The very supposition is impossible to be made. Nor let any one imagine that Sanchoniatho is here writing allegorically, and by his tales of *Ouranos*, and *Ge* and *Cronus*, is only personifying the *heaven*, the *earth*, and *time*. On the contrary, he assures us, that *Ouranos*, or *Epigeus*, or *Autochthon* (for he gives him all these names) was the son of one *Eliaun* or *Hypfflor*, who dwelt about Byblus, and that from him the element which is over us was called *heaven*, on account of its excellent beauty, as the earth was named *Ge* after his sister and wife. And his translator is very angry \* with the Neoteric Greeks, as he calls them, because that, "by a great deal of force and straining, they laboured to turn all the stories of the gods into allegories and physical discourses." This proves unanswerably, that the author of this book, whoever he was, did not mean to veil the great truths of religion under the cloak of mythologic allegories; and therefore, if it was forged by Porphyry in support of Paganism, the forger so far mistook the state of the question between him and his adversaries, that he contrived a book, which, if admitted to be ancient, totally overthrew his own cause.

The next thing to be inquired into with respect to Sanchoniatho is his antiquity. Did he really live and write at so early a period as Porphyry and Philo pretend? We think he did not; and what contributes not a little to confirm us in our opinion, is that mark of national vanity and partiality, common to after-times, in making the sacred mysteries of his own country original, and conveyed from Phenicia into Egypt. This, however, furnishes an additional proof that Porphyry was not the forger of the work; for he well knew that the mysteries had their origin in Egypt (see MYSTERIES), and would not have fallen into such a blunder. He is guilty, indeed, of a very great anachronism, when he makes Sanchoniatho contemporary with Semiramis, and yet pretends that what he writes of the Jews is compiled from the records of Hierombalus the priest of the god Jao; for Bochart has made it appear in the highest degree probable †, that *Hierombalus* or *Jeromb baal* is the *Jerub-baal* or *Gideon* of Scripture.

† *Geogr. Sac. p. 2. book 2. lib. 2. cap. 17.* Between the reign of Semiramis and the Trojan war a period elapsed of near 800 years, whereas Gideon flourished

not above seventy years before the destruction of Troy. But supposing Sanchoniatho to have really consulted the records of Gideon, it by no means follows that he flourished at the same period with that judge of Israel. He speaks of the building of Tyre as an ancient thing, while our best chronologers † place it in the time of Gideon. Indeed, were we certain that any writings had been left by that holy man, we should be obliged to conclude, that a large tract of time had intervened between the death of their author and their falling into the hands of Sanchoniatho; for, surely, they could not, in a short period, have been so completely corrupted as to give any countenance to his impious absurdities. His atheistic cosmogony he does not indeed pretend to have got from the annals of the priest of Jao, but from records which were deposited in his own town of Berytus by Thoth a Phenician philosopher, who was afterwards made king of Egypt. But surely the annals of Gideon, if written by himself, and preserved pure to the days of Sanchoniatho, must have contained so many truths of the Mosaic religion, as must have prevented any man of sense from adopting so impossible a theory as Thoth's, though sanctioned by the greatest name of profane antiquity. Stillingfleet indeed thinks it most probable that Sanchoniatho became acquainted with the most remarkable passages of the life of Jerub-baal from annals written by a Phenician pen. He observes, that immediately after the death of Gideon, the Israelites, with their usual proneness to idolatry, worshipped *Baal-berith*, or the idol of Berytus, the town in which Sanchoniatho lived; and from this circumstance he concludes that there must have been such an intercourse between the Hebrews and Berytians, that in process of time the latter people might assume to themselves the Jerub-baal of the former, and hand down his actions to posterity as those of a priest instead of a great commander. All this may be true; but if so, it amounts to a demonstration that the antiquity of Sanchoniatho is not so high by many ages as that which is claimed for him by Philo and Porphyry, though he may still be more ancient, as we think Vossius has proved him to be \*, than any other profane historian whose writings have come down to us either entire or in fragments.

But granting the authenticity of Sanchoniatho's history, what, it may be asked, is the value of his fragments, that we should be at any trouble to ascertain whether they be genuine remains of high antiquity, or the forgeries of a modern impostor? We answer, with the illustrious Stillingfleet, that though these fragments contain such absurdities as it would be a disgrace to reason to suppose credible; though the whole cosmogony is the grossest sink of atheism; and though many persons make a figure in the history, whose very existence may well be doubted; yet we, who have in our hands the light of divine revelation, may in this dungeon discover many excellent relics of ancient tradition, which throw no feeble light upon many passages of holy scripture, as they give us the origin and progress of that idolatry which was so long the opprobrium of human nature. They furnish too a complete refutation of the extravagant chronology of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and show, if they be genuine, that the world is indeed not older than it is said to be by Moses. We shall conclude the article by earnestly recommending to our

Sanchoniatho.

† *Scaliger.*\* *De Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 1.*

Sanctroft  
||  
Sanctuary.

reads an attentive perusal of *Cumberland's SANCTO-  
NIATHO.*

SANCROFT, WILLIAM, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Frefingfield in Suffolk in 1616; and admitted into Emanuel college, Cambridge, in 1633. In 1642 he was elected a fellow; and, for refusing to take the covenant, was ejected from his fellowship. In 1660 he was chosen one of the university preachers; and in 1663 was nominated to the deanry of York. In 1664 he was installed dean of St Paul's. In this station he set himself with unwearied diligence to repair the cathedral, till the fire of London in 1666 employed his thoughts on the more noble undertaking of rebuilding it, toward which he gave 1400l. He also rebuilt the deanry, and improved its revenue. In 1668 he was admitted archdeacon of Canterbury, on the king's presentation. In 1677, being now prolocutor of the convocation, he was unexpectedly advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In 1687 he was committed to the tower, with six other bishops, for presenting a petition to the king against reading the declaration of indulgence. Upon King James II.'s withdrawing himself, he concurred with the lords in a declaration to the prince of Orange for a free parliament, and due indulgence to the Protestant dissenters. But when that prince and his consort were declared king and queen, his grace refusing to take the oath to their majesties, he was suspended and deprived.—He lived in a very private manner till his death in 1693. His learning, integrity, and piety, made him an exalted ornament of the church. He published a volume in 12mo, intitled *Modern Politics*, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other select authors; *Familiar Letters* to Mr North, an 8vo pamphlet; and three of his sermons were printed together after his death.

SANCTIFICATION, the act of sanctifying, or rendering a thing holy. The reformed divines define sanctification to be an act of God's grace, by which a person's desires and affections are alienated from the world; and by which he is made to die to sin, and to live to righteousness; or, in other words, to feel an abhorrence of all vice, and a love of religion and virtue.

SANCTION, the authority given to a judicial act, by which it becomes legal and authentic.

SANCTORIUS, or SANCTORIO, a most ingenious and learned physician, was professor in the university of Padua, in the beginning of the 17th century. He contrived a kind of statical chair, by means of which, after estimating the aliments received, and the sensible discharges, he was enabled to determine with great exactness the quantity of insensible perspiration, as well as what kind of victuals and drink increased or diminished it. On these experiments he erected a curious system, which he published under the title of *De Medicina Statica*; which is translated into English by Dr Quincy. Sanctorius published several other treatises, which shewed great abilities and learning.

SANCTUARY, among the Jews, also called *Sanctum sanctorum*, or *Holy of holies*, was the holiest and most retired part of the temple of Jerusalem, in which the ark of the covenant was preserved, and into which none but the high-priest was allowed to enter, and that only once a year, to intercede for the people.

Some distinguish the sanctuary from the sanctum sanc-

torum, and maintain that the whole temple was called the *sanctuary*.

To try and examine any thing by the weight of the sanctuary, is to examine it by a just and equal scale; because, among the Jews, it was the custom of the priests to keep stone weights, to serve as standards for regulating all weights by, though these were not at all different from the royal or profane weights.

SANCTUARY, in the Romish church, is also used for that part of the church in which the altar is placed, encompassed with a rail or balustrade.

SANCTUARY, in our ancient customs, the same with ASYLUM.

SAND, in *Natural History*, properly denotes small particles of siliceous stonies. Sands are subject to be variously blended, both with different substances, as that of talks, &c.; and hence, as well as from their various colours, are subdivided into, 1. White sands, whether pure or mixed with other arenaceous or heterogeneous particles; of all which there are several kinds, differing no less in the fineness of their particles than in the different degrees of colour, from a bright and shining white, to a brownish, yellowish, greenish, &c. white. 2. The red and reddish sands, both pure and impure. 3. The yellow sands, whether pure or mixed, are also very numerous. 4. The brown sands, distinguished in the same manner. 5. The black sands, of which there are only two varieties, viz. a fine shining greyish black sand, and another of a fine shining reddish-black colour. 6. The green kind; of which there is only one known species, viz. a coarse variegated dusky green sand, common in Virginia.

Sand is of great use in the glass manufacture; a white kind of sand being employed for making of the white glass, and a coarse greenish-looking sand for the green glass.

In agriculture it seems to be the office of sand to render unctuous or clayey earths fertile, and fit to support vegetables, by making them more open and loose.

*SAND-Bags*, in the art of war. See *SACKS of Earth*.

*Sand-EEL*. See *AMMODYTES*, *ICHTHYOLOGY Index*.

*SAND-Floods*, a name given to the motion of sand so common in the deserts of Arabia. Mr Bruce gives the following accurate description of some that he saw in travelling through that long and dreary desert. "At one o'clock (says he) we alighted among some acacia trees at Waadi el Halboub, having gone twenty-one miles. We were here at once surpris'd and terrified by a sight surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert from west and to north-west of us, we saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others stalking on with a majestic slowness: at intervals we thought they were coming in a few minutes to overwhelm us; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach us. Again they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjointed, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon shot. About noon they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon us, the wind being very strong.

Sanctuary,  
Sand.

Sand.

strong at north. Eleven of them ranged alongside of us about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest appeared to me at that distance as if it would measure ten feet. They retired from us with a wind at south-east, leaving an impression upon my mind to which I can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying, the swiftest horse or fastest sailing ship could be of no use to carry us out of this danger; and the full persuasion of this rivetted me as if to the spot where I stood, and let the camels gain on me so much in my state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty I could overtake them.

“The same appearance of moving pillars of sand presented themselves to us this day in form and disposition like those we had seen at Waadi Halboub, only they seemed to be more in number and less in size. They came several times in a direction close upon us, that is, I believe, within less than two miles. They began immediately after sunrise, like a thick wood, and almost darkened the sun: his rays shining through them for near an hour, gave them an appearance of pillars of fire. Our people now became desperate: the Greek shrieked out, and said it was the day of judgement. Ismael pronounced it to be hell, and the Tucorories, that the world was on fire. I asked Idris if ever he had before seen such a sight? He said he had often seen them as terrible, though never worse; but what he feared most was that extreme redness in the air, which was a sure presage of the coming of the simoom.” See SIMOOM.

The flowing of sand, though far from being so tremendous and hurtful as in Arabia, is of very bad consequences in this country, as many valuable pieces of land have thus been entirely lost; of which we give the following instances from Mr Pennant, together with a probable means of preventing them in future. “I have more than once (says he), on the eastern coasts of Scotland, observed the calamitous state of several extensive tracts, formerly in a most flourishing condition, at present covered with sands, unstable as those of the deserts of Arabia. The parish of Furvie, in the county of Aberdeen, is now reduced to two farms, and above 500l. a year lost to the Errol family, as appears by the oath of the factor in 1600, made before the court of session, to ascertain the minister’s salary. Not a vestige is to be seen of any buildings, unless a fragment of the church.

“The estate of Coubin, near Forres, is another melancholy instance. This tract was once worth 300l. a-year, at this time overwhelmed with sand. This strange inundation was still in motion in 1769, chiefly when a strong wind prevailed. Its motion is so rapid, that I have been assured, that an apple-tree has been so covered with it in one season, that only the very summit appeared. This distress was brought on about ninety years ago, and was occasioned by the cutting down some trees, and pulling up the bent or star which grew on the sand hills; which at last gave rise to the act of 15 George, III. c. 33. to prohibit the destruction of this useful plant.

“I beg leave to suggest to the public a possible means of putting a stop to these destructive ravages. Providence hath kindly formed this plant to grow only in pure sand. Mankind was left to make, in after-times,

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an application of it suitable to their wants. The sand-hills, on a portion of the Flintshire shores, in the parish of Llanasa, are covered with it naturally, and kept firm in their place. The Dutch perhaps owe the existence of part at least of their country to the sowing of it on the *mobile solum*, their sand-banks.

“My humane and amiable friend, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. recommended the sowing of this plant on the sandy wilds of Norfolk, that its matted roots might prevent the deluges of sand which that country experiences. It has been already remarked, that wheresoever this plant grows the salutary effects are soon observed to follow. A single plant will fix the sand, and gather it into a hillock; these hillocks, by the increase of vegetation, are formed into larger, till by degrees a barrier is made often against the encroachments of the sea; and might as often prove preventative of the calamity in question. I cannot, therefore, but recommend the trial to the inhabitants of many parts of North Britain. The plant grows in moist places near the sea, and is known to the Highlanders by the name of *murah*; to the English by that of *bent-star*, *mat-grass*, or *marram*. Linnæus calls it *arundo arenaria*. The Dutch call it *helm*. This plant hath stiff and sharp-pointed leaves, growing like a rush, a foot and a half long: the roots both creep and penetrate deeply into their sandy beds: the stalk bears an ear five or six inches long, not unlike rye; the seeds are small, brown, and roundish. By good fortune, as old Gerard observes, no cattle will eat or touch this vegetable, allotted for other purposes, subservient to the use of mankind.”

*SAND-Piper.* See TRINGA, ORNITHOLOGY Index.

*SAND-Stone*, a compound stone of which there are numerous varieties, arising not only from a difference of external appearance, but also in the nature and proportions of the constituent parts. See GEOLOGY Index.

There is a singular variety of sand-stone, which consists of small grains of hard quartz which strike fire with steel united with some micaceous particles. This variety is flexible and elastic, the flexibility depending on the micaceous part and softness of the gluten with which the particles are cemented. This elastic stone is brought from Brazil. There are also two tables of white marble, kept in the palace of Borghese at Rome, which have the same property. But the sparry particles of their substance, though transparent, are rather soft, and may be easily separated by the nail. They effervesce with acids, and there is a small mixture of minute particles of talk or mica.

Sand-stones are of great use in buildings which are required to resist air, water, and fire. Some of them are soft in the quarry, but become hard when exposed to the air. The loose ones are most useful, but the solid and hard ones crack in the fire, and take a polish when used as grindstones. Stones of this kind ought therefore to be nicely examined before they are employed for valuable purposes.

SANDAL, in antiquity, a rich kind of slipper worn on the feet by the Greek and Roman ladies, made of gold, silk, or other precious stuff; consisting of a sole, with an hollow at one extreme to embrace the ankle, but leaving the upper part of the foot bare.

SANDAL, is also used for a shoe or slipper worn by the pope and other Romish prelates when they officiate.

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Sandal.

**Sandarach.** It is also the name of a sort of slipper worn by several congregations of reformed monks. This last consists of no more than a mere leathern sole, fastened with latches or buckles, all the rest of the foot being left bare. The Capuchins wear sandals; the Recollects, clogs; the former are of leather, and the latter of wood.

*SANDAL-Wood.* See SAUNDERS.

**SANDARACH**, in *Natural History*, a very beautiful native fossil, though too often confounded with the common factitious red arsenic, and with the red matter formed by melting the common yellow orpiment.

It is a pure substance, of a very even and regular structure, is throughout of that colour which our dyers term an *orange scarlet*, and is considerably transparent even in the thickest pieces. But though, with respect to colour, it has the advantage of cinnabar while in the mass, it is vastly inferior to it when both are reduced to powder. It is moderately hard, and remarkably heavy; and, when exposed to a moderate heat, melts and flows like oil: if set on fire, it burns very briskly.

It is found in Saxony and Bohemia, in the copper and silver mines; and is sold to the painters, who find it a very fine and valuable red: but its virtues or qualities in medicine are no more ascertained at this time than those of the yellow orpiment.

*Gum SANDARACH*, is a dry hard resin, usually in the form of loose granules, of the size of a pea, a horie-bean, or larger; of a pale whitish yellow colour, transparent, and of a resinous smell, brittle, very inflammable, of an acrid and aromatic taste, and diffusing a very pleasant smell when burning. It was long the prevailing opinion that this gum was obtained from the *juniperus communis*; but this plant does not grow in Africa, in which country only sandarach is produced; for the gum sandarach of the shops is brought from the southern provinces of the kingdom of Morocco. About six or seven hundred quintals of it are exported every year from Santa Cruz, Mogador, and Saffy. In the language of the country it is called *el grassa*. The tree which produces it is a *Thuia*, found also by M. Vahl in the kingdom of Tunis. It was made known several years ago by Dr Shaw, who named it *Cypressus fructu quadrivalvi, Equiseti instar articulatis*; but neither of these learned men was acquainted with the economical use of this tree; probably because, being not common in the northern part of Barbary, the inhabitants find little advantage in collecting the resin which exudes from it.

M. Schoufboe (A), who saw the species of *thuia* in question, says that it does not rise to more than the height of 20 or 30 feet at most, and that the diameter of its trunk does not exceed ten or twelve inches. It distinguishes itself, on the first view, from the two other species of the same genus, cultivated in gardens, by having a very distinct trunk, and the figure of a real tree; whereas in the latter the branches rise from the root, which gives them the appearance rather of bushes. Its branches also are more articulated and brittle. Its flowers also are more articulated and brittle. Its flowers, which are not very apparent, shew themselves

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in April; and the fruit, which are of a spherical form, ripen in September. When a branch of this tree is held to the light, it appears to be interspersed with a multitude of transparent vesicles which contain the resin. When these vesicles burst in the summer months, a resinous juice exudes from the trunk and branches, as is the case in other coniferous trees. This resin is the sandarach, which is collected by the inhabitants of the country, and carried to the ports, from which it is transported to Europe. It is employed in making some kinds of sealing-wax, and in different sorts of varnish. In 1793 a hundred weight of it cost in Morocco from 13 to 13½ piastres, which make from about 3l. 5s. to 3l. 7s. 6d. sterling. The duty on exportation was about 7s. 6d. sterling per quintal.

Sandarach, to be good, must be of a bright-yellow colour, pure and transparent. It is an article very difficult to be adulterated. Care, however, must be taken, that the Moors do not mix with it too much sand. It is probable that a tree of the same kind produces the gum sandarach of Senegal, which is exported in pretty considerable quantities.

*Pounded SANDARACH.* See POUNCE.

**SANDEMANIANS**, in ecclesiastical history, a modern sect that originated in Scotland about the year 1728; where it is at this time distinguished by the name of *Glassites*, after its founder Mr John Glas, who was a minister of the established church in that kingdom; but being charged with a design of subverting the national covenant, and sapping the foundation of all national establishments by the kirk judicatory, was expelled by the synod from the church of Scotland. His sentiments are fully explained in a tract published at that time, intitled, "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs," and preserved in the first volume of his works. In consequence of Mr Glas's expulsion, his adherents formed themselves into churches, conformable in their institution and discipline to what they apprehended to be the plan of the first churches recorded in the New Testament. Soon after the year 1755, Mr Robert Sandeman, an elder in one of these churches in Scotland, published a series of letters addressed to Mr Hervey, occasioned by his Theron and Aspasio; in which he endeavours to shew, that his notion of faith is contradictory to the scripture account of it, and could only serve to lead men, professedly holding the doctrines commonly called *Calvinistic*, to establish their own righteousness upon their frames, inward feelings, and various acts of faith. In these letters Mr Sandeman attempts to prove, that faith is neither more nor less than a simple assent to the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ, recorded in the New Testament; and he maintains, that the word *faith*, or *belief*, is constantly used by the apostles to signify what is denoted by it in common discourse, viz. a persuasion of the truth of any proposition, and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony, and believing the apostolic testimony, except that which results from the nature of the testimony itself. This led the way to a controversy, among those who were called *Calvinists*, concerning the nature of justifying faith; and those who adopted Mr Sandeman's notion

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tion of it, and who took the denomination of *Sandemani-ans*, formed themselves into church order, in strict fellowship with the churches in Scotland, but holding no kind of communion with other churches. The chief opinions and practices in which this sect differs from other Christians, are, their weekly administration of the Lord's Supper; their love-feasts, of which every member is not only allowed but required to partake, and which consist of their dining together at each others houses in the interval between the morning and afternoon service; their kifs of charity used on this occasion, at the admission of a new member, and at other times, when they deem it to be necessary or proper; their weekly collection before the Lord's Supper, for the support of the poor, and defraying other expences; mutual exhortation; abstinence from blood and things strangled; washing each other's feet, the precept concerning which, as well as other precepts, they understand literally; community of goods, so far as that every one is to consider all that he has in his possession and power as liable to the calls of the poor and church; and the unlawfulness of laying up treasures on earth, by setting them apart for any distant, future, and uncertain use. They allow of public and private diversions, so far as they are not connected with circumstances really sinful; but apprehending a lot to be sacred, disapprove of playing at cards, dice, &c. They maintain a plurality of elders, pastors, or bishops, in each church; and the necessity of the presence of two elders in every act of discipline, and at the administration of the Lord's Supper. In the choice of these elders, want of learning, and engagements in trade, &c. are no sufficient objection; but second marriages disqualify for the office; and they are ordained by prayer and fasting, imposition of hands, and giving the right hand of fellowship. In their discipline they are strict and severe; and think themselves obliged to separate from the communion and worship of all such religious societies as appear to them not to profess the simple truth for their only ground of hope, and who do not walk in obedience to it. We shall only add, that in every church transaction, they esteem unanimity to be absolutely necessary. From this abstract of the account which they have published of their tenets and practices, it does not seem to be probable that their number should be very considerable.

SANDERS, a dye wood. See SAUNDERS.

SANDIVER, an old name for a whitish substance which is thrown up from the *metal*, as it is called, of which glass is made; and, swimming on its surface, is skimmed off.

Sandiver is also plentifully ejected from volcanoes; some is of a fine white, and others tinged bluish or yellowish.

Sandiver is said to be detergent, and good for foulnesses of the skin. It is also used by gilders of iron.

SANDIX, a kind of minium, or red lead, made of ceruse, but much inferior to the true minium.

SANDOMIR, a city, the capital of a palatinate of the same name, in Little Poland, on the Vistula. The Swedes blew up the castle in 1656; and here, in 1659, was a dreadful battle between the Tartars and Russians. It is 84 miles south-east of Cracow. Lat. 49. 26. Long. 20. 10.

SANDORICUM, a genus of plants belonging to the

decandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 23d order, *Trihilate*. See BOTANY Index.

SANDPU, or SANPOO, the vulgar name of a river in the East Indies, which is one of the largest in the world; but it is better known by that of *Burrampooter*. Of this most majestic body of waters we have the following very animated account in Maurice's Indian Antiquities. "An object equally novel and grand now claims our attention; so novel, as not to have been known to Europeans in the real extent of its magnificence before year 1765, and so awfully grand, that the astonished geographer, thinking the language of prose inadequate to convey his conception, has had recourse to the more expressive and energetic language of poetry: but

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— — — Scarce the Muse herself

Dares stretch her wing o'er this enormous mass  
Of rushing waters; to whose dread expanse,  
Continuous depth, and wondrous length of course,  
Our floods are rills.

"This stupendous object is the *Burrampooter*, a word which in Sanscrit signifies *the son of Brahma*; for no meaner origin could be assigned to so wonderful a progeny. This supreme monarch of Indian rivers derives its source from the opposite side of the same mountain from which the Ganges springs, and taking a bold sweep towards the east, in a line directly opposite to the course of that river, washes the vast country of Tibet, where, by way of distinction, it is denominated *Sanpoo*, or *the river*. Winding with a rapid current through Tibet, and, for many a league, amidst dreary deserts and regions remote from the habitations of men, it waters the borders of the territory of Lassa, the residence of the grand Lama; and then deviating with a cometary irregularity, from an east to a south-east course, the *mighty wanderer* approaches within 200 miles of the western frontiers of the vast empire of China. From this point its more direct path to the ocean lay through the gulf of Siam; but with a desultory course peculiar to itself, it suddenly turns to the west through Assam, and enters Bengal on the north-east quarter. Circling round the western point of the Garrow mountains, the *Burrampooter* now takes a southern direction; and for 60 miles before it meets the Ganges, its sister in point of origin, but not its rival in point of magnitude, glides majestically along in a stream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and but for its freshness, Mr Rennel says, might pass for an arm of the sea. About 40 miles from the ocean these mighty rivers unite their streams; but that gentleman is of opinion that their junction was formerly higher up, and that the accumulation of two such vast bodies of water, scooped out the amazing bed of the *Megna lake*. Their present conflux is below *Luckipoor*; and by that confluence a body of fresh running water is produced, hardly equalled, and not exceeded, either in the old or the new hemisphere. So stupendous is that body of water, that it has formed a gulf of such extent as to contain islands that rival our *Isle of Wight* in size and fertility; and with such resistless violence does it rush into the ocean, that in the rainy season the sea itself, or at least its surface, is perfectly fresh for many leagues out."

SANDS, GOODWIN, or *Godwin*, are dangerous sand banks



Sandwich. banks lying off the coast of Kent in England. See KENT.

**SANDWICH**, a town of Kent, and one of the cinque ports, having the title of an earldom. It consists of about 1500 houses, most of them old, and built with wood, though there are a few new ones built with brick and flints. It has three long narrow streets paved, and thirty cross-streets or alleys, with about 6000 inhabitants, but no particular manufactory. The town is walled round, and also fortified with ditches and ramparts; but the walls are much decayed, on account of the harbour being so choked up with sand that a ship of 100 tons burthen cannot get in. E. Long. 1. 20. N. Lat. 51. 20.

*SANDWICH Islands*, a group of islands in the South sea, lying near New Ireland, were among the last discoveries of Captain Cook, who so named them in honour of the earl of Sandwich, under whose administration these discoveries were made. They consist of 11 islands, extending in latitude from 18. 54. to 22. 15. N. and in longitude from 150. 54. to 160. 24. W. They are called by the natives, OWHYHEE, MOWEE, RANAI, *Morotoi*, TAHOOROWA, WCAHOO, ATOOI, *Neecheeow*, *Oreehoua*, *Morotinne*, and TAHOORA, all inhabited except the two last. An account of the most remarkable of which will be found in their alphabetical order, in their proper places in this work. The climate of these islands differs very little from that of the West Indies in the same latitude, though perhaps more temperate; and there are no traces of those violent winds and hurricanes, which render the stormy months in the West Indies so dreadful. There is also more rain at the Sandwich isles, where the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud, successive showers fall in the inland parts, with fine weather, and a clear sky, on the sea shore. Hence it is, that few of those inconveniences, to which many tropical countries are subject, either from heat or moisture, are experienced here. The winds, in the winter months, are generally from east-south-east to north-east. The vegetable productions are nearly the same as those of the other islands in this ocean; but the taro root is here of a superior quality. The bread-fruit trees thrive not in such abundance as in the rich plains of Otaheite, but produce double the quantity of fruit. The sugar-canes are of a very unusual size, some of them measuring 11 inches and a quarter in circumference, and having 14 feet eatable. There is also a root of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight, the juice of which is very sweet, of a pleasant taste, and is an excellent substitute for sugar. The quadrupeds are confined to the three usual sorts, hogs, dogs, and rats. The fowls are also of the common sort; and the birds are beautiful and numerous, though not various. Goats, pigs, and European seeds, were left by Captain Cook; but the possession of the goats soon gave rise to a contest between two districts, in which the breed was entirely destroyed. The inhabitants are undoubtedly of the same race that possess the islands south of the equator; and in their persons, language, customs, and manners, approach nearer to the New Zealanders than to their less distant neighbours, either of the Society or Friendly Islands. They are in general about the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing very great fatigue. Many of both sexes have

fine open countenances; and the women in particular have good eyes and teeth, with a sweetness and sensibility of look, that render them very engaging. There is one peculiarity, characteristic of every part of these islands, that even in the handsomest faces there is a fullness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose. They suffer their beards to grow, and wear their hair after various fashions. The dress of both men and women nearly resemble those of New Zealand, and both sexes wear necklaces of small variegated shells. Tattowing the body is practised by every colony of this nation. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have the singular custom of tattowing the tip of the tongue. Like the New Zealanders, they have adopted the method of living together in villages, containing from 100 to 200 houses, built pretty closely together, without any order, and having a winding path between them. They are generally flanked, towards the sea, with detached walls, which are meant both for shelter and defence. These walls consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them suddenly to such places as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the hills, or surrounding eminences, they have also little holes, or caves, the entrance to which is also secured by a fence of the same kind. They serve for places of retreat in cases of extremity, and may be defended by a single person against several assailants. Their houses are of different sizes, some of them being large and commodious, from 40 to 50 feet long, and from 20 to 30 broad; while others are mere hovels. The food of the lower class consists principally of fish and vegetables, to which the people of higher rank add the flesh of dogs and hogs. The manner of spending their time admits of little variety. They rise with the sun, and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest, a few hours after sunset. The making of canoes, mats, &c. forms the occupations of the men; the women are employed in manufacturing cloth, and the servants are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements, such as dancing, boxing, wrestling, &c. Their agriculture and navigation bear a great resemblance to those of the South-sea islands. Their plantations, which are spread over the whole sea-coast, consist of the taro, or eddy-root, and sweet potatoes, with plants of the cloth-trees set in rows. The bottoms of their canoes are of a single piece of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, and brought to a point at each end. The sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. Some of their double canoes measure 70 feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth. Their cordage, fish-hooks, and fishing-tackle, differ but little from those of the other islands. Among their arts must not be forgotten that of making salt, which they have in great abundance, and of a good quality. Their instruments of war are spears, daggers, clubs, and slings; and for defensive armour they wear strong mats, which are not easily penetrated by such weapons as theirs. As the islands are not united under one sovereign, wars are frequent among them, which, no doubt, contribute greatly to reduce the number of inhabitants, which, according to the proportion assigned to each island, does not exceed 400,000. The same system of subordination prevails

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here as at the other islands, the same absolute authority on the part of the chiefs, and the same unresisting submission on the part of the people. The government is likewise monarchical and hereditary. At Owhyhee there is a regular society of priests living by themselves, and distinct in all respects from the rest of the people. Human sacrifices are here frequent; not only at the commencement of a war, or any signal enterprise, but the death of every considerable chief calls for a repetition of these horrid rites. Notwithstanding the irreparable loss in the death of Captain Cook, who was here murdered through sudden resentment and violence, they are acknowledged to be of the most mild and affectionate disposition. They live in the utmost harmony and friendship with each other; and in hospitality to strangers they are not exceeded even by the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind; and their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages which they enjoy.

SANDYS, SIR EDWIN, second son of Dr Edwin Sandys archbishop of York, was born about 1561, and educated at Oxford under Mr Richard Hooker, author of the Ecclesiastical Polity. In 1581 he was collated to a prebend in the cathedral of York. He travelled into foreign countries; and, upon his return, grew famous for learning, prudence, and virtue. While he was at Paris, he drew up a tract, published under the title of *Europæ Speculum*. In 1602, he resigned his prebend; and, the year following, was knighted by King James I. who employed him in several important affairs. He was dexterous in any great employment, and a good patriot. However, opposing the court with vigour in the parliament held in 1621, he, with Mr Selden, was committed to custody for a month. He died in 1629, having bequeathed 1500l. to the university of Oxford, for the endowment of a metaphysical lecture.

SANDYS, *George*, brother of the foregoing Sir Edwin, and youngest son of Archbishop Sandys, was born in 1577. He was a very accomplished man; travelled over several parts of Europe and the East; and published a relation of his journey in folio, in 1615. He made an elegant translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; and composed some poetical pieces of his own, that were greatly admired in the times of their being written. He also paraphrased the Psalms; and has left behind him a Translation, with Notes, of one Sacred Drama written originally by Grotius, under the title of *Christus Patiens*; on which, and *Adamus Exul*, and *Mofenius*, is founded Lauder's impudent charge of plagiarism against our immortal Milton. Our author became one of the privy chamber to Charles I. and died in 1643.

SAN FERNANDO, near the entrance of the Golfo Dolce, in 15 degrees 18 minutes north latitude, has lately been fortified by the Spaniards, for the purpose of checking the Musquito-men, logwood-cutters, and bay-men. It is a very good harbour, with safe anchorage from the north and east winds, in eight fathoms water.

SANGUIFICATION, in the animal œconomy, the conversion of the chyle into true blood. See BLOOD.

SANGUINARIA, BLOOD-WORT, a genus of plants

belonging to the polyandria class, and in the natural method ranking under the 27th order, *Rhæædea*. See BOTANY Index. The Indians paint themselves yellow with the juice of these plants.

SANGUISORBA, GREATER WILD BURNET, a genus of plants, belonging to the tetrandria class, and in the natural method ranking under the 54th order, *Mjfcellanea*. See BOTANY Index. The cultivation of this plant has been greatly recommended as food for cattle. See BURNET, AGRICULTURE Index.

SANHEDRIM, or SANHEDRIN, from the Greek word *Συνεδριον*, which signifies a council or assembly of persons sitting together, was the name whereby the Jews called the great council of the nation, assembled in an apartment of the temple of Jerusalem to determine the most important affairs both of their church and state. This council consisted of seventy senators. The room they met in was a rotunda, half of which was built without the temple, and half within; that is, one semicircle was within the compass of the temple; the other semicircle, they tell us, was built without, for the senators to set in; it being unlawful for any one to sit down in the temple. The Nasi, or prince of the sanhedrim, sat upon a throne at the end of the hall, having his deputy at his right hand, and his sub-deputy on his left. The other senators were ranged in order on each side.

The rabbins pretend, that the sanhedrim has always subsisted in their nation from the time of Moses down to the destruction of the temple by the Romans. They date the establishment of it from what happened in the wilderness, some time after the people departed from Sinai (Numb. xi. 16), in the year of the world 2514. Moses, being discouraged by the continual murmurings of the Israelites, addressed himself to God, and desired to be relieved, at least, from some part of the burden of the government. Then the Lord said to him, "Gather unto me 70 men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee: And I will come down and talk with thee there; and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone." The Lord, therefore, poured out his spirit upon these men, who began at that time to prophecy, and have not ceased from that time. The sanhedrim was composed of 70 counsellors, or rather 72, six out of each tribe; and Moses, as president, made up the number 73. To prove the uninterrupted succession of the judges of the sanhedrim, there is nothing unattempted by the partisans of this opinion. They find a proof where others cannot so much as perceive any appearance or shadow of it. Grotius may be consulted in many places of his commentaries, and in his first book *De jure belli et pacis*, c. 3. art. 20. and *Selden de Synedriis veterum Hebræorum*. Also, Calmet's Dissertation concerning the polity of the ancient Hebrews, printed before his Comment upon the Book of Numbers.

As to the personal qualifications of the judges of this bench, their birth was to be untainted. They were often taken from the race of the priests or Levites, or out of the number of the inferior judges, or from the lesser

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**Sanhedrim.** lesser sanhedrim, which consisted only of 23 judges.— They were to be skilful in the law, as well traditional as written. They were obliged to study magic, divination, fortune-telling, physic, astrology, arithmetic, and languages. The Jews say, they were to know to the number of 70 tongues; that is, they were to know all the tongues, for the Hebrews acknowledged but 70 in all, and perhaps this is too great a number. Eunuchs were excluded from the sanhedrim, because of their cruelty, usurers, decrepid persons, players at games of chance, such as had any bodily deformities, those that had brought up pigeons to decoy others to their pigeon-houses, and those that made a gain of their fruits in the sabbatical year. Some also exclude the high-priest and the king, because of their too great power; but others will have it, that the kings always presided in the sanhedrim, while there were any kings in Israel.— Lastly, it was required, that the members of the sanhedrim should be of a mature age, a handsome person, and of considerable fortune. We speak now according to the notions of the rabbins, without pretending to warrant their opinions.

The authority of the great sanhedrim was vastly extensive. This council decided such causes as were brought before it by way of appeal from the inferior courts. The king, the high-priest, the prophets, were under its jurisdiction. If the king offended against the law, for example, if he married above 18 wives, if he kept too many horses, if he hoarded up too much gold and silver, the sanhedrim had him stripped and whipped in their presence. But whipping, they say, among the Hebrews was not at all ignominious; and the king bore this correction by way of penance, and himself made choice of the person that was to exercise this discipline over him. Also the general affairs of the nation were brought before the sanhedrim. The right of judging in capital cases belonged to this court, and this sentence could not be pronounced in any other place, but in the hall called *Lafchai-haggazitil*, or the *hall paved with stones*, supposed by some to be the *Αιδουσαίος*, or *pavement*, mentioned in John xix. 13. From whence it came to pass, that the Jews were forced to quit this hall when the power of life and death was taken out of their hands, 40 years before the destruction of their temple, and three years before the death of Jesus Christ. In the time of Moses this council was held at the door of the tabernacle of the testimony. As soon as the people were in possession of the land of promise, the sanhedrim followed the tabernacle. It was kept successively at Gilgal, at Shiloh, at Kirjath-jearim, at Nob, at Gibeon in the house of Obed-edom; and lastly, it was settled at Jerusalem, till the Babylonish captivity. During the captivity it was kept up at Babylon. After the return from Babylon, it continued at Jerusalem to the time of the Sicarii, or Assassins. Then finding that these profligate wretches, whose number increased every day, sometimes escaped punishment by the favour of the president or judges, it was removed to Hanoth, which were certain abodes situated, as the rabbins tell us, upon the mountain of the temple. From thence they came down into the city of Jerusalem, withdrawing themselves by degrees from the temple. Afterwards they removed to Jamia, thence to Jericho, to Uzzah, to Sepharvaim, to Bethsanim, to Sephoris, last of all to Tiberias, where they continued to the time of their utter extinction.

And this is the account the Jews themselves give us of **Sanhedrim**, the sanhedrim. **Sanjacks.**

But the learned do not agree with them in all this. Father Petau fixes the beginning of the sanhedrim not till Gabinius was governor of Judea, who, according to Josephus, erected tribunals in the five principal cities of Judea; at Jerusalem, at Gadara, at Amathus, at Jericho, and at Sephora or Sephoris, a city of Galilee. Grotius places the origin of the sanhedrim under Moses, as the rabbins do; but he makes it determine at the beginning of Herod's reign. Mr Basnage at first thought that the sanhedrim began under Gabinius; but afterwards he places it under Judas Maccabæus, or under his brother Jonathan. We see indeed, under Jonathan Maccabæus, (1 Macc. xii. 6.), in the year 3860, that the senate with the high-priest sent an embassy to the Romans. The rabbins say, that Alexander Jannæus, king of the Jews, of the race of the Asmoneans, appeared before the sanhedrim, and claimed a right of sitting there, whether the senators would or not. Josephus informs us, that when Herod was but yet governor of Galilee, he was summoned before the senate, where he appeared. It must be therefore acknowledged, that the sanhedrim was in being before the reign of Herod. It was in being afterwards, as we find from the Gospel and from the Acts. Jesus Christ in St Matthew (v. 22.) distinguishes two tribunals.— "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgement." This, they say, is the tribunal of the 23 judges. "And whosoever shall say to his brother Raca, shall be in danger of the council;" that is, of the great sanhedrim, which had the right of life and death, at least generally, and before this right was taken away by the Romans. Some think that the jurisdiction of the council of 23 extended to life and death also; but it is certain that the sanhedrim was superior to this council. See also Mark xiii. 9. xiv. 55. xv. 1.; Luke xxii. 52, 66.; John xi. 47.; Acts iv. 15. v. 21. where mention is made of the synedrion or sanhedrim.

From all this it may be concluded, that the origin of the sanhedrim is involved in uncertainty; for the council of the 70 elders established by Moses was not what the Hebrews understand by the name of sanhedrim. Besides, we cannot perceive that this establishment subsisted either under Joshua, the judges, or the kings. We find nothing of it after the captivity, till the time of Jonathan Maccabæus. The tribunals erected by Gabinius were very different from the sanhedrim, which was the supreme court of judicature, and fixed at Jerusalem; whereas Gabinius established five at five different cities. Lastly, It is certain that this senate was in being in the time of Jesus Christ; but the Jews themselves inform us that they had no longer then the power of life and death (John xviii. 31.).

**SANJACKS**, a people inhabiting the Curdistan, or Persian mountains, subsisting chiefly by plunder, and the scanty pittance afforded by their own mountainous country. "They were much reduced (says Mr Ives) by the late bashaw Achmet of Bagdad, who pursued them in person to their subterranean retreats, and destroyed many by the sword, and carried off great numbers of prisoners, who were sold for slaves." Notwithstanding this check, in the year 1758, they again became so daring that they would attack caravans of 700 men,

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men, and sometimes carry all off. They are said to be worshippers of the evil principle.

**SAN JUAN DE PUERTO RICO**, usually called *Porto Rico*, one of the West India islands belonging to Spain, is situated in about 18. N. Lat. and between 65. 36. and 67. 45. W. Long. and is about 40 leagues long and 20 broad. The island is beautifully diversified with woods, valleys, and plains, and is extremely fertile. It is well watered with springs and rivers, abounds with meadows, is divided by a ridge of mountains running from east to west, and has a harbour so spacious that the largest ships may lie in it with safety. Before the arrival of the Spaniards it was inhabited by 400,000 or 500,000 people, who, in a few years, were extirpated by its merciless conquerors. Raynal says, that its whole inhabitants amount at present only to 1500 Spaniards, Mestoes, and Mulattoes, and about 3000 negroes. Thus one of the finest islands in the West Indies has been depopulated by the cruelty, and left uncultivated by the indolence, of its possessors. But it is the appointment of Providence, who seldom permits flagrant crimes to pass unpunished, that poverty and wretchedness should be uniform consequences of oppression.

**SANICULA**, **SANICLE**, or *Self-heal*, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class, and in the natural method ranking under the 45th order, *Umbellatæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

**SANIES**, in *Medicine*, a ferous putrid matter, issuing from wounds. It differs from pus, which is thicker and whiter.

**SANNAZARIUS**, **JAMES**, in Latin *Ælius Cincius Sannazarius*, a celebrated Latin and Italian poet, born at Naples in 1458. He by his wit ingratiated himself into the favour of King Frederic; and, when that prince was dethroned, attended him into France, where he staid with him till his death, which happened in 1504. Sannazarius then returned into Italy, where he applied himself to polite literature, and particularly to Latin and Italian poetry. His gay and facetious humour made him sought for by all companies; but he was so afflicted at the news that Phillibert prince of Orange, general of the emperor's army, had demolished his country-house, that it threw him into an illness, of which he died in 1530. It is said, that being informed a few days before his death, that the prince of Orange was killed in battle, he called out, "I shall die contented, since Mars has punished this barbarous enemy of the Muses." He wrote a great number of Italian and Latin poems: among those in Latin, his *De Partu Virginis* and *Eclogues* are chiefly esteemed; and the most celebrated of his Italian pieces is his *Arcadia*.

**SANSANDING**, a town in Africa, situated near the banks of the Niger, in N. Lat. 14° 24' and 2° 23' W. Long. It is inhabited by Moors and Negroes to the number of from eight to ten thousand. The Negroes are kind, hospitable, and credulous; the Moors are at Sansanding, as everywhere else in the interior parts of Africa, fanatical, bigotted, and cruel.

**SANTA CRUZ**, a large island in the South sea, and one of the most considerable of those of Solomon, being about 250 miles in circumference. W. Long. 130. 0. S. Lat. 10. 21.

**SANTA CRUZ**, or **St CROIX**, a small and unhealthy island, situated in about 64 degrees west longitude and

18 north latitude. It is about eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and English, who soon became enemies to each other; and in 1650 were both driven out by 1200 Spaniards, who arrived there in five ships. The triumph of these lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the island, surrendered without resistance to 160 French, who had embarked in 1651, from St Christopher's, to make themselves masters of the island.

These new inhabitants lost no time in making themselves acquainted with a country so much disputed. On a soil, in other respects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate size, which, gliding gently almost on a level with the sea through a flat country, furnished only a brackish water. Two or three springs, which they found in the innermost parts of the island, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the most part dry. The construction of reservoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The island being flat, and covered with old trees, scarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poisonous vapours with which its morasses clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience: which was to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay; and, getting on board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration they had raised in the island. As soon as the flames were extinguished, they went on shore again.

They found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar, flourished equally in it. So rapid was the progress of this colony, that in 11 years from its commencement there were upon it 822 white persons, with a proportionable number of slaves. It was rapidly advancing to prosperity, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it decline again. This decay was as sudden as its rise. In 1696 there were no more than 147 men, with their wives and children, and 623 blacks remaining; and these were transported to St Domingo.

Some obscure individuals, some writers unacquainted with the views of government, with their secret negotiations, with the character of their ministers, with the interests of the protectors and the protected; who flatter themselves that they can discern the reason of events amongst a multitude of important or frivolous causes, which may have equally occasioned them; who do not conceive, that among all these causes the most natural may possibly be the farthest from the truth; who after having read the news, or journal of the day, with profound attention, decide as peremptorily as if they had been placed all their lifetime at the helm of the state, and had assisted at the council of kings; who are never more deceived than in those circumstance in which they display some share of penetration; writers as absurd in the praises as in the blame which they bestow upon nations, in the favourable or unfavourable opinion they form of ministerial operations: these idle dreamers, in a word, who think they are persons of importance, because their attention is always engaged on matters of consequence, being convinced that courts are always governed in their decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have supposed that the court

Santa.  
Raynal's  
History of  
the East  
and West  
Indies,  
vol. iv.  
p. 298.

*Santa.* of Versailles had neglected Santa Cruz, merely because they wished to abandon the small islands in order to unite all their strength, industry, and population, in the large ones; but this is a mistaken notion: This determination arose from the farmers of the revenue, who found that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St Thomas was detrimental to their interests. The spirit of finance hath in all times been injurious to commerce; it hath destroyed the source from whence it sprang. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for 30,750*l.* Soon after the Danes built there the fortress of Christianstadt. Then it was that this northern power seemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, she laid her plantations under the yoke of exclusive privileges. Industrious people of all sects, particularly Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the interests of the colonists and their oppressors, but without success. The two parties kept up a continual struggle of animosity, not of industry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its constitution, purchased, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 412,500*l.* part of which was paid in ready money, and the remainder in bills upon the treasury, bearing interest. From this time the navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions. Of 345 plantations, which were seen at Santa Cruz, 150 were covered with sugar canes, and every habitation is limited to 3000 Danish feet in length, and 2000 in breadth. It is inhabited by 2136 white men, by 22,244 slaves, and by 155 freedmen.

*SANTA Cruz*, in Teneriffe. See TENERIFFE.

*SANTA Cruz*, a town of Africa, on the coast of Barbary, and in the province of Suez and kingdom of Morocco, with a harbour and a fort. The Moors took it from the Portuguese in 1536. It is seated at the extremity of Mount Atlas, on the Cape Aguer. W. Long. 10. 7. N. Lat. 30. 38.

*SANTA Cruz de la Sierra*, a town of South America, and capital of a province of that name in Peru, and in the audience of Los Charcas, with a bishop's see. It is seated at the foot of a mountain, in a country abounding in good fruits, on the river Guapy. W. Long. 59. 35. S. Lat. 20. 40.

*SANTA Fe de Bogota*, a town of South America, and capital of New Granada, with an archbishop's see, a supreme court of justice, and an university.

The city is situated at the foot of a steep and cold mountain, at the entrance of a vast and superb plain. In 1774 it contained 1770 houses, 3246 families, and 16,233 inhabitants. Population must necessarily increase there, since it is the seat of government, the place where the coin is stricken, the staple of trade; and lastly, since it is the residence of an archbishop, whose immediate jurisdiction extends over 31 Spanish villages, which are called towns; over 195 Indian colonies, anciently subdued; and over 28 missions, established in modern times. This archbishop hath likewise, as metropolitan, a sort of inspection over the dioceses of Quito, of Panama, of Caraccas, of St Martha, and of Carthage. It is by this last place, though at the distance 100 leagues, and by the river Magdalena, that Santa

Fe keeps up its communication with Europe. There are silver mines in the mountains about the city. W. Long. 60. 5. N. Lat. 3. 58.

*SANTALUM*, a genus of plants belonging to the octandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those of which the order is doubtful. See *BOTANY Index*.

*SANTAREN*, a handsome town of Portugal in Estremadura, seated on a mountain near the river Tajo, 55 miles N. E. from Lisbon, in a country very fertile in wheat, wine, and oil. They get in their harvest here two months after they have sown their corn. It was taken from the Moors in 1447. W. Long. 8. 25. N. Lat. 39. 2.

*SANTAUGUSTINE*. See *AUGUSTINE*.

*SANTEN*, a town of Germany, in the circle of Westphalia, and in the duchy of Cleves. It is seated on the Rhine, 15 miles S. E. from Cleves. It has a handsome church belonging to the Roman Catholics, wherein is an image of the Virgin Mary, which it is pretended performs a great many miracles. Here the fine walks begin that run as far as Wesel, from which it is five miles distant to the north-west. E. Long. 6. 33. N. Lat. 51. 38.

*SANTERRE*, the former name of a small territory of France, in Picardy; bounded on the north by Cambresis, on the east by Vermandois, on the west by Amienois, and on the south by the river Somme. It is very fertile, and the capital town is Peronne.

*SANTEUIL*, or rather *SANTEUIL*, JOHN BAPTIST DE, in Latin *Santiolus Victorinus*, an excellent Latin poet, was born at Paris in 1630. Having finished his studies in Louis the Great's college, he applied himself entirely to poetry, and celebrated in his verse the praises of several great men; by which he acquired universal applause. He enriched Paris with a great number of inscriptions, which are to be seen on the public fountains, and the monuments consecrated to posterity. At length, some new hymns being to be composed for the Breviary of Paris, Claude Santeuil his brother, and M. Bossuet, persuaded him to undertake that work; and he succeeded in it with the greatest applause. On which the order of Clugny desiring him to compose some for their Breviary, he complied with their request; and that order, out of gratitude, granted him letters of filiation, with an annual pension. Santeuil was cared for by all the learned men of his time; and had for his admirers the two princes of Condé, the father and son, from whom he frequently received favours. Louis XIV. also gave him a proof of his esteem, by bestowing a pension upon him. He attended the duke of Bourbon to Dijon, when that prince went thither in order to hold the states of Burgundy; and died there in 1697, as he was preparing to return to Paris. Besides his Latin hymns, he wrote a great number of Latin poems, which have all the fire and marks of genius discoverable in the works of great poets.

To Santeuil we are indebted for many fine church-hymns, as above-mentioned. Santeuil read the verses he made for the inhabitants of heaven with all the agitations of a demoniac. Despreaux said he was the devil whom God compelled to praise saints. He was among the number of poets whose genius was as impetuous as his muse was decent.

*Santalum*  
||  
*Santeuil.*

Santeuil  
||  
Santorini.

La Bruyere has painted the character of this singular and truly original poet in the most lively colours. "Image a man of great felicity of temper, complaisant and docile, in an instant violent, choleric, passionate, and capricious. A man simple, credulous, playful, volatile, puerile; in a word, a child in gray hairs: but let him collect himself, or rather call forth his interior genius, I venture to say, without his knowledge or privacy, what fallies! what elevation! what images! what latinity! Do you speak of one and the same person, you will ask? Yes, of the same; of Theodas, and of him alone. He shrieks, he jumps, he rolls upon the ground, he roars, he storms; and in the midst of this tempest, a flame issues that shines, that rejoices. Without a figure, he rattles like a fool, and thinks like a wise man. He utters truths in a ridiculous way; and, in an idiotic manner, rational and sensible things. It is astonishing to find good sense disclose itself from the bosom of buffoonery, accompanied with grimaces and contortions. What shall I say more? He does and he says better than he knows. These are like two souls that are unacquainted with each other, which have each their turn and separate functions. A feature would be wanting in this extraordinary portrait, if I omitted saying, that he has at once an insatiable thirst for praise, ready to throw himself at the mercy of the critics, and at the bottom so docile as to profit by their censure. I begin to persuade myself that I have been drawing the portraits of two different persons: it would be impossible to find a third in Theodas; for he is a good man, a pleasant man, an excellent man."

This poet ought not to be confounded with *Claude de Santeuil*, his brother, a learned ecclesiastic, who also wrote several hymns in the Paris Breviary, under the name of *Santolius Maglioranus*, a name given him from his having lived a long time in the seminary of St Magliore at Paris, in quality of secular ecclesiastic. He was esteemed not only for his poetical abilities, but also for his profound erudition and his exemplary piety. He wrote several other pieces of poetry, besides his hymns, which are printed with his brother's works.

SANTILLANE, a sea-port town of Spain, in the province of Asturias, of which it is the capital. It is seated on the sea-coast, 55 miles east of Oviedo, and 200 north-west of Madrid. W. Long. 4. 33. N. Lat. 43. 30.

SANTOLINA, LAVENDER-COTTON, a genus of plants belonging to the syngenesia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 49th order, *Compositæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SANTORINI, or SANTORIN, an island of the Archipelago, to the north of Candia, and distant from it about 90 leagues, and to the south-west of Naphio. It is eight miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth, and almost covered with pumice-stone, whence the soil in general must be dry and barren; it is, however, greatly improved by the labour and industry of the inhabitants, who have turned it into a garden. It affords a great deal of barley, plenty of cotton, and large quantities of wine. Fruit is scarce, except almonds and figs; and there is neither oil nor wood. The partridge and the hare, so common in the other islands of the Archipelago, are scarce at Santorini; but quails are met with in abundance. The inhabitants are all Greeks, and are about 10,000 in number. Pyrgos is the capital

town, beside which, there are several little towns and villages. There is but one spring of water in the island, for which reason the rain-water is preserved in cisterns. Though subject to the Turks, they choose their own magistrates. E. Long. 25. 5. N. Lat. 39. 10.

SANIZO, RAPHAEL. See RAPHAEL.

SAO, a territory, called a kingdom, of Africa, on the Gold-coast of Guinea, hardly two miles in length along the shore. It produces abundance of Indian corn, yams, potatoes, palm-wine, and oil. The inhabitants are very treacherous, and there is no dealing with them without great caution. It contains several villages, of which Sabo is the principal.

SAONE, a considerable river of France, which has its source in Mount Vosgue, near Darney; runs through the Franche Comte, Burgundy, Beaujolois; and falls into the Rhone at Lyons. It passes by Gray, Chalons, and Mafcon.

SAP, the juice found in vegetables.

We observed, when treating of PLANTS, that it has been long disputed whether the sap of plants be analogous to the blood of animals, and circulates in the same manner. We also mentioned the conclusions that Dr Hales drew from his numerous experiments, which were all in opposition to the doctrine that the sap circulates.

Dr Walker, late professor of Natural History in the university of Edinburgh, has published, in the 1st volume of the Philosophical Transactions of Edinburgh, an account of a course of experiments on this subject, accompanied with some observations and conclusions.

It is well known that in the spring vegetables contain a great quantity of sap; and there are some trees, as the birch and plane, which, if wounded, will discharge a great portion of it. Whence is this moisture derived? Whether is it imbibed from the atmosphere, or does it flow from the soil through the roots? These are the questions which require first to be answered; and Dr Walker's experiments enable us to answer them with confidence.

He selected a vigorous young birch, 30 feet high and 26 inches in circumference at the ground. He bored a hole just above the ground on the 1st of February, and cut one of its branches at the extremity. He repeated this every second day; but no moisture appeared at either of the places till the 5th of May, when a small quantity flowed on making an incision near the ground. He then cut 21 incisions in the trunk of the tree, on the north side, at the distance of a foot from one another, and reaching from the ground to the height of 20 feet. The incisions were solid triangles, each side being an inch long and an inch deep, and penetrating through the bark and wood. Dr Walker visited the tree almost every day for two months, and marked exactly from which of the incisions the sap flowed. He observed that it flowed from the lowest incision first, and gradually ascended to the highest. The following table will show the progress of the sap upwards, and its correspondence with the thermometer.

The first column is the day of the month on which the observation was made; the second expresses the number of incisions from which the sap flowed on the day of the month opposite; and the third column the degree of the thermometer at noon. Some days are omitted in March, as the incisions, though made on the 5th, did not bleed till the 11th. Some days are also passed

Sanizo  
||  
Sap.

Sap. passed over in April, because no observation was made on account of rain.

| March. | N. of In. | Ther. | Noon.   | March | N. of In. | Ther. | Noon. |
|--------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 5      | —         | 46    |         | 30    | 8         | 50    |       |
| 11     | 2         | 49    |         | 31    | 7         | 62    |       |
| 12     | 2         | 49    |         |       |           |       |       |
| 13     | 1         | 44    | April 2 | 7     | 46        |       |       |
| 14     | 4         | 48    | 4       | 10    | 53        |       |       |
| 15     | 5         | 52    | 7       | 11    | 49        |       |       |
| 16     | 5         | 47    | 8       | 11    | 48        |       |       |
| 17     | 4         | 44    | 9       | 12    | 50        |       |       |
| 18     | 5         | 47    | 10      | 13    | 53        |       |       |
| 19     | 6         | 48    | 11      | 13    | 45        |       |       |
| 20     | 5         | 44    | 12      | 13    | 44        |       |       |
| 21     | 7         | 48    | 13      | 13    | 43        |       |       |
| 22     | 7         | 45    | 14      | 14    | 55        |       |       |
| 23     | 8         | 46    | 15      | 14    | 49        |       |       |
| 24     | 9         | 47    | 16      | 16    | 56        |       |       |
| 25     | 9         | 42    | 18      | 16    | 50        |       |       |
| 26     | 7         | 39    | 19      | 17    | 54        |       |       |
| 27     | 8         | 45    | 20      | 19    | 56        |       |       |
| 28     | 8         | 49    | 21      | 20    | 54        |       |       |
| 29     | 8         | 46    | 22      | 21    | 52        |       |       |

Dr Walker found that the sap ascends through the wood, and still more copiously between the wood and the bark; but none could be perceived ascending through the pith or the bark. He found also, that when the thermometer at noon is about 49, or between 46 and 50, the sap rises about one foot in 24 hours; that when the thermometer is about 45 at noon, it ascends about one foot in two days; and that it does not ascend at all unless the mid-day heat be above 40. He observed that it moves with more velocity through young than through old branches. In one young branch it moved through seven feet in one day, the thermometer being at 49, while it moved in the trunk of the tree only seven feet in seven days. Dr Walker has thus explained the reason why the buds on the extremities of branches unfold first; because they are placed on the youngest wood, to which the sap flows most abundantly.

The effects produced by the motion of the sap deserve to be attended to. In those parts to which it has mounted, the bark easily separates from the wood, and the ligneous circles may, without difficulty, be detached from one another. The buds begin to swell and their scales to separate, while those branches to which the sap has not ascended remain closely folded. When the sap has reached the extremities of the branches, and has thus pervaded the whole plant, it is soon covered with opening buds and ceases to bleed. The bleeding ceases first in the upper parts of the tree, and in the lower parts successively downwards, and the wood becomes dry. An inverted branch flows more copiously when cut than those which are erect. This is a proof that the ascent of the sap is not occasioned by capillary attraction, for water which has risen in a small glass tube by this attraction will not descend when the tube is inverted.

It is evident that there is an intimate connection between heat and the ascent of the sap. It did not begin to flow till the thermometer stood at a certain point: when it fell below 40, it was arrested in its progress. The south side of the tree, when the sun was bright,

bled more profusely than the north side; and at sunset the incisions at the top ceased to bleed, where it was exposed most to the cold air, while it still continued to flow from the incisions next to the ground; the ground retaining its heat longer than the air.

SAP, in sieges, is a trench, or an approach made under cover, of 10 or 12 feet broad, when the besiegers come near the place, and the fire from the garrison grows so dangerous that they are not able to approach uncovered.—There are several sorts of saps; the single, which has only a single parapet; the double, having one on each side; and the flying, made with gabions, &c. In all saps traverses are left to cover the men.

SAP, or *Sapp*, in building, as to sap a wall, &c. is to dig out the ground from beneath it, so as to bring it down all at once for want of support.

SAPHIES, a kind of charms, consisting of some scrap of writing, which the Negroes believe capable of protecting them from all evil. The Moors sell scraps of the Koran for this purpose; and indeed any piece of writing may be sold as a saphie; but it would appear that the Negroes are disposed to place greater confidence in the saphies of a Christian than in those of a Moor.

When Mr Park was at Koolikorro, a considerable town near the Niger, and a great market for salt, his landlord, hearing that he was a Christian, immediately thought of procuring a saphie. For this purpose he brought out his *walha*, or writing board, assuring me (says our author) that he would dress me a supper of rice if I would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men. The proposal was of too great consequence to me to be refused; I therefore wrote the board full, from top to bottom, on both sides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of the charm, washed the writing from the board into a calabash with a little water; and having said a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, lest a single word should escape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. A saphie writer was a man of too great consequence to be long concealed: the important information was carried to the Dooty, who sent his son with half a sheet of writing-paper, desiring me to write him a *naphula saphie* (a charm to procure wealth). He brought me, as a present, some meal and milk; and when I had finished the saphie, and read it to him with an audible voice, he seemed highly satisfied with his bargain, and promised to bring me in the morning some milk for my breakfast.

SAPINDUS, the SOAP-BERRY TREE, a genus of plants belonging to the octandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 23d order, *Trihilatæ*. See BOTANY Index.

SAPONARIA, SOPEWORT; a genus of plants belonging to the decandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 22d order, *Caryophyllææ*. See BOTANY Index.

SAPOR, TASTE. See TASTE, and ANATOMY, N<sup>o</sup> 139.

SAPOTA PLUM. See ACHRAS, BOTANY Index.

SAPPERS, are soldiers belonging to the royal artillery, whose business it is to work at the saps, for which they have an extraordinary pay. A brigade of sappers generally consists of eight men, divided equally into two parties;

Sapphira  
||  
Sappho.

parties; and whilst one of these parties is advancing the sap, the other is furnishing the gabions, fascines, and other necessary implements. They relieve each other alternately.

SAPPHIRA, was the wife of a rich merchant in Gueldres, and equally distinguished for her beauty and her virtue. Rhinfauld, a German officer, and governor of the town of Gueldres, fell in love with her; and not being able to seduce her either by promises or presents, he imprisoned her husband, pretending that he kept up a traitorous correspondence with the enemies of the state. Sapphira yielded to the passion of the governor in order to relieve her husband from chains; but private orders had already been given to put him to death. His unhappy widow, overwhelmed with grief, complained to Charles duke of Burgundy. He ordered Rhinfauld to marry her, after having made over to her all his possessions. As soon as the deed was signed, and the marriage over, Charles commanded him to be put to death. Thus the children of a wife whom he had seduced, and of a husband whom he had murdered, became lawful heirs to all his wealth.

SAPPHIRE, a species of precious stone, of a blue colour. See MINERALOGY *Index*.

SAPPHO, a famous poetess of antiquity, who for her excellence in her art has been called the *Tenth Muse*, was born at Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, about 610 years before Christ. She was contemporary with Stesichorus and Alcæus; which last was her countryman, and some think her suitor. A verse of this poet, in which he insinuates to her his passion, is preserved in Aristotle, *Rhet.* lib. i. cap. 9. together with the fair damsel's answer.

ALC. I fain to Sappho would a wish impart,  
But fear locks up the secret in my heart.

SAP. Thy downcast looks, respect, and timid air,  
Too plain the nature of thy wish declare.  
If lawless, wild, inordinate desire,  
Did not with thoughts impure thy bosom fire,  
Thy tongue and eyes, by innocence made bold,  
Ere now the secret of thy soul had told.

M. la Fevre observes, that Sappho was not in her usual good humour when she gave so cold an answer to a request, for which, at another time, perhaps she would not have waited.—It has been thought, too, that Anacreon was one of her lovers, and his editor Barnes has taken some pains to prove it: but chronology will not admit this; since, upon inquiry, it will be found that Sappho was probably dead before Anacreon was born. Of the numerous poems this lady wrote, there is nothing remaining but some small fragments, which the ancient scholiasts have cited; a hymn to Venus, preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and an ode to one of her mistresses\*: which last piece confirms a tradition delivered down from antiquity, that her amorous passion extended even to persons of her own sex, and that she was willing to have her mistresses as well as her gallants.

Ovid introduces her making a sacrifice to Phaon, one of her male paramours: from which we learn, that Sappho's love for her own sex did not keep her from loving ours. She fell desperately in love with Phaon, and did all she could to win him; but in vain: upon which she threw herself headlong from a rock, and died.

\* See *Poetry*, N<sup>o</sup> 222.

Sappho  
||  
Saracolets.

It is said that Sappho could not forbear following Phaon into Sicily, whither he retired that he might not see her; and that during her stay in that island she probably composed the hymn to Venus, still extant, in which she begs so ardently the assistance of that goddess. Her prayers, however, proved ineffectual: Phaon was cruel to the last degree. The unfortunate Sappho was forced to take the dreadful leap; she went to the promontory Leucas, and threw herself into the sea. The cruelty of Phaon will not surprise us so much, if we reflect, that she was a widow (for she had been married to a rich man in the isle of Andros, by whom she had a daughter, named *Cleis*); that she had never been handsome; that she had observed no measure in her passion to both sexes; and that Phaon had long known all her charms. She was, however, a very great wit, and for that alone deserves to be remembered. The Mitylenians held her merit in such high esteem, that they paid her sovereign honours after her death, and stamped their money with her image. The Romans afterwards erected a noble statue of porphyry to her; and in short, ancients as well as moderns have done honour to her memory. Vossius says, that none of the Greek poets excelled Sappho for sweetness of verse; and that she made Archilochus the model of her style, but at the same time took care to soften the severity of his expression. It must be granted, says Rapin, from what is left us of Sappho, that Longinus had great reason to extol the admirable genius of this woman; for there is in what remains of her something delicate, harmonious, and impassioned to the last degree.

SARABAND, a musical composition in triple time, the motions of which are slow and serious.

Saraband is also a dance to the same measure, which usually terminates when the hand that beats the time falls; and is otherwise much the same as the minuet.

The saraband is said to be originally derived from the Saracens, and is usually danced to the sound of the guitar or castanettes.

SARACA, a genus of plants belonging to the diadelphia class. See BOTANY *Index*.

SARACENS, the inhabitants of Arabia; so called from the word *saru*, which signifies a desert, as the greatest part of Arabia is; and this being the country of Mahomet, his disciples were called Saracens.

SARACOLETS, a Negro nation occupying the country between the rivers of Senegal and Gambia. They are a laborious people, cultivate their lands with care, are plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life, and inhabit handsome and well built villages; their houses, of a circular form, are for the most part terraced; the others are covered with reeds as at Senegal: they are inclosed with a mud wall a foot thick, and the villages are surrounded with one of stone and earth of double that solidity. There are several gates, which are guarded at night for fear of a surprise. This nation is remarkably brave, so that it is very uncommon to find a Saracoleet slave. The religious principles of this people are nearly allied to Mahometanism, and still more to natural religion. They acknowledge one God; and believe that those who steal, or are guilty of any crime, are eternally punished. They admit a plurality of wives, and believe their souls to be immortal like their own. The extent of this country is unknown. It is governed by four powerful princes, all bearing the name



**Saracolets** name of Fouquet. The least considerable, according to the testimony of the Saracolets, is that of Tuago, who can assemble 30,000 horse, and whose subjects occupy a territory two hundred leagues in extent, as well on the Senegal as on the tract that reaches beyond the Felou; a rock which, according to the same report, forms cataracts, from whence proceed the Senegal and the river Gambia, equally considerable.

**SARAGOSSA**, a city of Spain, in the kingdom of Arragon, with an archbishop's see, an university, and a court of inquisition. It is said to have been built by the Phœnicians; and the Romans sent a colony here in the reign of the emperor Augustus, whence it had the name of *Cæsar Augustus*, which by corruption has been changed into Saragossa. It is a large, handsome, and well-built town. The streets are long, broad, well paved, and very clean, and the houses from three to six stories high. It is adorned with many magnificent buildings; and they reckon 17 large churches, and 14 handsome monasteries, not to mention others less considerable. The river Ebro runs cross the place, dividing it into two; and on its banks is a handsome quay, which serves for a public walk. The Holy-street is the largest, and so broad that it may be taken for a square; and here they have their bull-fights: in this street there are several noblemen's families, particularly that of the viceroy. The convents are handsome and richly adorned, as well as the churches. The cathedral church is a spacious building, after the Gothic taste; but the finest church is that of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, seated on the side of the Ebro, and is a place of the greatest devotion in Spain. They tell us the Virgin appeared to St James, who was preaching the gospel, and left him her image, with a handsome pillar of jasper: it is still in this church, which they pretend is the first in the world built to her honour. This image stands on a marble pillar, with a little Jesus in her arms; but the place is so dark, that it cannot be seen without the assistance of lamps, which are 50 in number, and all of silver. These are also chandeliers and balustrades of massy silver. The ornaments of this image are the richest that can be imagined, her crown being full of precious stones of an inestimable price; in short, there is scarce any thing to be seen but gold and jewels, and a vast number of people come in pilgrimage hither. The town-house is a sumptuous structure, adorned with fine columns: in the hall are the pictures of all the kings of Arragon; and in a corner of it St George on horseback, with a dragon of white marble under him. It is seated in a very large plain, where the Ebro receives two other rivers; and over it are two bridges, one of stone and the other of wood, which last has been thought the most beautiful in Europe. A victory was obtained here over the French and Spaniards in 1710, but it was abandoned by the allies soon after. It is 97 miles west by north of Tarragona, 137 west of Barcelona, and 150 north-east of Madrid. W. Long. 0.48. N. Lat. 41.47.

**SARANNE**. See LILIUM.

**SARCASM**, in *Rhetoric*, a keen bitter expression which has the true point of satire, by which the orator scoffs and insults his enemy: such as that of the Jews to our Saviour; "He saved others, himself he cannot save."

**SARCOCELE**, in *Surgery*, a spurious rupture or hernia, wherein the testicle is considerably tumefied or

indurated, like a scirrhus, or much enlarged by a fleshy excrescence, which is frequently attended with acute pains, so as to degenerate at last into a cancerous disposition. See SURGERY.

**SARCOCOLLA**, a concrete juice brought from Persia and Arabia, in small whitish-yellow grains, with a few of a reddish and sometimes of a deep red colour mixed with them; the whitest tears are preferred, as being the freshest: its taste is bitter, accompanied with a dull kind of sweetness. See CHEMISTRY.

**SARCOLOGY**, is that part of anatomy which treats of the soft parts, viz. the muscles, intestines, arteries, veins, nerves, and fat.

**SARCOMA**, in *Surgery*, denotes any fleshy excrescence.

**SARCOPHAGUS**, in antiquity, a sort of stone coffin or grave, wherein the ancients deposited the bodies of the dead which were not intended to be burnt.

The word, as derived from the Greek, literally signifies *flesh-eater*; because originally a kind of stone was used for tombs, which quickly consumed the bodies. See the following article.

One of the most celebrated specimens of antiquity is the great sarcophagus, which is commonly called the tomb of Alexander the Great. It fell into the hands of the British at the capitulation of Alexandria in Egypt in 1801, is now deposited in the British Museum, and is thus described by a writer in the *Monthly Magazine*\*. Vol. xxviii

"It was brought from the mosque of St Athanasius, p. 42. at Alexandria, where it had been transformed, by the Mahometans, into a kind of reservoir, consecrated to contain the water for their pious ablutions. It is of considerable magnitude, and would form an oblong rectangle, were not one of the ends or shorter sides of the parallelogram rounded somewhat like a bathing tub. It is probable that formerly it was covered with a lid, but no trace of it is now visible; but is entirely open like an immense laver, of one single piece of beautiful marble, spotted with green, yellow, reddish, &c. on a ground of a fine black, of the species called breccia, a sort of pudding stone, composed of agglutinated fragments of various sizes, which are denominated according to their component parts. This comes under the class of calcareous breccias. But what renders this magnificent fragment of antiquity peculiarly interesting, is the prodigious quantity of small hieroglyphic characters, with which it is sculptured both within and without, as you may perceive by the figure. It would employ me nearly a month to make faithful copies of them: their shape and general appearance is pretty fairly given in the figure; but it can only serve to convey to you an idea of the monument in one view. A correct and faithful copy of all the hieroglyphics, though an Herculean task, is a desideratum; for it can be only by copying with scrupulous accuracy, and of a large size, the figures of this symbolical language, that we can attain the knowledge of a mysterious composition, on which depends that of the history of a country, once so highly celebrated. When that language shall be understood, we may perhaps learn the original purpose of this sarcophagus, and the history of the puissant man whose spoils it contained. Till then it is but the vain and flitting field of conjecture.

"Many men of science and learning, have examined this memento of Egyptian skill and industry; but no

Sarcophagus.

positive decision of its former application is yet found by the learned. Sonnini and Denon, who both closely and attentively examined it, have pronounced nothing decisive on the subject. Dr Clark of Cambridge, an indefatigable and learned antiquary, has asserted that the sarcophagus of the museum really was the tomb of Alexander; but it requires more talents than I possess, to remove the obstacles that withstand the clear intelligibility of this invaluable antique."

SARCOPHAGUS, or *Lapis Assius*, in the natural history of the ancients, a stone much used among the Greeks in their sepulchres, is recorded to have always perfectly consumed the flesh of human bodies buried in it in forty days. This property it was much famed for, and all the ancient naturalists mention it. There was another very singular quality also in it, but whether in all, or only in some peculiar pieces of it, is not known: that is, its turning into stone any thing that was put into vessels made of it. This is recorded only by Mutianus and Theophrastus, except that Pliny had copied it from these authors, and some of the later writers on these subjects from him. The account Mutianus gives of it is, that it converted into stone the shoes of persons buried in it, as also the utensils which it was in some places customary to bury with the dead, particularly those which the person while living most delighted in. The utensils this author mentions, are such as must have been made of very different materials; and hence it appears that this stone had a power of consuming not only flesh, but that its petrifying quality extended to substances of very different kinds. Whether ever it really possessed this last quality has been much doubted; and many, from the seeming improbability of it, have been afraid to record it. What has much encouraged the general disbelief of it is, Mutianus's account of its taking place on substances of very different kinds and textures; but this is no real objection, and the whole account has probably truth in it. Petrifications in those early days might not be distinguished from incrustations of spar and stony matter on the surfaces of bodies only, as we find they are not with the generality of the world even to this day; the incrustations of spar on mosses and other substances in some of our springs, being at this time called by many *petrified moss*, &c. and incrustations like these might easily be formed on substances enclosed in vessels made of this stone, by water passing through its pores, dislodging from the common mass of the stone, and carrying with it particles of such spar as it contained; and afterwards falling in repeated drops on whatever lay in its way, it might again deposit them on such substances in form of incrustations. By this means, things made of ever so different matter, which happened to be inclosed, and in the way of the passage of the water, would be equally incrustated with and in appearance turned into stone, without regard to the different configuration of their pores and parts.

The place from whence the ancients tell us they had this stone was Assos, a city of Lycia, in the neighbourhood of which it was dug; and De Boot informs us, that in that country, and in some parts of the East, there are also stones of this kind, which, if tied to the bodies of living persons, would in the same manner consume their flesh. *Hill's Notes on Theophrastus*, p. 14.

SARCOTICS, in *Surgery*, medicines which are supposed to generate flesh in wounds. Sarcotics

Sardinia.

SARDANAPALUS, the last king of Assyria, whose character is one of the most infamous in history. He is said to have sunk so far in depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature. He clothed himself as a woman, and spun amidst companies of his concubines. He painted his face, and behaved in a more lewd manner than the most lascivious harlot. In short, he buried himself in the most unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex and the dictates of nature. Having grown odious to all his subjects, a rebellion was formed against him by Arbaces the Mede and Belshis the Babylonian. They were attended, however, with very bad success at first, being defeated with great slaughter in three pitched battles. With great difficulty Belshis prevailed upon his men to keep the field only five days longer; when they were joined by the Bactrians, who had come to the assistance of Sardanapalus, but had been prevailed upon to renounce their allegiance to him. With this reinforcement they twice defeated the troops of Sardanapalus, who shut himself up in Nineveh the capital of his empire. The city held out for three years; at the end of which, Sardanapalus finding himself unable to hold out any longer, and dreading to fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised; and heaping upon it all his gold and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire to it, and so destroyed himself and all together.

SARDINIA, an island of the Mediterranean, bounded by the strait which divides it from Corsica on the north; by the Tuscan sea, which flows between this island and Italy, on the east; and by other parts of the Mediterranean sea on the south and west. It is about 140 miles in length and 70 in breadth, and contains 420,000 inhabitants. The revenue arises chiefly from a duty upon salt, and is barely sufficient to defray the expences of government; but it certainly might be considerably augmented, as the soil produces wine, corn, and oil, in abundance. Most of the salt that is exported is taken by the Danes and Swedes; the English formerly took great quantities for Newfoundland, but having found it more convenient to procure it from Spain and Portugal, they now take little or none. A profitable tunny fishery is carried on at the south-west part of the island, but it is monopolized by the proprietors of the adjoining land. Wild boars abound in the hilly parts of the island, and here are some few deer, not so large as those in Britain, but in colour and make exactly the same. Beeves and sheep are also common, as well as horses.

The feudal system still subsists in a limited degree, and titles go with their estates, so that the purchaser of the latter inherits the former. The regular troops seldom exceed 2000 men; but the militia amount to near 26,000, of whom 11,000 are cavalry. Their horses are small, but uncommonly active. In a charge, we should beat them; but, on a march, they would be superior to us. The country people are generally armed; but notwithstanding their having been so long under the Spanish and Italian government, assassinations are by no means frequent; and yet by the laws of the country, if

Sardinia  
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Sardinus.

a man stabs another without premeditated malice, within four hours after quarrelling with him, he is not liable to be hanged. On the other hand, the church affords no protection to the guilty. The Sardinians are not at all bigotted; and, next to the Spaniards, the English are their favourites. This island was formerly subject to the duke of Savoy, who enjoyed the title of king of Sardinia. See CAGLIARI. It is now under the dominion of the French.

There is in this island a pleasing variety of hills and valleys, and the soil is generally fruitful; but the inhabitants are a slothful generation, and cultivate but a little part of it. On the coast there is a fishery of anchovies and coral, of which they send large quantities to Genoa and Leghorn. This island is divided into two parts; the one, called *Capo di Cagliari*, lies to the south; and the other *Capo di Lugary*, which is seated to the north. The principal towns are Cagliari the capital, Oristagno, and Sassari.

SARDIS, or SARDES, now called *Sardo*, or *Sari*, is an ancient town of Natolia in Asia, about 40 miles east of Smyrna. It was much celebrated in early antiquity, was enriched by the fertility of the soil, and had been the capital of the Lydian kings. It was seated on the side of Mount Tmolus; and the citadel, placed on a lofty hill, was remarkable for its great strength. It was the seat of King Cræsus, and was in his time taken by Cyrus; after which the Persian satrapas or commandant resided at Sardis as the emperor did at Susa. The city was also taken, burnt, and then evacuated by the Milesians in the time of Darius, and the city and fortrefs surrendered on the approach of Alexander after the battle of Granicus. Under the Romans Sardis was a very considerable place till the time of Tiberius Cæsar, when it suffered prodigiously by an earthquake. The munificence of the emperor, however, was nobly exerted to repair the various damages it then sustained. Julian attempted to restore the heathen worship in the place. He erected temporary altars where none had been left, and repaired the temples if any vestiges remained. In the year 400 it was plundered by the Goths, and it suffered considerably in the subsequent troubles of Asia. On the incurfion of the Tartars in 1304, the Turks were permitted to occupy a portion of the citadel, separated by a strong wall with a gate, and were afterwards murdered in their sleep. The site of this once noble city is now green and flowery, the whole being reduced to a poor village, containing nothing but wretched huts. There are, however, some curious remains of antiquity about it, and some ruins which display its ancient grandeur. See *Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 251, &c.

There is in the place a large caravansary, where travellers may commodiously lodge. The inhabitants are generally shepherds, who lead their sheep into the fine pastures of the neighbouring plain. The Turks have a mosque here, which was a Christian church, at the gate of which there are several columns of polished marble. There are a few Christians, who are employed in gardening. E. Long. 28. 5. N. Lat. 37. 51.

SARDONIUS RISUS, *Sardonian Laughter*; a convulsive involuntary laughter; thus named from the herba sardoniana, which is a species of ranunculus, and is said to produce such convulsive motions in the cheeks as resemble those motions which are observed in the face du-

ring a fit of laughter. This complaint is sometimes speedily fatal. If the ranunculus happens to be the cause, the cure must be attempted by means of a vomit, and frequent draughts of hydromel with milk.

SARDONYX, a precious stone consisting of a mixture of the calcedony and carnelian, sometimes in strata, but at other times blended together. See MINERALOGY.

SARIMPATAM, a country of Indostan; lying at the back of the dominions of the Samorin of Malabar, and which, as far as we know, was never subdued by any foreign power. Mr Grose relates, that "it has been constantly a maxim with the inhabitants of this country never to make any but a defensive war; and even then, not to kill any of their adversaries in battle, but to cut off their noses. To this service the military were peculiarly trained up, and the dread of the deformity proved sufficiently strong to keep their neighbours, not much more martial than themselves, from effectually attacking them."

SARMENTOSÆ (from *sarmentum*, a long shoot like that of a vine); the name of the 11th class in Linnæus's Fragments of a Natural Method, consisting of plants which have climbing stems and branches, that, like the vine, attach themselves to the bodies in their neighbourhood for the purpose of support. See BOTANY.

SAROS, in chronology, a period of 223 lunar months. The etymology of the word is said to be Chaldean, signifying restitution, or return of eclipses; that is, conjunctions of the sun and moon in nearly the same place of the ecliptic. The Saros was a cycle like to that of Meto.

SAROTHRA, a genus of plants, belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 20th order, *Rotaceæ*. See BOTANY *Index*.

SARPLAR of WOOL, a quantity of wool, otherwise called a *pocket*, or *half sack*; a sack containing 80 tod; a tod two stone; and a stone 14 pounds.—In Scotland it is called *sarpliath*, and contains 80 stone.

SARRACONIA, a genus of plants belonging to the polyandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 54th order, *Miscellaneæ*. See BOTANY *Index*.

SARRASIN, or SARRAZIN, in fortification, a kind of portcullis, otherwise called a herse, which is hung with ropes over the gate of a town or fortrefs, to be let fall in case of a surprize.

SARSAPARILLA. See SMILAX, BOTANY and MATERIA MEDICA *Index*.

SARTORIUS, in ANATOMY. See there, *Table of the Muscles*.

OLD SARUM, in Wilts, about one mile north of New Sarum or Salisbury, has the ruins of a fort which belonged to the ancient Britons; and is said also to have been one of the Roman stations. It has a double intrenchment, with a deep ditch. It is of an orbicular form, and has a very august look, being erected on one of the most elegant plans for a fortrefs that can be imagined. In the north-west angle stood the palace of the bishop, whose see was removed hither from Wilton and Sherborn; but the bishop quarrelling with King Stephen, he seized the castle and put a garrison into it, which was the principal cause of its destruction, as the see was soon after removed from hence to Salisbury in

Sardonix  
||  
Sarum.



Sarum  
Sashes.

1219. The area of this ancient city is situated on an artificial hill, whose walls were three yards thick, the ruins of which in many places in the circumference are still to be seen, and the tracks of the streets and cathedral church may be traced out by the different colour of the corn growing where once the city stood. Here synods and parliaments have formerly been held, and hither were the states of the kingdom summoned to swear fidelity to William the Conqueror. Here also was a palace of the British and Saxon kings, and of the Roman emperors; which was deserted in the reign of Henry III. for want of water, so that one farm house is all that is left of this ancient city; yet it is called the *Borough of Old Sarum*, and sends two members to parliament, who are chosen by the proprietors of certain adjacent lands.

In February 1795 a subterraneous passage was discovered at this place, of which we have the following account in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, in a letter dated Salisbury, Feb. 10. "Some persons of Salisbury on Saturday last went to the upper verge of the fortification (the citadel), and on the right hand, after they had reached the summit, discovered a large hole. They got a candle and lantern, and went down a flight of steps for more than 30 yards. It was an arched way seven feet wide, neatly chiseled out of the solid rock or chalk. It is probable the crown of the arch gave way from the sudden thaw, and fell in. There is a great deal of rubbish at the entrance. It appears to be between six and seven feet high, and a circular arch overhead all the way. These particulars I learned from the person who himself explored it; but was afraid to go farther lest it might fall in again and bury him. He thinks it turns a little to the right towards Old Sarum house, and continues under the fosse till it reached the outer verge. The marks of a chissel, he says, are visible on the side. There are two large pillars of square stone at the entrance, which appear to have had a door at foot. They are 18 inches by 27, of good free-stone, and the mason work is extremely neat. The highest part of the archway is two feet below the surface of the ground.

"It is all now again filled up by order of farmer Whitechurch, who rents the ground of Lord Camelford, and thinks curiosity would bring so many people there as to tread down his grass whenever grass shall be there. I went into it 30 yards, which was as far as I could get for the rubbish. I measured it with a line, and found it extend full 120 feet inwards from the two pillars supposed to be the entrance; then onwards it appeared to be filled to the roof with rubbish. By measuring with the same line on the surface of the earth, I found it must go under the bottom of the outer bank of the outer trench; where I think the opening may be found by digging a very little way. Whether it was a Roman or a Norman work it is difficult to say; but it certainly was intended as a private way to go into or out of the castle; and probably a fort or strong castle was built over the outer entrance. I looked for inscriptions or coins, but have not heard of any being found."

SASAFRAS. See LAURUS, BOTANY and MATERIA MEDICA Index.

SASHES, in military dress, are badges of distinction worn by the officers of most nations, either round their

waist or over their shoulders. Those for the British army were made of crimson silk: for the Imperial army crimson and gold; for the Prussian army black silk and silver; the Hanoverians yellow silk; the Portuguese crimson silk with blue tassels.

SASINE, or SEISIN. See LAW, N<sup>o</sup> clxiv. 15. &c.

SASSA. See MYRRH, OPOCALPASUM, MATERIA MEDICA Index, and *Bruce's Travels*, vol. v. p. 27, &c.

SATAN, a name very common in Scripture, means the devil or chief of the fallen angels. See DEVIL.

SATELLITE, in *Astronomy*, the same with a secondary planet or moon.

SATIRE. See SATYR.

SATRAPA, or SATRAPES, in Persian antiquity, denotes an admiral; but more commonly the governor of a province.

SATTIN, a glossy kind of silk stuff, the warp of which is very fine, and stands so as to cover the coarser woof.

SATTINET, a slight thin kind of fatten, which is commonly striped, and is employed for different purposes of female dress.

SATURANTS, in *Anatomy*, the same with ABSORBENTS.

SATURATION, in *Chemistry*, is the impregnating an acid with an alkali, or *vice versa*, till either receive no more, and the mixture then become neutral.

SATURDAY, the seventh and last day of the week, so called from the idol Seater, worshipped on this day by the ancient Saxons, and thought to be the same as the Saturn of the Latins.

SATUREIA, SAVORY, a genus of plants belonging to the didynamia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 42d order, *Verticillate*. See BOTANY Index.

SATURN, in *Astronomy*, one of the planets of our solar system, revolving at the distance of more than 900 millions of miles from the sun. See ASTRONOMY Index.

SATURN, in *Chemistry*, an appellation formerly given to lead.

SATURN, in *Heraldry*, denotes the black colour in blazoning the arms of sovereign princes.

SATURN, one of the principal of the Pagan deities, was the son of Coelus and Terra, and the father of Jupiter. He deposed and castrated his father; and obliged his brother Titan to resign his crown to him, on condition of his bringing up none of his male issue, that the succession might at length devolve on him. For this purpose he devoured all the sons he had by his wife Rhea or Cybele: but she bringing forth at one time Jupiter and Juno, she presented the latter to her husband, and sent the boy to be nursed on Mount Ida; when Saturn being informed of her having a son, demanded the child; but in his stead his wife gave him a stone swaddled up like an infant, which he instantly swallowed. Titan finding that Saturn had violated the contract he had made with him, put himself at the head of his children, and made war on his brother, and having made him and Cybele prisoners, confined them in Tartarus: but Jupiter being in the mean time grown up, raised an army in Crete, went to his father's assistance, defeated Titan, and restored Saturn to the throne.

Some

Satine  
||  
Saturn.

Saturn  
||  
Satyavrata.

Some time after, Saturn being told that Jupiter intended to dethrone him, endeavoured to prevent it; but the latter being informed of his intention, deposed his father, and threw him into Tartarus. But Saturn escaping from thence fled into Italy, where he was kindly received by Janus king of the country, who associated him to the government: whence Italy obtained the name of *Saturnia Tellus*; as also that of *Latium*, from *lateo*, "to lie hid." There Saturn, by the wisdom and mildness of his government, is said to have produced the golden age.

Saturn is represented as an old man with four wings, armed with a scythe; sometimes he is delineated under the figure of a serpent with its tail in its mouth. This is emblematic of the seasons, which roll perpetually in the same circle. Sometimes also Saturn is painted with a sand-glass in his hand. The Greeks say, that the story of his mutilating his father and destroying his children is an allegory, which signifies, that Time devours the past and present, and will also devour the future. The Romans, in honour of him, built a temple, and celebrated a festival which they called *Saturnalia*. During this festival no business or profession was allowed to be carried on except cookery; all distinctions of rank ceased; slaves could say what they pleased to their masters with impunity; they could even rally them with their faults before their faces.

SATURNALIA, in Roman antiquity, a festival observed about the middle of December, in honour of the god Saturn, whom Lucan introduces giving an account of the ceremonies observed on this occasion, thus. "During my whole reign, which lasts but for one week, no public business is done; there is nothing but drinking, singing, playing, creating imaginary kings, placing servants with their masters at table, &c. There shall be no disputes, reproaches, &c. but the rich and poor, masters and slaves, shall be equal," &c.

On this festival the Romans sacrificed bare-headed, contrary to their custom at other sacrifices.

SATURNINE, an appellation given to persons of a melancholy disposition, as being supposed under the influence of the planet Saturn.

SATYAVRATA, or MENU, in Indian mythology, is believed by the Hindoos to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, and to have resided in the country of Dravira on the coast of the eastern Indian peninsula. His patronymic name was *Vaivasvata*, or *child of the sun*. In the *Bhagavat* we are informed, that the Lord of the universe, intending to preserve him from the sea of destruction, caused by the depravity of the age, thus told him how he was to act. "In seven days from the present time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death; but, in the midst of the destroying waves, a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of seeds; and, accompanied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark and continue in it, secure from the flood on one immense ocean without light, except the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent on my horn; for I will be near thee: drawing the vessel, with thee and thy attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of

men, until a night of Brahmá shall be completely ended. Thou shalt then know my true greatness, rightly named the supreme Godhead; by my favour, all thy questions shall be answered, and thy mind abundantly instructed." All this is said to have been accomplished; and the story is evidently that of Noah disguised by Asiatic fiction and allegory. It proves, as Sir William Jones has rightly observed, an ancient Indian tradition of the universal deluge described by Moses; and enables us to trace the connexion between the eastern and western traditions relating to that event. The same learned author has shown it to be in the highest degree probable, that the *Satyavrata* of India is the *Cronus* of Greece and the *Saturn* of Italy. See SATURN; and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 230, &c.

SATYR, or SATIRE, in matters of literature, a discourse or poem, exposing the vices and follies of mankind. See POETRY, Part II. sect. x.

The chief satirists among the ancients are, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius: those among the moderns, are, Regnier and Boileau, in French; Butler, Dryden, Rochester, Buckingham, Swift, Pope, Young, &c. among the English; and Cervantes among the Spaniards.

SATYRIASIS. See MEDICINE Index.

SATYRIUM, a genus of plants belonging to the gynandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 42d order, *Verticillate*. See BOTANY Index.

SATYRS, in ancient mythology, a species of demigods who dwelt in the woods. They are represented as monsters, half-men, and half-goats; having horns on their heads, a hairy body, with the feet and tail of a goat. They are generally in the train that follows Bacchus. As the poets supposed that they were remarkable for piercing eyes and keen raillery, they have placed them in the same pictures with the Graces, Loves, and even with Venus herself.

SAVAGE, RICHARD, one of the most remarkable characters that is to be met with perhaps in all the records of biography, was the son of Anne countess of Macclesfield by the earl of Rivers, according to her own confession; and was born in 1698. This confession of adultery was made in order to procure a separation from her husband the earl of Macclesfield: yet, having obtained this desired end, no sooner was her spurious offspring brought into the world, than, without the dread of shame or poverty to accuse her, she discovered the resolution of disowning him; and, as long as he lived, treated him with the most unnatural cruelty. She delivered him over to a poor woman to educate as her own; prevented the earl of Rivers from leaving him a legacy of 6000*l.* by declaring him dead: and in effect deprived him of another legacy which his godmother Mrs Lloyd had left him, by concealing from him his birth, and thereby rendering it impossible for him to prosecute his claim. She endeavoured to send him secretly to the plantations; but this plan being either laid aside or frustrated, she placed him apprentice with a shoemaker. In this situation, however, he did not long continue: for his nurse dying, he went to take care of the effects of his supposed mother; and found in her boxes some letters which discovered to young Savage his birth, and the cause of its concealment.

From the moment of this discovery it was natural for him to become dissatisfied with his situation as a shoemaker. He now conceived that he had a right to share

Satyavrata  
||  
Savage.

Savage.

in the affluence of his real mother; and therefore he directly, and perhaps indiscreetly, applied to her, and made use of every art to awaken her tenderness and attract her regard. But in vain did he solicit this unnatural parent: she avoided him with the utmost precaution, and took measures to prevent his ever entering her house on any pretence whatever.

Savage was at this time so touched with the discovery of his birth, that he frequently made it his practice to walk before his mother's door in hopes of seeing her by accident; and often did he warmly solicit her to admit him to see her; but all to no purpose: he could neither soften her heart nor open her hand.

Mean time, while he was assiduously endeavouring to rouse the affections of a mother in whom all natural affection was extinct, he was destitute of the means of support, and reduced to the miseries of want. We are not told by what means he got rid of his obligation to the shoemaker, or whether he ever was actually bound to him; but we now find him very differently employed in order to procure a subsistence. In short, the youth had parts, and a strong inclination towards literary pursuits, especially poetry. He wrote a poem; and afterwards two plays, *Woman's a Riddle*, and *Love in a Veil*: but the author was allowed no part of the profits from the first; and from the second he received no other advantage than the acquaintance of Sir Richard Steele and Mr Wilks, by whom he was pitied, caressed, and relieved. However, the kindness of his friends not affording him a constant supply, he wrote the tragedy of *Sir Thomas Overbury*; which not only procured him the esteem of many persons of wit, but brought him in 200l. The celebrated Aaron Hill, Esq; was of great service to him in correcting and fitting this piece for the stage and the press; and extended his patronage still farther. But Savage was, like many other wits, a bad manager, and was ever in distress. As fast as his friends raised him out of one difficulty, he sunk into another; and, when he found himself greatly involved, he would ramble about like a vagabond, with scarce a shirt on his back. He was in one of these situations during the time that he wrote his tragedy above-mentioned; without a lodging, and often without a dinner: so that he used to scribble on scraps of paper picked up by accident, or begged in the shops, which he occasionally stepped into, as thoughts occurred to him, craving the favour of pen and ink, as it were just to take a memorandum.

Mr Hill also earnestly promoted a subscription to a volume of *Miscellanies*, by Savage; and likewise furnished part of the poems of which the volume was composed. To this miscellany Savage wrote a preface, in which he gives an account of his mother's cruelty, in a very uncommon strain of humour.

The profits of his Tragedy and his *Miscellanies* together, had now, for a time, somewhat raised poor Savage both in circumstances and credit; so that the world just began to behold him with a more favourable eye than formerly, when both his fame and life were endangered by a most unhappy event. A drunken frolic in which he one night engaged, ended in a fray, and Savage unfortunately killed a man, for which he was condemned to be hanged; his friends earnestly solicited the mercy of the crown, while his mother as earnestly exerted herself to prevent his receiving it. The coun-

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Savage.

tefs of Hertford at length laid his whole case before Queen Caroline, and Savage obtained a pardon.

Savage had now lost that tenderness for his mother which the whole series of her cruelty had not been able wholly to repress; and considering her as an implacable enemy, whom nothing but his blood could satisfy, threatened to harass her with lampoons, and to publish a copious narrative of her conduct, unless she consented to allow him a pension. This expedient proved successful; and the lord Tyrconnel, upon his promise of laying aside his design of exposing his mother's cruelty, took him into his family, treated him as an equal, and engaged to allow him a pension of 200l. a-year. This was the golden part of Savage's life. He was courted by all who endeavoured to be thought men of genius, and caressed by all who valued themselves upon a refined taste. In this gay period of his life he published the *Temple of Health and Mirth*, on the recovery of Lady Tyrconnel from a languishing illness; and *The Wanderer*, a moral poem, which he dedicated to Lord Tyrconnel, in strains of the highest panegyric: but these praises he in a short time found himself inclined to retract, being discarded by the man on whom they were bestowed. Of this quarrel Lord Tyrconnel and Mr Savage assigned very different reasons. Our author's known character pleads too strongly against him; for his conduct was ever such as made all his friends, sooner or later, grow weary of him, and even forced most of them to become his enemies.

Being thus once more turned adrift upon the world, Savage, whose passions were very strong, and whose gratitude was very small, became extremely diligent in exposing the faults of Lord Tyrconnel. He, moreover now thought himself at liberty to take revenge upon his mother.—Accordingly he wrote *The Bastard*, a poem, remarkable for the vivacity of its beginning (where he finely enumerates the imaginary advantages of base birth), and for the pathetic conclusion, wherein he recounts the real calamities which he suffered by the crime of his parents.—The reader will not be displeased with a transcript of some of the lines in the opening of the poem, as a specimen of this writer's spirit and manner of versification.

Blest be the bastard's birth! thro' wondrous ways,  
He shines eccentric like a comet's blaze.  
No sickly fruit of faint compliance he;  
He! stamp'd in nature's mint with ecstasy!  
He lives to build, not boast, a gen'rous race;  
No tenth transmitter of a foolish face.  
Fire, kindling from within, requires no flame,  
He glories in a bastard's glowing name.  
—Nature's unbounded son, he stands alone,  
His heart unbias'd, and his mind his own.  
—O mother! yet no mother!—'tis to you  
My thanks for such distinguish'd claims are due.

This poem had an extraordinary sale; and its appearance happening at the time when his mother was at Bath, many persons there took frequent opportunities of repeating passages from the *Bastard* in her hearing. This was perhaps the first time that ever she discovered a sense of shame, and on this occasion the power of wit was very conspicuous: the wretch who had, without scruple, proclaimed herself an adulteress, and who had first endeavoured to starve her son, then to transport him

Savage. him, and afterwards to hang him, was not able to bear the representation of her own conduct; but fled from reproach, though she felt no pain from guilt; and left Bath with the utmost haste, to shelter herself among the crowds of London (A).

Some time after this, Savage formed the resolution of applying to the queen; who having once given him life, he hoped she might farther extend her goodness to him, by enabling him to support it.—With this view, he published a poem on her birth-day, which he entitled *The Volunteer-Laureat*; for which she was pleased to

send him 50l. with an intimation that he might annually expect the same bounty. But this annual allowance was nothing to a man of his strange and singular extravagance. His usual custom was, as soon as he had received his pension, to disappear with it, and secrete himself from his most intimate friends, till every shilling of the 50l. was spent; which done, he again appeared, penniless as before: But he would never inform any person where he had been, or in what manner his money had been dissipated.—From the reports, however, of some, who found means to penetrate his haunts, it

(A) Mr Boswell, in his life of Dr Johnson, has called in question the story of Savage's birth, and grounded his suspicion on two mistakes, or, as he calls them, falsehoods, which he thinks he has discovered in his friend's memoirs of that extraordinary man. Johnson has said, that the earl of Rivers was Savage's godfather, and gave him his own name; which, by his direction, was inserted in the register of the parish of St Andrew's, Holborn. Part of this, it seems, is not true; for Mr Boswell carefully inspected that register, but no such entry is to be found. But does this omission amount to a proof, that the person who called himself *Richard Savage* was an impostor, and not the son of the earl of Rivers and the countess of Macclesfield? Mr Boswell thinks it does; and, in behalf of his opinion, appeals to the maxim, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*. The solidity of this maxim may be allowed by others; but it was not without surprise that, on such an occasion, we found it adopted by the biographer of Johnson. To all who have compared his view of a celebrated cause, with Stuart's letters on the same subject addressed to Lord Mansfield, it must be apparent, that, at one period of his life, he would not have deemed a thousand such mistakes sufficient to invalidate a narrative otherwise so well authenticated as that which relates the birth of Savage. The truth is, that the omission of the name in the register of St Andrew's may be easily accounted for, without bringing against the wretched Savage an accusation of imposture, which neither his mother nor her friends dared to urge when provoked to it by every possible motive that can influence human conduct. The earl of Rivers would undoubtedly give the direction about registering the child's name to the same person whom he entrusted with the care of his education; but that person, it is well known, was the countess of Macclesfield, who, as she had resolved from his birth to disown her son, would take care that the direction should not be obeyed.

That which, in Johnson's life of Savage, Mr Boswell calls a second falsehood, seems not to amount even to a mistake. It is there stated, that "Lady Macclesfield having lived for some time upon very uneasy terms with her husband, thought a public confession of adultery the most obvious and expeditious method of obtaining her liberty." This Mr Boswell thinks cannot be true; because, having perused the journals of both houses of parliament at the period of her divorce, he there found it authentically ascertained, that so far from voluntarily submitting to the ignominious charge of adultery, she made a strenuous defence by her counsel. But what is this to the purpose? Johnson has nowhere said, that she confessed her adultery at the bar of either house of parliament, but only that her confession was *public*: and as he has taught us in his Dictionary, that whatever is *notorious* or *generally* known is *public*; public, in his sense of the word, that confession certainly was, if made to different individuals, in such a manner as showed that she was not anxious to conceal it from her husband, or to prevent its notoriety. She might, however, have very cogent reasons for denying her guilt before parliament, and for making a strenuous defence by her counsel; as indeed, had she acted otherwise, it is very little probable that her great fortune would have been restored to her, or that she could have obtained a second husband.

But Mr Boswell is of opinion, that the person who assumed the name of Richard Savage was the son of the shoemaker under whose care Lady Macclesfield's child was placed; because "his not being able to obtain payment of Mrs Lloyd's legacy must be imputed to his consciousness that he was not the real person to whom that legacy was left." He must have a willing mind who can admit this argument as a proof of imposture. Mrs Lloyd died when Savage was in his 10th year, when he certainly did not know or suspect that he was the person for whom the legacy was intended, when he had none to prosecute his claim, to shelter him from oppression, or to call in law to the assistance of justice. In such circumstances he could not have obtained payment of the money, unless the executors of the will had been inspired from heaven with the knowledge of the person to whom it was due.

To these and a thousand such idle cavils it is a sufficient answer, that Savage was acknowledged and patronized as Lady Macclesfield's son by Lord Tyrconnel, who was that lady's nephew; by Sir Richard Steele, the intimate friend of Colonel Brett, who was that lady's second husband; by the queen, who, upon the authority of that lady and her creatures, once thought Savage capable of entering his *mother's* house in the night with an intent to murder her; and in effect by *the lady herself*, who at one time was prevailed upon to give him 50l. and who fled before the satire of the *Bastard*, without offering, either by herself or her friends, to deny that the author of that poem was the person whom he called himself, or to insinuate so much as that he might *possibly* be the son of a shoemaker. To Mr Boswell all this seems *strange*: to others, who look not with so keen an eye for supposititious births, we think it must appear *convincing*.

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it would seem that he expended both his time and his cash in the most fordid and despicable sensuality; particularly in eating and drinking, in which he would indulge in the most unfocial manner, sitting whole days and nights by himself, in obscure houses of entertainment, over his bottle and trencher, immersed in filth and sloth, with scarce decent apparel; generally wrapped up in a horseman's great coat; and, on the whole, with his very homely countenance, altogether, exhibiting an object the most disgusting to the sight, if not to some other of the senses.

His wit and parts, however, still raised him new friends as fast as his behaviour lost him his old ones. Yet such was his conduct, that occasional relief only furnished the means of occasional excess; and he defeated all attempts made by his friends to fix him in a decent way. He was even reduced so low as to be destitute of a lodging; insomuch that he often passed his nights in those mean houses that are set open for casual wanderers; sometimes in cellars amidst the riot and filth of the most profligate of the rabble; and not seldom would he walk the streets till he was weary, and then lie down in summer on a bulk, or in winter with his associates among the ashes of a glass-house.

Yet, amidst all his penury and wretchedness, had this man so much pride, and so high an opinion of his own merit, that he ever kept up his spirits, and was always ready to repress, with scorn and contempt, the least appearance of any slight or indignity towards himself, in the behaviour of his acquaintance; among whom he looked upon none as his superior. He would be treated as an equal, even by persons of the highest rank. We have an instance of this preposterous and inconsistent pride, in his refusing to wait upon a gentleman who was desirous of relieving him when at the lowest ebb of distress, only because the message signified the gentleman's desire to see him at nine in the morning. Savage could not bear that any one should presume to prescribe the hour of his attendance, and therefore he absolutely rejected the proffered kindness. This life, unhappy as it may be already imagined, was yet rendered more unhappy, by the death of the queen, in 1738; which stroke deprived him of all hopes from the court. His pension was discontinued, and the insolent manner in which he demanded of Sir Robert Walpole to have it restored, for ever cut off this considerable supply; which possibly had been only delayed, and might have been recovered by proper application.

His distress became now so great, and so notorious, that a scheme was at length concerted for procuring him a permanent relief. It was proposed that he should retire into Wales, with an allowance of 50*l.* per annum, on which he was to live privately in a cheap place, for ever quitting his town-haunts, and resigning all farther pretensions to fame. This offer he seemed gladly to accept; but his intentions were only to deceive his friends, by retiring for a while, to write another tragedy, and then to return with it to London in order to bring it upon the stage.

In 1739, he set out in the Bristol stage-coach for Swansey, and was furnished with 15 guineas to bear the expence of his journey. But, on the 14th day after his departure, his friends and benefactors, the principal of whom was no other than the great Mr Pope, who

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expected to hear of his arrival in Wales, were surpris'd with a letter from Savage, informing them that he was yet upon the road, and could not proceed for want of money. There was no other method than a remittance; which was sent him, and by the help of which he was enabled to reach Bristol, from whence he was to proceed to Swansey by water. At Bristol, however, he found an embargo laid upon the shipping; so that he could not immediately obtain a passage. Here, therefore, being obliged to stay for some time, he, with his usual facility, so ingratiated himself with the principal inhabitants, that he was frequently invited to their houses, distinguished at their public entertainments, and treated with a regard that highly flattered his vanity, and therefore easily engaged his affections. At length, with great reluctance, he proceeded to Swansey; where he lived about a year, very much dissatisfied with the diminution of his salary; for he had, in his letters, treated his contributors so insolently, that most of them withdrew their subscriptions. Here he finished his tragedy, and resolved to return with it to London: which was strenuously opposed by his great and constant friend Mr Pope; who proposed that Savage should put this play into the hands of Mr Thomson and Mr Mallet, in order that they might fit it for the stage, that his friends should receive the profits it might bring in, and that the author should receive the produce by way of annuity. This kind and prudent scheme was rejected by Savage with the utmost contempt.—He declared he would not submit his works to any one's correction; and that he should no longer be kept in leading strings. Accordingly he soon returned to Bristol in his way to London; but at Bristol, meeting with a repetition of the same kind treatment he had before found there, he was tempted to make a second stay in that opulent city for some time. Here he was again not only caressed and treated, but the sum of 30*l.* was raised for him, with which it had been happy if he had immediately departed for London: But he never considered that a frequent repetition of such kindness was not to be expected, and that it was possible to tire out the generosity of his Bristol friends, as he had before tired his friends every where else. In short, he remained here till his company was no longer welcome. His visits in every family were too often repeated; his wit had lost its novelty, and his irregular behaviour grew troublesome. Necessity came upon him before he was aware; his money was spent, his clothes were worn out, his appearance was shabby; and his presence was disgusting at every table. He now began to find every man from home at whose house he called; and he found it difficult to obtain a dinner. Thus reduced, it would have been prudent in him to have withdrawn from the place; but prudence and Savage were never acquainted. He staid, in the midst of poverty, hunger, and contempt, till the mistress of a coffee-house, to whom he owed about eight pounds, arrested him for the debt. He remained for some time, at a great expence, in the house of the sheriff's officer, in hopes of procuring bail; which expence he was enabled to defray, by a present of five guineas from Mr Nash at Bath. No bail, however, was to be found; so that poor Savage was at last lodged in Newgate, a prison so named in Bristol.

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But it was the fortune of this extraordinary mortal always to find more friends than he deserved. The keeper of the prison took compassion on him, and greatly softened the rigours of his confinement by every kind of indulgence; he supported him at his own table, gave him a commodious room to himself, allowed him to stand at the door of the gaol, and even frequently took him into the fields for the benefit of the air and exercise: so that, in reality, Savage endured fewer hardships in this place than he had usually suffered during the greatest part of his life.

While he remained in this not intolerable prison, his ingratitude again broke out, in a bitter satire on the city of Bristol; to which he certainly owed great obligations, notwithstanding the circumstances of his arrest; which was but the act of an individual, and that attended with no circumstances of injustice or cruelty. This satire he entitled *London and Bristol delineated*; and in it he abused the inhabitants of the latter, with such a spirit of resentment, that the reader would imagine he had never received any other than the most injurious treatment in that city.

When Savage had remained about six months in this hospitable prison, he received a letter from Mr Pope, (who still continued to allow him 20l. a-year) containing a charge of very atrocious ingratitude. What were the particulars of this charge we are not informed; but, from the notorious character of the man, there is reason to fear that Savage was but too justly accused. He, however, solemnly protested his innocence; but he was very unusually affected on this occasion. In a few days after, he was seized with a disorder, which at first was not suspected to be dangerous: but growing daily more languid and dejected, at last a fever seized him; and he expired on the 1st of August 1743, in the 46th year of his age.

Thus lived, and thus died, Richard Savage, Esq. leaving behind him a character strangely chequered with vices and good qualities. Of the former we have seen a variety of instances in this abstract of his life; of the latter, his peculiar situation in the world gave him but few opportunities of making any considerable display. He was, however, undoubtedly a man of excellent parts; and had he received the full benefits of a liberal education, and had his natural talents been cultivated to the best advantage, he might have made a respectable figure in life. He was happy in a quick discernment, a retentive memory, and a lively flow of wit, which made his company much coveted; nor was his judgement both of writings and of men inferior to his wit: but he was too much a slave to his passions, and his passions were too easily excited. He was warm in his friendships, but implacable in his enmity; and his greatest fault, which is indeed the greatest of all faults, was ingratitude. He seemed to think every thing due to his merit, and that he was little obliged to any one for those favours which he thought it their duty to confer on him: it is therefore the less to be wondered at, that he never rightly estimated the kindness of his many friends and benefactors, or preserved a grateful and due sense of their generosity towards him.

The works of this original writer, after having long lain dispersed in magazines and fugitive publications, have been lately collected and published in an elegant edition, in 2 vols 8vo; to which are prefixed, the ad-

mirable Memoirs of Savage, written by Dr Samuel Johnson. Savage.

SAVAGE is a word so well understood as scarcely to require explanation. When applied to inferior animals, it denotes that they are wild, untamed, and cruel; when applied to man, it is of much the same import with *barbarian*, and means a person who is untaught and uncivilized, or who is in the rude state of uncultivated nature. That such men exist at present, and have existed in most ages of the world, is undeniable; but a question naturally occurs respecting the origin of this savage state, the determination of which is of considerable importance in developing the nature of man, and ascertaining the qualities and powers of the human mind. Upon this subject, as upon most others, opinions are very various, and the systems built upon them are consequently very contradictory. A large sect of ancient philosophers maintained that man sprung at first from the earth like his brother vegetables; that he was without ideas and without speech; and that many ages elapsed before the race acquired the use of language, or attained to greater knowledge than the beasts of the forest. Other sects again, with the vulgar, and almost all the poets, maintained that the first mortals were wiser and happier, and more powerful, than any of their offspring; that mankind, instead of being originally savages, and rising to the state of civilization by their own gradual and progressive exertions, were created in a high degree of perfection; that, however, they degenerated from that state, and that all nature degenerated with them. Hence the various ages of the world have almost everywhere been compared to gold, silver, brass, and iron, the golden having been always supposed to be the first age.

Since the revival of letters in Europe, and especially during the present century, the same question has been much agitated both in France and England, and by far the greater part of the most fashionable names in modern science have declared for the original savagism of men. Such of the ancients as held that opinion were countenanced by the atheistic cosmogony of the Phœnicians, and by the early history of their own nations; the moderns build their system upon what they suppose to be the constitution of the human mind, and upon the late improvements in arts and sciences. As the question must finally be decided by historical evidence, before we make our appeal to facts, we shall consider the force of the modern reasonings from the supposed innate powers of the human mind; for that reasoning is totally different from the other, and to blend them together would only prevent the reader from having an adequate conception of either.

Upon the supposition that all mankind were originally savages, destitute of the use of speech, and, in the strictest sense of the words, *mutum et turpe pecus*, the great difficulty is to conceive how they could emerge from that state, and become at last enlightened and civilized. The modern advocates for the universality of the savage state remove this difficulty by a number of instincts or internal senses, with which they suppose the human mind endowed, and by which the savage is, without reflection, not only enabled to distinguish between right and wrong, and prompted to do every thing necessary to the preservation of his existence, and the continuance of the species, but also led to the discovery

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of what will contribute, in the first instance, to the ease and accommodations of life. These instincts, they think, brought mankind together, when the reasoning faculty, which had hitherto been dormant, being now roused by the collisions of society, made its observations upon the consequences of their different actions, taught them to avoid such as experience showed to be pernicious, and to improve upon those which they found beneficial; and thus was the progress of civilization begun. But this theory is opposed by objections which we know not how to obviate. The bundle of instincts with which modern idleness, under the denomination of philosophy, has so amply furnished the human mind is a mere chimaera. (See INSTINCT). But granting its reality, it is by no means sufficient to produce the consequences which are derived from it. That it is not the parent of language, we have shown at large in another place (see LANGUAGE, N<sup>o</sup> 1—7.); and we have the confession of some of the ablest advocates for the original savagism of man, that large societies must have been formed before language could have been invented. How societies, at least large societies, could be formed and kept together without language, we have not indeed been told; but we are assured by every historian and every traveller of credit, that in such societies only have mankind been found civilized. Among known savages the social *forge* is very much confined; and therefore, had it been in the first race of men of as enlarged a nature, and as safe a guide, as the instinctive philosophers contend that it was, it is plain that those men could not have been savages. Such an appetite for society, and such a director of conduct, instead of enabling mankind to have emerged from savagism, would have effectually prevented them from ever becoming savage; it would have knit them together from the very first, and furnished opportunities for the progenitors of the human race to have begun the process of civilization from the moment that they dropt from the hands of their Creator. Indeed, were the modern theories of internal senses and social affections well founded, and were these senses and affections sufficient to have impelled the first men into society, it is not easy to be conceived how there could be at this day a savage tribe on the face of the earth. Natural causes, operating in the same direction and with the same force, must in every age produce the same effects; and if the social affections of the first mortals impelled them to society, and their reasoning faculties immediately commenced the process of civilization, surely the same affections and the same faculties would in a greater or less degree have had the same effect in every age and on every tribe of their numerous offspring; and we should everywhere observe mankind advancing in civilization, instead of standing still as they often do, and sometimes retreating by a retrograde motion. This, however, is far from being the case. Hordes of savages exist in almost every quarter of the globe; and the Chinese, who have undoubtedly been in a state of civilization for at least 2000 years, have during the whole of that long period been absolutely stationary, if they have not lost some of their ancient arts. (See PORCELAIN). The origin of civilization, therefore, is not to be looked for in human instincts or human propensities, carrying men forward by a natural progress; for the supposition of such propensities is contrary to fact; and by fact and historical evidence, in conjunction with what we

know of the nature of man, must this great question be at last decided.

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In the article RELIGION, N<sup>o</sup> 7. it has been shewn that the first men, if left to themselves without any instruction, instead of living the life of savages, and in process of time advancing towards civilization, must have perished before they acquired even the use of some of their senses. In the same article it has been shown (N<sup>o</sup> 14—17.), that Moses, as he is undoubtedly the oldest historian extant, wrote likewise by immediate inspiration; and that therefore, as he represents our first parents and their immediate descendants as in a state far removed from that of savages, it is vain to attempt to deduce the originality of such a state from hypothetical theories of human nature. We have, indeed, heard it observed by some of the advocates for the antiquity and universality of the savage state, that to the appeal to revelation they have no objection, provided we take the Mosaic account as it stands, and draw not from it conclusions which it will not support.

They contend, at the same time, that there is no argument fairly deducible from the book of Genesis which militates against their position. Now we beg leave to remark, that besides the reasoning which we have already used in the article just referred to, we have as much positive evidence against their position as the nature of the Mosaic history could be supposed to afford.

We are there told that God created man after his own image; that he gave him dominion over every thing in the sea, in the air, and over all the earth; that he appointed for his food various kinds of vegetables; that he ordained the Sabbath to be observed by him, in commemoration of the works of creation; that he prepared for him a garden to till and to dress; and that, as a test of his religion and submission to his Creator, he forbade him, under severe penalties, to eat of a certain tree in that garden. We are then told that God brought to him every animal which had been created; and we find that Adam was so well acquainted with their several natures as to give them names. When, too, an helpmate was provided for him, he immediately acknowledged her as bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and called her *woman*, because she was taken out of man.

How these facts can be reconciled to a state of ignorant savagism is to us absolutely inconceivable; and it is indeed strange, that men who profess Christianity should appeal to reason, and stick by its decision on a question which revelation has thus plainly decided against them. But it is agreeable to their theory to believe that man rose by slow steps to the full use of his reasoning powers. To us, on the other hand, it appears equally plausible to suppose that our first parents were created, not in full maturity, but mere infants, and that they went through the tedious process of childhood and youth, &c. as to suppose that their minds were created weak, uninformed, and uncivilized, as are those of savages.

But if it be granted that Adam had a tolerable share of knowledge, and some civilization, nothing can be more natural than to suppose that he would teach his descendants what he knew himself; and if the Scriptures are to be believed, we are certain that some of them possessed more than savage knowledge, and better than

*Savage.* than savage manners. But instead of going on to further perfection, as the theory of modern philosophers would lead us to suppose, we find that mankind degenerated in a most astonishing degree; the causes of which we have already in part developed in the article POLYTHEISM, N<sup>o</sup> 4, &c.

This early degeneracy of the human race, or their sudden progress towards ignorance and savagism, appears to lead to an important consequence. If men so very soon after their creation, possessing, as we have seen they did, a considerable share of knowledge and of civilization, instead of improving in either, degenerated in both respects, it would not appear that human nature has that strong propensity to refinement which many philosophers imagine; or that had all men been originally savage, they would have civilized themselves by their own exertions.

Of the ages before the flood we have no certain account anywhere but in Scripture; where, though we find mankind represented as very wicked, we have no reason to suppose them to have been absolute savages. On the contrary, we have much reason, from the short account of Moses, to conclude that they were far advanced in the arts of civil life. Cain, we are told, built a city; and two of his early descendants invented the harp and organ, and were artificers in brass and iron. Cities are not built, nor musical instruments invented, by savages, but by men highly cultivated: and surely we have no reason to suppose that the righteous posterity of Seth were behind the apostate descendants of Cain in any branch of knowledge that was really useful. That Noah and his family were far removed from savagism, no one will controvert who believes that with them was made a new covenant of religion; and it was unquestionably their duty, as it must otherwise have been their wish, to communicate what knowledge they possessed to their posterity. Thus far then every consistent Christian, we think, must determine against original and universal savagism.

In the preliminary discourse to Sketches of the History of Man, Lord Kames would infer, from some facts which he states, that many pairs of the human race were at first created, of very different forms and natures, but all depending entirely on their own natural talents. But to this statement he rightly observes, that the Mosiac account of the Creation opposes insuperable objections. "Whence then (says his Lordship) the degeneracy of all men into the savage state? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some dreadful convulsion." Now, if we mistake not, this is taking for granted the very thing to be proved. We deny that at any period since the creation of the world, *all* men were sunk into the state of savages; and that they were, no proof has yet been brought, nor do we know of any that can be brought, unless our fashionable philosophers choose to prop their theories by the buttress of Sanchoniatho's Phœnician cosmogony. (See SANCHONIATHO). His Lordship, however, goes on to say, or rather to *suppose*, that the confusion at Babel, &c. was this dreadful convulsion: For, says he, "by confounding the language of men, and scattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered savages." Here again we have a positive assertion, without the least shadow of proof; for it does not at all appear that the confusion of

language, and the scattering abroad of the people, was a circumstance such as could induce universal savagism. There is no reason to think that all the men then alive were engaged in building the tower of Babel; nor does it appear from the Hebrew original that the language of those who were engaged in it was so much changed as the reader is apt to infer from our English version. (See PHILOLOGY, N<sup>o</sup> 8—16.). That the builders were *scattered*, is indeed certain; and if any of them were driven, in very small tribes, to a great distance from their brethren, they would in process of time inevitably become savages. (See POLYTHEISM, N<sup>o</sup> 4—6, and LANGUAGE, N<sup>o</sup> 7.); but it is evident, from the Scripture account of the peopling of the earth, that the descendants of Shem and Japheth were not scattered over the face of all the earth, and that therefore they could not be rendered savage by the catastrophe at Babel. In the chapter which relates that wonderful event, the generations of Shem are given in order down to Abram; but there is no indication that they had suffered with the builders of the tower, or that any of them had degenerated into the state of savages. On the contrary, they appear to have possessed a considerable degree of knowledge; and if any credit be due to the tradition which represents the father of Abraham as a statuary, and himself as skilled in the science of astronomy, they must have been far advanced in the arts of refinement. Even such of the posterity of Ham as either emigrated or were driven from the plain of Shinar in large bodies, so far from sinking into savagism, retained all the accomplishments of their antediluvian ancestors, and became afterwards the instructors of the Greeks and Romans. This is evident from the history of the Egyptians and other eastern nations, who in the days of Abraham were powerful and highly civilized. And that for many ages they did not degenerate into barbarism, is apparent from its having been thought to exalt the character of Moses, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and from the wisdom of Solomon having been said to excel all the wisdom of the east country and of Egypt.

Thus decided are the Scriptures of the Old Testament against the universal prevalence of savagism in that period of the world; nor are the most authentic Pagan writers of antiquity of a different opinion. Molchus the Phœnician\*, Democritus, and Epicurus, appear to be the first champions of the savage state, and they are followed by a numerous body of poets and rhapsodists, among the Greeks and Romans, who were unquestionably devoted to fable and fiction. The account which they have given of the origin of man, the reader will find in another place (see THEOLOGY, Part I. sect. 1.): But we hardly think that he will employ it in support of the fashionable doctrine of original savagism. Against the wild reveries of this school are posted all the leaders of the other sects, Greeks and barbarians; the philosophers of both Academies, the sages of the Italian and Alexandrian schools; the Magi of Persia; the Bramins of India, and the Druids of Gaul, &c. The testimony of the early historians among all the ancient nations, indeed, who are avowedly fabulists, is very little to be depended on, and has been called in question by the most judicious writers of Pagan antiquity. (See *Plutarch Vita Thef. sub init.*; *Thucyd.* l. 1. cap. 1.; *Strabo*, l. 11, p. 507.; *Livy. Pref.* and *Varro ap. August. de Civ.*

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\* *Strabo*, lib. xvii.  
*Diog. Laert.*  
*Vita Democ.*  
*et Vita Epicuri.*

*Savage. Dei*). The more populous and extensive kingdoms and societies were civilized at a period prior to the records of profane history: the presumption, therefore, without taking revelation into the account, certainly is, that they were civilized from the beginning. This is rendered further probable from other circumstances. To account for their system, the advocates of savagism are obliged, as we have seen, to have recourse to numerous suppositions. They imagine, that since the creation dreadful convulsions have happened, which have spread ruin and devastation over the earth, which have destroyed learning and the arts, and brought on savagism by one sudden blow. But this is reasoning at random, and without a vestige of probability: for the only convulsion that can be mentioned is that at Babel, which we have already shown to be inadequate.

Further, it does not appear that any people who were once civilized, and in process of time had degenerated into the savage or barbarous state, have ever recovered their pristine condition without foreign aid. From whence we conclude, that man, once a savage, would never have raised himself from that hopeless state. This appears evident from the history of the world; for that it requires strong incitements to keep man in a very high state of knowledge and civilization, is evident from what we know of the numerous nations which were famed in antiquity, but which are now degenerated in an astonishing degree. That man cannot, or, which is the same thing, has not risen from barbarism to civilization and science by his own efforts and natural talents, appears further from the following facts. The rudiments of all the learning, religion, laws, arts, and sciences, and other improvements that have enlightened Europe, a great part of Asia, and the northern coast of Africa, were so many rays diverging from two points, on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile. In proportion as nations receded from these two sources of humanity and civilization, in the same proportion were they more and more immersed in ignorance and barbarism. The Greeks had made no progress towards civilization when the Titans first, and afterwards colonies from Egypt and Phenicia, taught them the very elements of science and urbanity\*. The aborigines of Italy were in the same state prior to the arrival of the Pelasgi, and the colonies from Arcadia and other parts of Greece. Spain was indebted for the first seeds of improvement to the commercial spirit of the Phenicians. The Gauls, the Britons, and the Germans, derived from the Romans all that in the early periods of their history they knew of science, or the arts of civil life, and so on of other nations in antiquity. The same appears to be the case in modern times. The countries which have been discovered by the restless and inquisitive spirit of Europeans have been generally found in the lowest state of savagism; from which, if they have emerged at all, it has been exactly in proportion to their connection with the inhabitants of Europe. Even western Europe itself, when sunk in ignorance, during the reign of monkery, did not recover by the efforts of its own inhabitants. Had not the Greeks, who in the 15th century took refuge in Italy from the cruelty of the Turks, brought with them their ancient books, and taught the Italians to read them, we who are disputing about the origin of the savage state, and the innate powers of the human mind, had at this day been gross and ignorant savages

\* See *Titan.*

ourselves, incapable of reasoning with accuracy upon any subject. That we have now advanced far before our matters is readily admitted; for the human mind, when put on the right track, and spurred on by emulation and other incitements, is capable of making great improvements: but between improving science, and and emerging from savagism, every one perceives there is an immense difference.

Lord Kames observes, that the people who inhabit a grateful soil, where the necessaries of life are easily procured, are the first who invent useful and ingenious arts, and the first who figure in the exercises of the mind. But the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who are thought to support this remark, appear from what we have seen to have derived their knowledge from their antediluvian progenitors, and not from any advantages of situation or strength of genius. Besides, the inhabitants of a great part of Africa, of North and South America, and of many of the islands lately discovered, live in regions equally fertile, and equally productive of the necessaries of life, with the regions of Chaldea and Egypt; yet these people have been savages from time immemorial, and continue still in the same state. The Athenians, on the other hand, inhabited the most barren and ungrateful region of Greece, while their perfection in the arts and sciences has never been equalled. The Norwegian colony which settled in Iceland about the beginning of the 8th century, inhabited a most bleak and barren soil, and yet the fine arts were eagerly cultivated in that dreary region when the rest of Europe was sunk in ignorance and barbarism. Again, there are many parts of Africa, and of North and South America, where the soil is neither so luxuriant as to beget indolence, nor so barren and ungrateful as to depress the spirits by labour and poverty; where, notwithstanding, the inhabitants still continue in an uncultured state. From all which, and from numerous other instances which our limits permit us not to bring forward, we infer that some external influence is necessary to impel savages towards civilization; and that in the history of the world, or the nature of the thing, we find no instance of any people emerging from barbarism by the progressive efforts of their own genius. On the contrary, as we find in societies highly cultivated and luxurious a strong tendency to degenerate, so in savages we not only find no mark of tendency to improvement, but rather a rooted aversion to it. Among them, indeed, the social appetite never reached beyond their own horde. It is, therefore, too weak and too confined to dispose them to unite in large communities; and of course, had all mankind been once in the savage state, they never could have arrived at any considerable degree of civilization.

Instead of trusting to any such natural progress, as is contended for, the Providence of Heaven, in pity to the human race, appears at different times, and in different countries, to have raised up some persons endowed with superior talents, or, in the language of poetry, some heroes, demi-gods, or god-like men, who having themselves acquired some knowledge in nations already civilized, by useful inventions, legislation, religious institutions, and moral arrangements, sowed the first seeds of civilization among the hordes of wandering disunited barbarians. Thus we find the Chinese lock up to their Fohee, the Indians to Brahma, the Persians

Savage  
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Savanna-la-  
Mar.

to Zoroaster, the Chaldeans to Oanes, the Egyptians to Thoth, the Phenicians to Melicerta, the Scandinavians to Odin, the Italians to Janus, Saturn, and Picus, and the Peruvians to Manco. In later times, and almost within our own view, we find the barbarous nations of Russia reduced to some order and civilization by the astonishing powers and exertions of Peter the Great. The endeavours of succeeding monarchs, and especially of Catharine II. have powerfully contributed to the improvement of this mighty empire. In many parts of it, however, we still find the inhabitants in a state very little superior to savagism; and through the most of it, the lower, and perhaps the middling orders, appear to retain an almost invincible aversion to all further progress \*. A fact which, when added to numerous others of a similar nature which occur in the history of the world, seems to prove indisputably that there is no such natural propensity to improvement in the human mind as we are taught by some authors to believe. The origin of savagism, if we allow mankind to have been at first civilized, is easily accounted for by natural means: The origin of civilization, if at any period the whole race were savages, cannot, we think, be accounted for otherwise than by a miracle, or repeated miracles.

\*See Russia.

To many persons in the present day, especially, the doctrine we have now attempted to establish will appear very humiliating; and perhaps it is this alone that has prevented many from giving the subject so patient a hearing as its importance seems to require. It is a fashionable kind of philosophy to attribute to the human mind very pre-eminent powers; which so flatter our pride, as in a great measure, perhaps, to pervert our reason, and blind our judgement. The history of the world, and of the dispensations of God to man, are certainly at variance with the popular doctrine respecting the origin of civilization: for if the human mind be possessed of that innate vigour which that doctrine attributes to it, it will be extremely difficult to account for those numerous facts which seem with irresistible evidence to proclaim the contrary; for that unceasing care with which the Deity appears to have watched over us; and for those various and important revelations He was vouchsafed to us. Let us rejoice and be thankful that we are men, and that we are Christians; but let not a vain philosophy tempt us to imagine that we are angels or gods.

*SAVAGE Island*, one of the small islands in the South sea, lying in S. Lat. 19. 1. W. Long. 169. 37. It is about seven leagues in circuit, of a good height, and has deep water close to its shores. Its interior parts are supposed to be barren, as there was no soil to be seen upon the coast; the rocks alone supplying the trees with humidity. The inhabitants are exceedingly warlike and fierce, so that Captain Cook could not have any intercourse with them.

*SAVANNA-LA-MAR*, a town of Jamaica, situated in the county of Cornwall in that island.—It is the county-town, where the assize courts are held. This town was almost totally destroyed in 1781 by an earthquake and inundation, when many of the inhabitants perished. It has now an elegant court-house, and contains about one hundred other houses. It belongs to Westmoreland parish, in which are 89 sugar-estates, 106 other estates, and 18,000 slaves.

*SAVANNAH*, formerly the capital of Georgia in North America, situated on a river of the same name, and 17 miles from its mouth, in W. Long. 80. 20. N. Lat. 32. 0. This town is regularly built in form of a parallelogram.

Savannah,  
Savary.

*SAVARY*, JAMES, an eminent French writer on the subject of trade, was born at Done, in Anjou, in 1622. Being bred to merchandize, he continued in trade until 1658; when he left off the practice, to cultivate the theory. He had married in 1650; and in 1660, when the king declared a purpose of assigning privileges and pensions to such of his subjects as had twelve children alive, Mr Savary was not too rich to put in his claim to the royal bounty. He was afterwards admitted of the council for the reformation of commerce; and the orders which passed in 1670 were drawn up by his instructions and advice. He wrote *Le Parfait Negociant*, 4to; and, *Avis et conseils sur les importantes matieres du Commerce*, in 4to. He died in 1690; and out of 17 children whom he had by one wife, left 11. Two of his sons, James and Philemon Lewis, laboured jointly on a great work, *Dictionnaire Universelle du Commerce*, 2 vols folio. This work was begun by James, who was inspector general of the manufactures at the custom-house, Paris; who called in the assistance of his brother Philemon Lewis, although a canon of the royal church of St Maur; and by his death left him to finish it. This work appeared in 1723, and Philemon afterwards added a third supplemental volume to the former. Postlethwayte's English Dictionary of Trade and Commerce is a translation, with considerable improvements, from Savary.

*SAVARY*, an eminent French traveller and writer, was born at Vitre, in Brittany, about the year 1748. He studied with applause at Rennes, and in 1776 travelled into Egypt, where he remained almost three years. During this period he was wholly engaged in the study of the Arabian language, in searching out ancient monuments, and in examining the national manners. After making himself acquainted with the knowledge and philosophy of Egypt, he visited the islands in the Archipelago, where he spent 18 months. On his return to France, in 1780, he published, 1. A Translation of the Koran, with a short Life of Mahomet, in 1783, 2 vols 8vo. 2. The Morality of the Koran, or a collection of the most excellent maxims in the Koran; a work extracted from his translation, which is esteemed both elegant and faithful. 3. Letters on Egypt, in 3 vols 8vo, in 1785. In these the author makes his observations with accuracy, paints with vivacity, and renders interesting every thing he relates. His descriptions are in general faithful, but are perhaps in some instances too much ornamented. He has been justly censured for painting modern Egypt and its inhabitants in too high colours. These letters, however, were bought up by the curious public, and read with pleasure and advantage. Encouraged by this flattering reception, he prepared his letters upon Greece. He died soon after at Paris of a malady contracted from too intense application. A sensible obstruction in the right lobe of the liver had made a decisive progress, which the return of summer, some simple medicines, a strict regimen, and travelling, seemed to remove.

On his return into the country adjacent to Paris, his health however was still doubtful; for it is well known

Savary  
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Save.

known that when the organization of one of the viscera has been much deranged, deep traces of it will ever remain. His active mind, however, made him regardless of his health, and he conceived it his duty to profit by those appearances of recovery which he experienced at the close of the summer and the beginning of autumn, to put into order his travels into the islands of the Archipelago, intended as a continuation of his letters on Egypt. His warmth of temper was exasperated by some lively criticisms which had been made on his former productions, and he gave himself up to study with a degree of activity of which the consequences were sufficiently obvious. An obstruction in the liver again took place, and made a new progress; his digestion became extremely languid; sleep quite forsook him, both by night and by day; a dry and troublesome cough came on; his face appeared bloated, and his legs more and more inflamed. The use of barley-water and cream of tartar still however promoted, in some degree, the urinary secretions, and afforded some little glimmering of hope. In this situation he returned to Paris in the beginning of the year 1788, to attend to the publication of his new work concerning the islands of the Archipelago, particularly the isle of Candia. He had then all the symptoms of a dangerous dropsy, which became still more alarming from the very exhausted state of the viscera. The right lobe of the liver was extremely hard and sensible. The patient had shiverings without any regular returns, and his strength was undermined by a hectic fever. At the same time still more uneasy symptoms took place, those of a dropsy in the chest; but the circumstances which destroyed all hope, and announced his approaching dissolution, were a severe pain in the left side, with a very troublesome cough, and a copious and bloody expectoration (*in hepaticis*, says Hippocrates, *sputum cruentum mortiferum*); his respiration became more and more difficult; his strength was exhausted, and his death took place on the 4th of February 1788, attended with every indication of the most copious overflowing in the chest, and of an abscess in the liver.— Thus was destroyed, in the vigour of his age, an author whose character and talents rendered him worthy of the happiest lot.

Mr Savary's genius was lively and well cultivated; his heart warm and benevolent; his imagination vigorous; his memory retentive. He was cheerful and open; and had so great a talent for telling a story, that his company was not less agreeable than instructive. He did not mingle much with the world, but was satisfied with performing well the duties of a son, of a brother, and of a friend.

SAUCISSE, or SAUCISSON, in mining, is a long pipe or bag, made of cloth well pitched, or sometimes of leather, of about an inch and a half diameter, filled with powder, going from the chamber of the mine to the entrance of the gallery. It is generally placed in a wooden pipe called an *auget*, to prevent its growing damp. It serves to give fire to mines, caissons, bomb-chests, &c.

SAUCISSON, is likewise a kind of fascine, longer than the common ones; they serve to raise batteries and to repair breaches. They are also used in making epaulements, in stopping passages, and in making traverses over a wet ditch, &c.

SAVE, a river of Germany, which has its source in Upper Carniola, on the frontiers of Carinthia. It runs

through Carniola from west to east, afterwards separates Slavendroog from Croatia, Bosnia, and part of Servia, and then falls into the Danube at Belgrade.

SAVENDROOG, a strong fortress of Hindustan, in the Myfore kingdom. It is situated on the summit of a vast rock, measuring about half a mile in perpendicular height, its base being upwards of eight miles in circumference, and divided by a chasm at the top, by which it is formed into two hills, each having a peculiar kind of defence. They answer the purpose of two citadels which are capable of being maintained, independent of the lower works, which are remarkably strong. It was, however, taken by the gallantry of British troops in the year 1791, after a siege of seven days continuance. It is 18 miles west of Bangalore. See INDIA, N<sup>o</sup> 167.

SAVER-KROUT. See KROUTE.

SAVERNAKE-Forest, is situated near Marlborough in Wiltshire, and is 12 miles in circumference, well stocked with deer, and delightful from the many vistas cut through the woods and coppices with which it abounds. Eight of these vistas meet, like the rays of a star, in a point near the middle of the forest, where an octagon tower is erected to correspond with the vistas; through one of which is a view of Tottenham Park, Lord Ailesbury's seat, a stately edifice erected after the model, and under the direction, of our modern Vitruvius, the earl of Burlington, who to the strength and convenience of the English architecture has added the elegance of the Italian.

SAVILE, SIR GEORGE, afterwards marquis of Halifax, and one of the greatest statesmen of his time, was born about the year 1630; and some time after his return from his travels was created a peer, in consideration of his own and his father's merits. He was a strenuous opposer of the bill of exclusion; but proposed such limitations of the duke of York's authority, as should disable him from doing any harm either in church or state, as the taking out of his hands all power in ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the public money, and the power of making peace and war; and lodging these in the two houses of parliament. After that bill was rejected in the house of lords, he pressed them, though without success, to proceed to the limitation of the duke's power; and began with moving, that during the king's life he might be obliged to live five hundred miles out of England. In August 1682 he was created a marquis, and soon after made privy-seal. Upon King James's accession, he was made president of the council; but on his refusal to consent to the repeal of the test, he was dismissed from all public employments. In that assembly of the lords which met after King James's withdrawing himself the first time from Whitehall, the marquis was chosen their president; and upon the king's return from Feversham, he was sent, together with the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Delamere, from the prince of Orange, to order his majesty to quit the palace at Whitehall. In the convention of parliament he was chosen speaker of the house of lords, and strenuously supported the motion for the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive sovereignty of the prince and princess; upon whose accession he was again made privy-seal. Yet, in 1689, he quitted the court, and became a zealous opposer of the measures of government till his death, which happened in April 1695. The Rev. Mr Crainger

Saville. Grainger observes, that "he was a person of unfettered principles, and of a lively imagination, which sometimes got the better of his judgement. He would never lose his jest, though it spoiled his argument, or brought his sincerity or even his religion in question. He was deservedly celebrated for his parliamentary talents; and in the famous contest relating to the bill of exclusion was thought to be a match for his uncle Shaftsbury. The pieces he has left us show him to have been an ingenious, if not a masterly writer; and his *Advice to a Daughter* contains more good sense in fewer words than is, perhaps, to be found in any of his contemporary authors." His lordship also wrote, *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*; a *Letter to a Dissenter*; a *Rough Draught of a New Model at Sea*; and *Maxims of State*; all which were printed together in one volume 8vo.—Since these were also published under his name the *Character of King Charles II.* 8vo; the *Character of Bishop Burnet*, and *Historical Observations upon the reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II.* with *Remarks upon their faithful Counsellors and false Favourites.*

SAVILLE, SIR HENRY, a learned Englishman, was the second son of Henry Saville, Esq. and was born at Bradley, near Halifax, in "Yorkshire, November the 30th, 1549. He was entered of Merton College, Oxford, in 1561, where he took the degrees in arts, and was chosen fellow. When he proceeded master of arts in 1570, he read for that degree on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, which procured him the reputation of a man eminently skilled in mathematics and the Greek language; in the former of which he voluntarily read a public lecture in the university for some time.

In 1578 he travelled into France and other countries; where, diligently improving himself in all useful learning, in languages, and the knowledge of the world, he became a most accomplished gentleman. At his return, he was made tutor in the Greek tongue to Queen Elizabeth, who had a great esteem for him.

In 1585 he was made warden of Merton College, which he governed 36 years with great honour, and improved it by all the means in his power.—In 1596 he was chosen provost of Eton College; which he filled with many learned men.—James I. upon his accession to the crown of England, expressed a great regard for him, and would have preferred him either in church or state; but Saville declined it, and only accepted the ceremony of knighthood from the king at Windsor in 1604. His only son Henry dying about that time, he thenceforth devoted his fortune to the promoting of learning. Among other things, in 1619, he founded, in the university of Oxford, two lectures, or professorships, one in geometry, the other in astronomy; which he endowed with a salary of 160l. a-year each, besides a legacy of 600l. to purchase more lands for the same use. He also furnished a library with mathematical books, near the mathematical school, for the use of his professors; and gave 100l. to the mathematical chest of his own appointing: adding afterwards a legacy of 40l. a-year to the same chest, to the university, and to his professors jointly. He likewise gave 120l. towards the new building of the schools, beside several rare manuscripts and printed books to the Bodleian library; and a good quantity of Greek types to the printing press at Oxford.

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After a life thus spent in the encouragement and promotion of science and literature in general, he died at Eton College the 19th of February 1622, in the 73d year of his age, and was buried in the chapel there. On this occasion, the university of Oxford paid him the greatest honours, by having a public speech and verses made in his praise, which were published soon after in 4to, under the title of *Ultima Linea Savilii.*

The highest encomiums were bestowed on Saville by all the learned of his time: by Casaubon, Mercerus, Meibomius, Joseph Scaliger, and especially the learned Bishop Montague; who, in his *Diatriba* upon Selden's *History of Tythes*, styles him, "that magazine of learning, whose memory shall be honourable amongst not only the learned, but the righteous for ever." His works are,

1. Four Books of the *Histories of Cornelius Tacitus*, and the *Life of Agricola*; with Notes upon them, in folio, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, 1581.—2. A *View of certain Military Matters*, or *Commentaries concerning Roman Warfare*, 1598.—3. *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, &c. 1596. This is a collection of the best writers of our English history; to which he added chronological tables at the end, from Julius Cæsar to William the Conqueror.—4. *The Works of St Chrysostom*, in Greek, in 8 vols folio, 1613. This is a very fine edition, and composed with great cost and labour. In the preface he says, "that having himself visited, about 12 years before, all the public and private libraries in Britain, and copied out thence whatever he thought useful to this design, he then sent some learned men into France, Germany, Italy, and the East, to transcribe such parts as he had not already, and to collate the others with the best manuscripts." At the same time, he makes his acknowledgments to several eminent men for their assistance; as Thuanus, Velferus, Schottus, Casaubon, Ducaeus, Gruter, Hoefschelius, &c. In the 8th volume are inserted Sir Henry Saville's own notes, with those of other learned men. The whole charge of this edition, including the several sums paid to learned men, at home and abroad, employed in finding out, transcribing, and collating the best manuscripts, is said to have amounted to no less than 8000l. Several editions of this work were afterwards published at Paris.—5. In 1618 he published a Latin work, written by Thomas Bradwardin, archbishop of Canterbury, against Pelagius, entitled, *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium, et de virtute causarum*; to which he prefixed the life of Bradwardin.—6. In 1621 he published a collection of his own *Mathematical Lectures on Euclid's Elements*, in 4to.—7. *Oratio coram Elizabetha Regina Oxoniæ habita*, anno 1592. Printed at Oxford in 1658, in 4to.—8. He translated into Latin King James's *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. He also left several manuscripts behind him, written by order of King James; all which are in the Bodleian library. He wrote notes likewise upon the margin of many books in his library, particularly Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*; which were afterwards used by Valesius, in his edition of that work in 1659.—Four of his letters to Camden are published by Smith, among *Camden's Letters*, 1691, 4to.

SAVIN, in *Botany*. See JUNIPERUS, BOTANY *Index*.

SAVIOUR, an appellation peculiarly given to Jesus Christ,

Saul  
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Saunderson.

Christ, as being the Messiah and Saviour of the world. See JESUS.

*Order of St SAVIOUR*, a religious order of the Romish church, founded by St Bridget, about the year 1345, and so called from its being pretended that our Saviour himself declared its constitution and rules to the foundress. According to the constitutions, this is principally founded for religious women who pay a particular honour to the holy virgin; but there are some monks of the order, to administer the sacrament and spiritual assistance to the nuns.

SAUL the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was the first king of the Israelites. On account of his disobedient conduct, the kingdom was taken from his family, and given to David. See the First Book of Samuel.

SAUL, otherwise called Paul. See PAUL.

SAUMUR, a considerable town of France, in the department of Maine and Loire, and capital of the Saumarois, with an ancient castle. The town is small, but pleasantly situated on the Loire, across which is a long bridge, continued through a number of islands. Saumur was anciently a most important pass over the river, and of consequence was frequently and fiercely disputed by either party, during the civil wars of France in the sixteenth century. The fortifications are of great strength, and Henry IV. on the reconciliation which took place between him and Henry III. near Tours, in 1589, demanded that Saumur should be delivered to him, as one of the cities of safety. The castle overlooks the town and river. It is built on a lofty eminence, and has a venerable and magnificent appearance, and was lately used as a prison of state, where persons of rank were frequently confined. The kings of Sicily, and dukes of Anjou of the house of Valois, who descended from John king of France, often resided in the castle of Saumur, as it constituted a part of their Angevin dominions. E. Long. o. 2. N. Lat. 47. 15.

SAUNDERS, a kind of wood brought from the East Indies, of which there are three kinds; white, yellow, and red. See PTEROCARPUS and SANTALUM, BOTANY Index.

SAUNDERSON, DR ROBERT, an eminent casuist, was born at Rotherham in Yorkshire on the 19th September 1587, and was descended of an ancient family. He attended the grammar-school at Rotherham, where he made such wonderful proficiency in the languages, that at 13 it was judged proper to send him to Lincoln college, Oxford. In 1608 he was appointed logic reader in the same college. He took orders in 1611, and was promoted successively to several benefices. Archbishop Laud recommended him to King Charles I as a profound casuist; and that monarch, who seems to have been a great admirer of casuistical learning, appointed him one of his chaplains in 1631. Charles proposed several cases of conscience to him, and received so great satisfaction from his answers, that at the end of his month's attendance he told him, that he would wait with impatience during the intervening 11 months, as he was resolved to be more intimately acquainted with him, when it would again be his turn to officiate. The king regularly attended his sermons, and was wont to say, that "he carried his ears to hear other preachers, but his conscience to hear Mr Saunderson."

In 1642 Charles created him regius professor of divinity at Oxford, with the canonry of Christ church annexed: but the civil wars prevented him till 1646 from entering on the office; and in 1648 he was ejected by the visitors which the parliament had commissioned. He must have stood high in the public opinion; for in the same year in which he was appointed professor of divinity, both houses of parliament recommended him to the king as one of their trustees for settling the affairs of the church. The king, too, reposed great confidence in his judgement, and frequently consulted him about the state of his affairs. When the parliament proposed the abolition of the episcopal form of church-government as incompatible with monarchy, Charles desired him to take the subject under his consideration, and deliver his opinion. He accordingly wrote a treatise entitled, *Episcopacy as established by law in England not prejudicial to regal power*. At taking leave, the king advised him to publish *Cases of Conscience*: he replied, that "he was now grown old and unfit to write cases of conscience." The king said, "it was the simplest thing he ever had heard from him; for no young man was fit to be a judge, or write cases of conscience." Walton, who wrote the life of Dr Saunderson, informs us, that in one of these conferences the king told him (Dr Saunderson), or one of the rest who was then in company, that "the remembrance of two errors did much affect him; which were his assent to the earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing of episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to the peaceable possession of his crown, he would prove his repentance by a public confession and a voluntary penance, by walking barefoot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St Paul's church, and would desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon."

Dr Saunderson was taken prisoner by the parliament's troops and conveyed to Lincoln, in order to procure in exchange a Puritan divine named *Clark*, whom the king's army had taken. The exchange was agreed to, on condition that Dr Saunderson's living should be restored, and his person and property remain unmolested. The first of these demands was readily complied with: and a stipulation was made, that the second should be observed; but it was impossible to restrain the licentiousness of the soldiers. They entered his church in the time of divine service, interrupted him when reading prayers, and even had the audacity to take the common prayer book from him, and to tear it to pieces.

The honourable Mr Boyle, having read a work of Dr Saunderson's entitled *De juramenti obligatione*, was so much pleased, that he inquired at Bishop Barlow, whether he thought it was possible to prevail on the author to write *Cases of Conscience*, if an honorary pension was assigned him to enable him to purchase books, and pay an amanuensis. Saunderson told Barlow, "that if any future tract of his could be of any use to mankind, he would cheerfully set about it without a pension." Boyle, however, sent him a present of 50l. sensible no doubt, that, like the other royalists, his finances could not be great. Upon this Saunderson published his book *De Conscientia*.

When Charles II. was reinstated in the throne, he recovered his professorship and canonry, and soon after was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln. During the



Saunderson. the two years and a half in which he possessed this new office, he spent a considerable sum in augmenting poor vicarages, in repairing the palace at Bugden, &c. He died January 29. 1662-3, in his 76th year.

He was a man of great acuteness and solid judgement. "That staid and well-weighed man Dr Saunderson (says Dr Hammond) conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that differ exactly, passeth his judgement rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly, and honestly." Being asked, what books he had read most? he replied, that "he did not read many books, but those which he did read were well chosen and frequently perused." These, he said, were chiefly three, Aristotle's Rhetoric, Aquinas's *Secunda Secundae*, and Tully's Works; especially his Offices, which he had not read over less than 20 times, and could even, in his old age, recite without book." He added, that "the learned civilian Dr Zouch had written *Elementa juris prudentiæ*, which he thought he could also say without book, and that no wise man could read it too often." He was not only conversant with the fathers and schoolmen, with casuistical and controversial divinity; but he was well acquainted with all the histories of the English nation, was a great antiquary, had searched minutely into records, and was well skilled in heraldry and genealogy.

It will now be proper to give a short account of his works. 1. In 1615 he published *Logicæ Artis Compendium*, which was the system of lectures he had delivered in the University when he was logic-reader. 2. Sermons, amounting in number to 36, printed in 1681, folio, with the author's life by Walton. 3. Nine Cases of Conscience resolved; first collected in one volume, in 1678, 8vo. 4. *De juramenti obligatione*. This book was translated into English by Charles I. while a prisoner in the isle of Wight, and printed at London in 1665, 8vo. 5. *De Obligatione conscientie*. 6. Censure of Mr Antony Ascham his book of the confusions and revolutions of government. 7. *Pax Ecclesiæ* concerning Predestination, or the five points. 8. Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to the regal power, in 1661. Besides these, he wrote two Discourses in defence of Usher's writings.

SAUNDERSON, *Dr Nicholas*, was born at Thurlstone in Yorkshire in 1682, and may be considered as a prodigy for his application and success in mathematical literature in circumstances apparently the most unfavourable. He lost his sight by the smallpox before he was a year old. But this disaster did not prevent him from searching after that knowledge for which nature had given him so ardent a desire. He was initiated into the Greek and Roman authors at a free-school at Peniston. After spending some years in the study of the languages, his father (who had a place in the excise) began to teach him the common rules of arithmetic. He soon surpassed his father; and could make long and difficult calculations, without having any sensible marks to assist his memory. At 18 he was taught the principles of algebra and geometry by Richard West of Undoorbank, Esq. who, though a gentleman of fortune, yet, being strongly attached to mathematical learning, readily undertook the education of so uncommon a genius. Saunderson was also assisted in his mathematical studies by Dr Nettleton. These two gentlemen read books to him and explained them. He was next sent

to a private academy at Attercliff near Sheffield, where logic and metaphysics were chiefly taught. But these sciences not suiting his turn of mind, he soon left the academy. He lived for some time in the country without any instructor; but such was the vigour of his own mind, that few instructions were necessary: he only required books and a reader.

His father, besides the place he had in the excise, possessed also a small estate; but having a numerous family to support, he was unable to give him a liberal education at one of the universities. Some of his friends, who had remarked his perspicuous and interesting manner of communicating his ideas, proposed that he should attend the university of Cambridge as a teacher of mathematics. This proposal was immediately put in execution; and he was accordingly conducted to Cambridge in his 25th year by Mr Joshua Dunn, a fellow-commoner of Christ's college. Though he was not received as a member of the college, he was treated with great attention and respect. He was allowed a chamber, and had free access to the library. Mr Whiston was at that time professor of mathematics; and as he read lectures in the way that Saunderson intended, it was naturally to be supposed he would view his project as an invasion of his office. But, instead of meditating any opposition, the plan was no sooner mentioned to him than he gave his consent. Saunderson's reputation was soon spread through the university. When his lectures were announced, a general curiosity was excited to hear such intricate mathematical subjects explained by a man who had been blind from his infancy. The subject of his lectures was the *Principia Mathematica*, the Optics, and *Arithmetica Universalis* of Sir Isaac Newton. He was accordingly attended by a very numerous audience. It will appear at first incredible to many that a blind man should be capable of explaining optics, which requires an accurate knowledge of the nature of light and colours; but we must recollect, that the theory of vision is taught entirely by lines, and is subject to the rules of geometry.

While thus employed in explaining the principles of the Newtonian philosophy, he became known to its illustrious author. He was also intimately acquainted with Halley, Cotes, De Moivre, and other eminent mathematicians. When Whiston was removed from his professorship, Saunderson was universally allowed to be the man best qualified for the succession. But to enjoy this office, it was necessary, as the statutes direct, that he should be promoted to a degree. To obtain this privilege the heads of the university applied to their chancellor the duke of Somerset, who procured the royal mandate to confer upon him the degree of master of arts. He was then elected Lucasian professor of mathematics in November 1711. His inauguration speech was composed in classical Latin, and in the style of Cicero, with whose works he had been much conversant. He now devoted his whole time to his lectures, and the instruction of his pupils. When George II. in 1728, visited the university of Cambridge, he expressed a desire to see Professor Saunderson. In compliance with this desire, he waited upon his majesty in the senate-house, and was there, by the king's command, created doctor of laws. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society in 1736.

Saunderson was naturally of a vigorous constitution; but

Saunderson. but having confined himself to a sedentary life, he at length became scorbutic. For several years he felt a numbness in his limbs, which, in the spring of 1739, brought on a mortification in his foot; and, unfortunately, his blood was so vitiated by the scurvy, that assistance from medicine was not to be expected. When he was informed that his death was near, he remained for a little space calm and silent; but he soon recovered his former vivacity, and conversed with his usual ease. He died on the 19th of April 1739, in the 57th year of his age, and was buried at his own request in the chancel at Boxworth.

He married the daughter of the reverend Mr Dickens, rector of Boxworth, in Cambridgeshire, and by her had a son and daughter.

Dr Saunderson was rather to be admired as a man of wonderful genius and assiduity, than to be loved for amiable qualities. He spoke his sentiments freely of characters, and praised or condemned his friends as well as his enemies without reserve. This has been ascribed by some to a love of defamation; but perhaps with more propriety it has been attributed by others to an inflexible love of truth, which urged him upon all occasions to speak the sentiments of his mind without disguise, and without considering whether this conduct would please or give offence. His sentiments were supposed unfavourable to revealed religion. It is said, that he alleged he could not know God, because he was blind, and could not see his works; and that, upon this, Dr Holmes replied, "Lay your hand upon yourself, and the organization which you will feel in your own body will dissipate so gross an error." On the other hand, we are informed, that he had desired the sacrament to be given him on the evening before his death. He was, however, seized with a delirium, which rendered this impossible.

He wrote a system of algebra, which was published, in 2 volumes 4to, at London, after his death, in the year 1740, at the expence of the university of Cambridge.

Dr Saunderson invented for his own use a Palpable Arithmetic; that is, a method of performing operations in arithmetic solely by the sense of touch. It consisted of a table raised upon a small frame, so that he could apply his hands with equal ease above and below. On this table were drawn a great number of parallel lines which were crossed by others at right angles; the edges of the table were divided by notches half an inch distant from one another, and between each notch there were five parallels; so that every square inch was divided into a hundred little squares. At each angle of the squares where the parallels intersected one another, a hole was made quite through the table. In each hole he placed two pins, a big and a small one. It was by the various arrangements of the pins that Saunderson performed his operations. A description of this method of making calculations by his table is given under the article BLIND, N<sup>o</sup> 38. though it is there by mistake said that it was not of his own invention.

His sense of touch was so perfect, that he could discover with the greatest exactness the slightest inequality of surface, and could distinguish in the most finished works the smallest oversight in the polish. In the cabinet of medals at Cambridge he could single out the Roman medals with the utmost correctness; he could also perceive the slightest variation in the atmosphere. One

day, while some gentlemen were making observations on the sun, he took notice of every little cloud that passed over the sun which could interrupt their labours. When any object passed before his face, even though at some distance, he discovered it, and could guess its size with considerable accuracy. When he walked, he knew when he passed by a tree, a wall, or a house. He made these distinctions from the different ways his face was affected by the motion of the air.

His musical ear was remarkably acute; he could distinguish accurately to the fifth of a note. In his youth he had been a performer on the flute; and he had made such proficiency, that if he had cultivated his talents in this way, he would probably have been as eminent in music as he was in mathematics. He recognized not only his friends, but even those with whom he was slightly acquainted, by the tone of their voice; and he could judge with wonderful exactness of the size of any apartment into which he was conducted.

SAVONA, a large, handsome, populous, and strong town of Italy, in the territory of Genoa, with two castles, and a bishop's see. It contains several handsome churches and well-built structures. It was taken by the king of Sardinia in 1746, at which time it had a capacious harbour; but the people of Genoa, being afraid that it would hurt their own trade, choked it up. It is seated on the Mediterranean sea, in a well-cultivated country, abounding in silk and all kinds of good fruit. E. Long. 8. 14. N. Lat. 44. 21.

SAVONAROLA, JEROME, a famous Italian monk, was born at Ferrara in 1452, and descended of a noble family. At the age of 22 he assumed the habit of a Dominican friar, without the knowledge of his parents, and distinguished himself in that order by his piety and ability as a preacher. Florence was the theatre where he chose to appear; there he preached, confessed, and wrote. He had address enough to place himself at the head of the faction which opposed the family of the Medici. He explained the Apocalypse, and there found a prophecy which foretold the destruction of his opponents. He predicted a renovation of the church, and declaimed with much severity against the clergy and the court of Rome. Alexander VI. excommunicated him, and prohibited him from preaching. He derided the anathemas of the pope: yet he forbore preaching for some time, and then resumed his employment with more applause than before. The pope and the Medici family then thought of attacking him with his own weapons. Savonarola having posted up a thesis as a subject of disputation, a Franciscan, by their instigation, offered to prove it heretical. The Franciscan was seconded by his brother friars, and Savonarola by his; and thus the two orders were at open war with each other. To settle the dispute, and to convince their antagonists of the superior sanctity of Savonarola, one of the Dominicans offered to walk through a fire; and in order to prove his wickedness, a Franciscan agreed to the same experiment. The multitude, eager to witness so extraordinary a spectacle, urged both parties to come to a decision; and the magistrates were constrained to give their consent. Accordingly, Saturday the 7th of April 1498 was fixed for the trial. On that day the champions appeared; but when they saw one another in cold blood, and beheld the wood in flames, they were seized with fear, and were very anxious to escape by any subterfuge the imminent

SAVONAROLA.

Savonarola  
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Savoy.

Savoy.

nent danger into which they had rashly thrown themselves. The Dominican pretended he could not enter the flames without the host in his hand. This the magistrates obstinately refused to allow; and the Dominican's fortitude was not put to the test. The Franciscans incited the multitude against their opponents, who accordingly assaulted their monastery, broke open the gates which were shut against them, and entered by force. Upon this, the magistrates thought it necessary to bring Savonarola to trial as an impostor. He was put to the torture, and examined; and the answers which he gave fully evinced that he was both a cheat and a fanatic. He boasted of having frequent conversations with God, and found his brother friars credulous enough to believe him. One of the Dominicans, who had shared in his sufferings, affirmed, that he saw the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove, with feathers of gold and silver, twice in one day alight on the shoulder of Savonarola and peck his ear; he pretended also that he had violent combats with demons. John Francis Picus earl of Mirandula, who wrote his life, assures us, that the devils which infested the convent of the Dominicans trembled at the sight of Friar Jerome, and that out of vexation they always suppressed some letters of his name in pronouncing it. He expelled them from all the cells of the monastery. When he went round the convent sprinkling holy water to defend the friars from the insults of the demons, it is said the evil spirits spread thick clouds before him to prevent his passage.—At length, the pope Alexander VI. sent the chief of the Dominicans, with Bishop Romolino, to degrade him from holy orders, and to deliver him up to the secular judges with his two fanatical associates. They were condemned to be hanged and burned on the 23d May 1498. Savonarola submitted to the execution of the sentence with great firmness and devotion, and without uttering a word respecting his innocence or his guilt. He was 46 years of age. Immediately after his death, his Confession was published in his name. It contained many extravagancies, but nothing to deserve so severe and infamous a punishment. His adherents did not fail to attribute to him the power of working miracles; and so strong a veneration had they for their chief, that they preserved with pious care any parts of his body which they could snatch from the flames. The earl of Mirandula, the author of his life, has described him as an eminent saint. He gravely informs us, that his heart was found in a river; and that he had a piece of it in his possession, which had been very useful in curing diseases, and ejecting demons. He remarks, that many of his persecutors came to a miserable end. Savonarola has also been defended by Father Quetif, Bzovius, Baron, and other religious Dominicans.

He wrote a prodigious number of books in favour of religion. He has left, 1. Sermons in Italian; 2. A Treatise entitled, *Triumphus crucis*; 3. *Eruditorum Confessorum*, and several others. His works have been published at Leyden in 6 vols 12mo.

SAVORY, See SATUREIA, BOTANY *Index*.

SAVOUR. See TASTE.

SAVOY, formerly a duchy, now a department of France, lying between the latter and Italy, and which takes its name from the Latin Sabaadia, altered afterwards to Saboia, and Sobojia.

This country was anciently inhabited by the Celtes,

whose descendants therein were subdivided into the Allobroges, Nantuates, Veragri, Seduni, Salassi, Centrones, Garocelli, and some others of inferior note.—Of all these the Allobroges were the most considerable. The reduction of these tribes, in which Julius Cæsar had made a great progress, was completed under Augustus. Afterwards this country shared the fate of the rest of the western empire, and was overrun by the northern barbarians. The Burgundians held it a considerable time; but when or how it first became a distinct earldom under the present family, is what historians are not agreed about: thus much, however, is certain, that Amadæus I. who lived in the 12th century, was count of it. In 1416, Amadæus VIII. was created by the emperor Sigismund duke of Savoy; and Victor Amadæus first took the title of king of Sicily, and afterwards of Sardinia. See SARDINIA. Savoy was lately conquered by the French, and added to the republic as the 80th department. As this arrangement, though decreed by the convention to last for ever, may probably be of short duration, we shall write of the duchy as of an independent state. Savoy, then, is bounded to the south by France and Piedmont; to the north by the lake of Geneva, which separates it from Switzerland; to the west, by France; and to the east, by Piedmont, the Milanese, and Switzerland; its greatest length being about 88 miles, and breadth about 76.

As it lies among the Alps, it is full of lofty mountains, which in general are very barren: many of the highest of them are perpetually covered with ice and snow. The summit of those called *Montagnes Maudites*, “the cursed mountains,” are said to be more than two English miles in perpendicular height above the level of the lake of Geneva, and the level itself is much higher than the Mediterranean. In some few of the valleys there is corn land and pasture, and a good breed of cattle and mules; and along the lake of Geneva, and in two or three other places, a tolerable wine is produced, Mount Senis or Cenis, between Savoy and Piedmont, over which the highway from Geneva to Turin lies, is as high, if not higher, than the *Montagnes Maudites*; but of all the mountains of the Alps, the highest is Mount Rochmelon, in Piedmont, between Fertièrè and Novalesè. The roads over these mountains are very tedious, disagreeable, and dangerous, especially as huge masses of snow, called by the Italians *avalanches*, and fragments of rocks, frequently roll down into them from the impending precipices. The way of travelling is either in sledges, chairs, or on the backs of mules: in some places the path on the brink of the precipices is so narrow, that there is but just room for a single person to pass. It begins to snow on these mountains commonly about the beginning of October. In summer, in the months of July, August, and September, many of them yield very fine grass, with a great variety of flowers and herbs; and others boxwood, walnuts, chestnuts, and pines. The height and different combinations of these mountains, their towering summits rising above one another, and covered with snow, the many cataracts or falls of water, the noise and rapidity of the river Arc, the froth and green tincture of its water, the echoes of its numerous streams tumbling from cliff to cliff, form altogether a very romantic scene. These mountainous tracts, notwithstanding their height, are not altogether free from thunder in summer, and are also much exposed.

See.

Savoy.

fed to thick clouds, which sometimes settle unexpectedly on them, and continue several days. There are some wolves among the thickets; and they abound with hares, rupicapras or chamois, and marmottes. In the lower parts of Savoy, there are also bears, wild boars, deer, and rabbits; and among the desolate mountains are found great quantities of rock-crystal. In the glaciers or ice-valleys, between the high mountains, the air is extremely cold, even in the months of July and August. The surface of these ice-valleys looks like a sea or lake, which, after being agitated by fierce and contrary winds, has been frozen all at once, interspersed with hideous cracks and chafms. The noise of these cracks, when first made by the heat of the noon-day sun, and reverberated by the surrounding rocks and mountains, is astonishing. The height of the impending mountains is such, that the sun's rays seldom reach the ice-valleys, except a few hours in the middle of summer. The avalanches or snow-balls, which the least concussion of the air will occasion, tumble down the mountains with amazing rapidity, continually increasing, and carrying all before them. People have been taken out alive, after being buried several days under them. The mountainous nature of this duchy renders the plough an useless instrument of agriculture. The peasants break up the hungry soil with the pickaxe and spade, and to improve it carry up mould and dung in baskets. For the purpose of preserving it from drought in the spring and summer, they cut small reservoirs above it, the water of which may be let out at will; and to prevent the earth from giving way, break the declivity of the mountains by building walls on the side for its support, which frequently assume the appearance of ancient fortification, and are a very pleasing deception to travellers. The Savoyards carry their better sort of cheese into Piedmont, as the flavour is much esteemed there; but they gain more by their skins of bears, chamois, and bouquets (a species of the wild goat), or by the sale of growle and pheasants, which they carry in great numbers to Turin.

The chief rivers are the Rhone, which, on the side of Geneva, separates Savoy from France; the Arve, which has some particles of gold in its sands; the Isere, the Seran, the Siers, and the Arc. There are also a great many lakes in this country, which yield plenty of fish, but none of them are very large, together with medicinal and reciprocating springs and hot baths.

The language of the common people is a corrupt French; but the better sort, and those that live in the great cities, speak as good French as they do in Paris itself.

In their temper, however, and disposition, the Savoyards resemble the Germans more than the French, retaining still much of the old German honesty and simplicity of manners, which no doubt is partly owing to the poverty and barrenness of the country. To this also, joined to their longevity and the fruitfulness of their women, which are the effects of their cheerful disposition, healthy air, activity, temperance, and sobriety, it is owing that great numbers of them are obliged to go abroad in quest of a livelihood, which they earn, those at least who have no trades, by showing marmottes, cleaning shoes, sweeping chimneys, and the like. It is said, that there are generally about 18,000 of them,

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young and old, about Paris. In summer they lie in the streets, and in winter, 40, 50, or 60 of them lodge together in a room: they are so honest that they may be trusted to any amount. The children are often carried abroad in baskets before they are able to walk. In many villages of Savoy there is hardly a man to be seen throughout the year, excepting a month or two. Those that have families generally set out and return about the same season, when their wives commonly lie in, and they never fail to bring home some part of their small earnings. Some of them are such consummate masters of economy, that they set up shops and make fortunes, and others return home with a competency for the rest of their days. An old man is often dispatched with letters, little presents, and some money, from the younger sort, to their parents and relations, and brings back with him fresh colonies, letters, messages, and news. The cultivation of their grounds, and the reaping and gathering in of the harvest and vintage, are generally left to the women and children; but all this is to be understood of the mountainous parts of Savoy. Great numbers of the mountaineers of both sexes are said to be lame and deformed; and they are much subject to a kind of wens, which grow about their throats, and very much disfigure them, especially the women; but that is the only inconvenience they feel from them.

The nobility of Savoy, and the other dominions of the king of Sardinia, labour under great hardships and restrictions, unheard of in other countries, which we have not room here to particularize. A minute account of them will be found in Mr Keyser's Travels. In short, the king has left neither liberty, power, nor much property, to any but himself and the clergy, whose overgrown wealth he has also greatly curtailed.

No other religion is professed or tolerated in Savoy but that of the church of Rome. The decrees, however, of the council of Trent are not admitted; nor are the churches asylums for malefactors.

This duchy is divided into those of Chablais, Genevois, and Savoy Proper, the counties of Tarantaise and Maurienne, and the barony of Faucigny.

SAURIN, JAMES, a celebrated preacher, was born at Nismes in 1677, and was the son of a protestant lawyer of considerable eminence. He applied to his studies with great success; but at length being captivated with a military life, he relinquished them for the profession of arms. In 1694 he made a campaign as a cadet in Lord Galloway's company, and soon afterwards obtained a pair of colours in the regiment of Colonel Renault which served in Piedmont. But the duke of Savoy having made peace with France, he returned to Geneva, and resumed the study of philosophy and theology under Turretin and other professors. In 1700 he visited Holland, then came to England, where he remained for several years, and married. In 1705 he returned to the Hague, where he fixed his residence, and preached with the most unbounded applause. To an exterior appearance highly prepossessing, he added a strong harmonious voice. The sublime prayer which he recited before his sermon was uttered in a manner highly affecting. Nor was the attention excited by the prayer dissipated by the sermon: all who heard it were charmed; and those who came with an intention to criticise, were carried along with the preacher and forgot their design. Saurin had, however, one fault

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Saurin.

Saurin. fault in his delivery; he did not manage his voice with sufficient skill. He exhausted himself so much in his prayer and the beginning of his sermon, that his voice grew feeble towards the end of the service. His sermons, especially those published during his life, are distinguished for justness of thought, force of reasoning, and an eloquent unaffected style.

The first time that the celebrated Abbadie heard him preach, he exclaimed, "Is it an angel or a man who speaks!" Saurin died on the 30th of December 1730, aged 53 years.

He wrote, 1. Sermons, which were published in 12 vols 8vo and 12mo; some of which display great genius and eloquence, and others are composed with negligence. One may observe in them the imprecations and the aversion which the Calvinists of that age were wont to utter against the Roman Catholics. Saurin was, notwithstanding, a lover of toleration: and his sentiments on this subject gave great offence to some of his fanatical brethren, who attempted to obscure his merit, and embitter his life. They found fault with him because he did not call the pope *Antichrist*, and the Romish church *the whore of Babylon*. But these prophetic metaphors, however applicable they may be, were certainly not intended by the benevolent religion of Jesus to be bandied about as terms of reproach; which would teach those to rail who use them, and irritate, without convincing, those to whom they were applied.

Saurin, therefore, while he perhaps interpreted these metaphors in the same way with his opposers, discovered more of the moderation of the Christian spirit. Five volumes of his sermons were published in his life, the rest have been added since his decease.

2. Discourses Historical, Critical, and Moral, on the most memorable Events of the Old and New Testament. This is his greatest and most valuable work. It was printed first in two volumes folio. As it was left unfinished, Beaufobre and Roques undertook a continuation of it, and increased it to four volumes. It is full of learning: it is indeed a collection of the opinions of the best authors, both Christian and Heathen; of the philosophers, historians, and critics, on every subject which the author examines. 3. The State of Christianity in France, 1725, 8vo. In this book he discusses many important points of controversy, and calls in question the truth of the miracle said to be performed on La Fosse at Paris. 4. An Abridgement of Christian Theology and Morality, in the form of a Catechism, 1722, 8vo. He afterwards published an abridgement of this work.

A Dissertation which he published on the Expediency of sometimes disguising the Truth, raised a multitude of enemies against him. In this discourse his plan was, to state the arguments of those who affirm that, in certain cases, it is lawful to disguise truth, and the answers of those who maintain the contrary. He does not determine the question, but seems, however, to incline to the first opinion. He was immediately attacked by several adversaries, and a long controversy ensued; but his doctrines and opinions were at length publicly approved of by the synods of Campen and of the Hague.

The subject of this controversy has long been agitated, and men of equally good principles have supported opposite sides. It would certainly be a dangerous maxim

that falsehood can ever be lawful. There may, indeed, be particular cases, when the motives to it are of such a nature as to diminish its criminality in a high degree; but to lessen its guilt is a very different thing from justifying it by the laws of morality.

SAURIN, *Joseph*, a geometrician of the academy of Sciences at Paris, was born at Courtaoufon in the principality of Orange, in 1659. His father, who was a minister at Grenoble, was his first preceptor. He made rapid progress in his studies, and was admitted minister of Eure in Dauphiny when very young: but having made use of some violent expressions in one of his sermons, he was obliged to quit France in 1683. He retired to Geneva, and thence to Berne, where he obtained a considerable living. He was scarcely settled in his new habitation, when some theologians raised a persecution against him. Saurin, hating controversy, and disgusted with Switzerland, where his talents were entirely concealed, repaired to Holland. He returned soon after to France, and surrendered himself into the hands of Bossuet bishop of Meaux, who obliged him to make a recantation of his errors. This event took place in 1690. His enemies, however, suspected his sincerity in the abjuration which he had made. It was a general opinion, that the desire of cultivating science in the capital of France had a greater effect in producing this change than religion. Saurin, however, speaks of the reformers with great asperity, and condemns them for going too far. "Deceived in my opinions concerning the rigid system of Calvin, I no longer regarded that reformer in any other light but as one of those extravagant geniuses who are carried beyond the bounds of truth. Such appeared to me in general the founders of the reformation; and that just idea which I have now obtained of their character has enabled me to shake off a load of prejudices. I saw in most of the articles which have separated them from us, such as the invocation of saints, the worship of images, the distinction of meats, &c. that they had much exaggerated the inevitable abuses of the people, and imputed these to the Romish church, as if sanctioned by its doctrines. Besides, that they have misrepresented these doctrines which were not connected with any abuse. One thing which surprised me much when my eyes began to open, was the false idea, though in appearance full of respect, for the word of God, which the reformers entertained of the perfection and perspicuity of the Holy Scriptures, and the manifest misinterpretation of passages which they bring to support that idea (for that misinterpretation is a point which can be proved). Two or three articles still raised some objections in my mind against the Romish church; to wit, Transubstantiation, the adoration of the sacrament, and the infallibility of the church. The adoration of the sacrament I considered as idolatry, and, on that account, removed from her communion. But soon after, the Exposition of the bishop of Meaux, a work which can never be sufficiently admired, and his Treatise concerning changes, reversed all my opinions, and rendered me an enemy to the Reformation." It is said also, that Saurin, appeased his conscience by reading Poret's *Cogitationes rationales*. This book is written with a view to vindicate the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry.

If it was the love of distinction that induced Saurin to return.

Saurin  
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Sauffure.

return to the Romish church, he was not disappointed; for he there met with protection and support. He was favourably received by Louis XIV. obtained a pension from him, and was treated by the Academy of Sciences with the most flattering respect. At that time (1717), geometry formed his principal occupation. He adorned the *Journal des Sçavans* with many excellent treatises; and he added to the memoirs of the Academy many interesting papers. These are the only works which he has left behind him. He died at Paris on the 29th December 1737, in his 78th year, of a fever. He married a wife of the family of Croufas in Switzerland, who bore him a son, Bernard Joseph, distinguished as a writer for the theatre.

Saurin was of a bold and impetuous spirit. He had that lofty deportment which is generally mistaken for pride. His philosophy was austere; his opinions of men were not very favourable; and he often delivered them in their presence: this created him many enemies. His memory was attacked after his decease. A letter was printed in the *Mercure Suisse*, said to be written by Saurin from Paris, in which he acknowledges that he had committed several crimes which deserved death. Some Calvinist ministers published in 1757 two or three pamphlets to prove the authenticity of that letter; but Voltaire made diligent enquiry not only at the place where Saurin had been discharging the sacerdotal office, but at the deans of the clergy of that department. They all exclaimed against an imputation so opprobrious. It must not, however, be concealed, that Voltaire in the defence which he has published in his general history of Saurin's conduct, leaves some unfavourable impressions upon the reader's mind. He insinuates, that Saurin sacrificed his religion to his interest; that he played upon Bossuet, who believed he had converted a clergyman, when he had only given a little fortune to a philosopher.

SAURURUS, a genus of plants belonging to the heptandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the second order, *Piperita*. See BOTANY Index.

SAUSSURE, HORACE BENEDICT DE, a celebrated naturalist, was a native of Geneva, and born in 1740. His father was an intelligent farmer, who lived at Conches, about half a league from Geneva, which no doubt contributed, in addition to his active education, to increase the physical strength of young Sauffure, so requisite for a naturalist who intends to travel. He went daily to town for public instruction; and as he lived at the foot of a mountain, he frequently amused himself in ascending its steep and rugged sides. Thus environed by the phenomena of nature, and assisted by study, it was to be expected that he would soon conceive a predilection for natural history. Botany was his most early and favourite study, a taste which was powerfully encouraged by his local situation, and was the means of introducing him to the acquaintance of the great Haller, to whom he paid a visit in 1764, and was astonished at his intimate acquaintance with every branch of the natural sciences.

His attachment to the study of the vegetable kingdom was also increased by his connection with Bonnet, who had married his aunt, and who put a proper estimate on the talents of his nephew. He was at that time engaged in the examination of the leaves of plants, to which Sauffure was also induced to turn his attention,

and published the result of his researches under the title of *Observations on the Bark of Leaves*. About this time the philosophical chair at Geneva became vacant, and was given to Sauffure at the age of 21. Rewards conferred so early have been thought to extinguish in some a zeal for the increase of knowledge, but this was not the case with de Sauffure, who taught physics and logic alternately with equal success. For physics, however, he had the greatest taste, as affording the means of prosecuting the study of chemistry, mineralogy, and other kindred sciences.

He now began his travels through the mountains, not for the purpose of studying, as formerly, their flowery decorations, but their constituent parts, and the disposition of their masses. During the first fifteen years of his professorship, he was alternately engaged in discharging the duties of his office, and in traversing the mountains in the vicinity of Geneva; and in this period his talents as a great philosopher were fully displayed. He extended his researches on one side to the banks of the Rhine, and on the other to the country of Piedmont. He travelled to Auvergne to examine the extinguished volcanoes, going afterward to Paris, England, Holland, Italy and Sicily. It is proper to remark that these were not mere journeys, but were undertaken purely with the view of studying nature; and in all his journeys he was surrounded with such instruments as would be of service to him; together with plans of his procedure previously drawn up. Readily will our readers believe this great philosopher when he asserts, that he found such a method extremely beneficial.

The first volume of his travels through the Alps was published in 1779, which contains a circumstantial description of the environs of Geneva, and an excursion as far as Chamouni, a village at the foot of Mont-Blanc. It contains a description of his *magnetometer*, with which philosophers will probably be delighted. In proportion as he examined mountains, the more was he persuaded of the importance of mineralogy; and that he might study it with advantage, he acquired a knowledge of the German language. In the last volumes of his travels, the reader will see how much new mineralogical knowledge he had acquired.

During the troubles which agitated Geneva in 1782, he made his beautiful and interesting experiments on hygrometry, which he published in 1783. This has been pronounced the best work that ever came from his pen, and completely established his reputation as a philosopher. De Sauffure resigned his chair to his pupil and fellow labourer, Pictet, who discharged the duties of his office with reputation, although rendered difficult to him by succeeding so great a man. He projected a plan of reform in the education of Geneva, the design of which was, to make young people acquainted with the natural sciences and mathematics at an early period, and wished that their physical education should not be neglected, for which purpose he proposed gymnastic exercises. This plan found admirers in the city, but the poverty of its funds was an obstacle in the way of any important innovation. It was dreaded too, that if established forms were changed, they might be altered for the worse.

The attention of De Sauffure was not wholly confined to public education, for he superintended the education of his own two sons and a daughter, who have since

Saussure  
||  
Sauveur.

since proved themselves worthy of such a father and preceptor. In 1786, he published his second volume of travels, containing a description of the Alps around Mont-Blanc, the whole having been examined with the eye of a mineralogist, geologist, and philosopher. It contains some valuable experiments on electricity, and a description of his own electrometer, said to be the most perfect we have. To him we are indebted for a *cyanometer*, for measuring the degree of blueness of the heavens, which is found to vary according to the height of the observer: his *diaphanometer* for measuring the transparency of the atmosphere; and his *anemometer* for ascertaining the force of the winds. He founded the Society of Arts, to the operations of which Geneva is indebted for the state of prosperity it has reached within the last 30 years. Over that society he presided to the day of his death, and the preservation of it in prosperity constituted one of his fondest wishes.

In 1794, the health of this eminent man began rapidly to decline, and a severe stroke of the palsy almost deprived him totally of the use of his limbs. Such a condition was no doubt painful to such a man; but his intellects still preserved their original activity, and he prepared for the press the two last volumes of his travels, which appeared in 1796. They contain a great mass of new facts and observations of the last importance to physical science. During his illness he published *Observations on the Fusibility of Stones by means of the Blow-pipe*. He was in general a Neptunian, ascribing the revolutions of our globe to water, and admitting the possibility of mountains having been thrown up by elastic fluids disengaged from the cavities of the earth. In the midst of his rapid decline he cherished the hopes of recovery; but his strength was exhausted; a languor succeeded the vigour which he had formerly enjoyed; his slow pronunciation did not correspond with the vivacity of his mind, and was a melancholy contrast to the pleasantness which he had formerly exhibited. He tried in vain to procure the re-establishment of his health, for all the remedies prescribed by the ablest physicians were wholly ineffectual. His mind afterwards lost its activity, and on the 22d of March 1799, he finished his mortal career, in the 59th year of his age, lamented by a family to whom he was dear,—by a country to which he had done honour,—and by Europe, the knowledge of which he had extended.

SAUVAGESIA, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those of which the order is doubtful. See BOTANY Index.

SAUVEUR, JOSEPH, an eminent French mathematician, born at La Fleche in 1653. He was absolutely dumb until he was seven years of age; and even then his organs of speech were not evolved so fully as to permit him to speak without great deliberation. Mathematics were the only studies he had any relish for, and these he cultivated with extraordinary success; so that he commenced teacher at 20 years of age, and was so soon in vogue, that he had Prince Eugene for his scholar. He became mathematical professor in the royal college in 1686; and ten years after was admitted a member of the Academy of Sciences. He died in 1716; and his writings, which consist rather of detached papers than of connected treatises, are all inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences.

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He was twice married; and by the last wife had a son, who, like himself, was dumb for the first seven years of his life.

SAW, an instrument which serves to cut into pieces several solid matters; as wood, stone, ivory, &c.

The best saws are of tempered steel ground bright and smooth: those of iron are only hammer-hardened: hence the first, besides their being stiffer, are likewise found smoother than the last. They are known to be well hammered by the stiff bending of the blade; and to be well and evenly ground, by their bending equally in a bow.

The lapidaries, too, have their saw, as well as the workmen in mosaic; but of all mechanics, none have so many saws as the joiners, the chief of which are the following. The pit-saw, which is a large two handed saw, employed for sawing timber in pits, and chiefly used by the sawers. The whip-saw, which has likewise two handles, used in sawing such large pieces as the hand-saw will not easily reach. The hand-saw is made to be used by an individual, of which there are different kinds, as the frame-saw, which is furnished with cheeks. By the twisted cords which pass from the upper parts of these cheeks, and the tongue in the middle of them, the upper ends are drawn closer together, and the lower set further asunder. The tenon-saw, which being very thin, has a back to keep it from bending. The compass-saw, which is very small, and its teeth usually not set; its use is to cut a round, or any other compass-kerf, on which account the edge is made broad, and the back thin, that it may have a compass to turn in.

At an early period, the trunks of trees were split with wedges into as many and as thin pieces as possible; and if it were necessary to have them still thinner, they were hewn on both sides to the proper size. This simple and wasteful manner of making boards has been still continued in some places to the present day. Peter the Great of Russia endeavoured to put a stop to it, by forbidding hewn deals to be transported on the river Neva. The saw, however, though so convenient and beneficial, has not been able to banish entirely the practice of splitting timber used in building, or in making furniture and utensils; for we do not speak here of fire-wood; and indeed it must be allowed that this method is attended with peculiar advantages which that of sawing can never possess. The wood-splitters perform their work more expeditiously than sawers, and split timber is much stronger than that which has been sawn; for the fissure follows the grain of the wood, and leaves it whole; whereas the saw, which proceeds in the line chalked out for it, divides the fibres, and by these means lessens its cohesion and solidity. Split timber, indeed, turns out often crooked and warped; but for many purposes to which it is applied this is not injurious, and these faults may sometimes be amended. As the fibres, however, retain their natural length and direction, thin boards particularly, can be bent much better. This is a great advantage in making pipe staves, or sieve frames, which require still more art, and in forming various implements of a similar kind.

Our common saw, which requires only to be guided by the hand, however simple it may be, was not known to the inhabitants of America when they were subdued by the Europeans. The inventor of this instrument has been inserted in their mythology by the Greeks, with a

Sauveur  
||  
Saw.

Saw  
||  
Saw-mills.

place, in which, among their gods, they honoured the greatest benefactors of the earliest ages. By some he is called Talus, and by others Perdix. None except Pliny make Dædalus the inventor; but Hardouin, in the passage where this occurs, reads Talus for Dædalus. Talus is the name of the inventor according to Diodorus Siculus, Apollodorus, and others. He was the son of Dædalus's sister, and was by his mother placed under the tuition of her brother, to be instructed in his art. Having found the jaw-bone of a snake, he employed it to cut through a small piece of wood; and by these means was induced to fabricate a similar instrument of iron, that is, to make a saw. This invention, by which labour is greatly facilitated, excited the envy of his master, and prompted him to put Talus privately to death. Being asked, when burying the body, what he was depositing in the earth, he replied, *a serpent*. This ambiguous answer discovered the murder; and thus a snake was the cause of the invention, of the murder, and of its being brought to light. By others the inventor is called Perdix, who is supposed to have been the son of a sister of Dædalus. Perdix did not employ the jaw-bone of a snake for a saw, but the back-bone of a fish, as is mentioned by Ovid.

The saws of the Grecian carpenters had the same form, and were made with equal ingenuity as the same instruments at present. This appears from a painting preserved among the antiquities of Herculaneum. Two genii are represented at the end of a bench, consisting of a long table resting on two four-footed stools; and the piece of wood to be sawn through is secured by cramps. The saw with which the genii are at work bears a striking resemblance to our frame-saw. It consists of a square frame, having a blade in the middle, the teeth of which are perpendicular to the plane of the frame. The piece of wood to be sawn extends beyond the end of the bench, and one of the workmen appears standing, and the other sitting on the ground. The arms in which the blade is fastened, have the same form as that given to them at present. In the bench are seen holes, in which the cramps holding the timber are stuck. They are shaped like the figure 7; and the ends of them reach below the boards which form the top of it.

*SAW. s/b.* See PRISTIS, ICHTHYOLOGY Index.

*SAW-Mills.* The most beneficial improvement of the operation of sawing was the invention of saw-mills, which are driven either by water or by wind. Mills of the first kind were erected so early as the fourth century, in Germany, on the small river Ruer. The art of cutting marble with a saw is very ancient. According to Pliny, it was invented in Caria. Stones of the soap-rock kind, which are softer than marble, were sawn at that period; but it appears that the harder kinds of stone were also then sawn; for we are informed respecting the discovery of a building which was encrusted with cut agate, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and amethysts. There is, however, no account in any of the Greek or Roman writers of a mill for sawing wood; and as modern authors speak of saw-mills as new and uncommon, it appears that the oldest construction of them has been forgotten, or that some interesting improvement has made them appear entirely new.

Becher says that saw-mills were invented in the 17th century, which is a mistake; for when the infant Henry

first people to settle in the island of Madeira, discovered Saw-mills. in 1420, he gave orders for saw-mills to be erected, for the purpose of sawing into deals the various species of excellent timber with which the island abounded, and which were afterwards exported to Portugal. There was a saw-mill in the city of Breslau about the year 1427, producing a yearly rent of three merks; and in 1490, the magistrates of Erfurt purchased a forest, in which they erected a saw-mill, besides renting another in the neighbourhood. The first saw-mill in Norway was erected about the year 1530. In the year 1552 there was a saw-mill erected at Joachimsthal, the property of a mathematician called Jacob Geusen. In 1555, the bishop of Ely, ambassador from Queen Mary of England to the court of Rome, having seen a saw-mill in the vicinity of Lyons, the writer of his travels gave a particular description of it. The first saw-mill was erected in Holland at Saardam in 1596, the invention of which is ascribed to Cornelius Cornelissen.

The first mill of this kind in Sweden was erected in the year 1653. At present, that kingdom possesses the largest perhaps ever constructed in Europe, where a water-wheel, 12 feet broad, drives at the same time 72 saws.

In England, saw-mills had at first a similar fate with printing in Turkey, the ribbon-loom in the dominions of the church, and the crane at Strasburg. When attempts were made to introduce them, they were violently opposed, because it was apprehended that the sawers would thus be deprived of the means of procuring subsistence. An opulent merchant in 1767 or 1768, by desire of the Society of Arts, caused a saw-mill to be erected at Limehouse, driven by wind; but it was demolished by the mob, and the damage was sustained by the nation, while some of the rioters were punished. This, however, was not the only mill of the kind then in Britain; for at Leith there was one driven by wind, some years before.

Saw-mills are very common in America, where the moving power is generally water. Some have been constructed on a very extensive plan; one in particular, we have been informed, has been erected in the province of New Brunswick, in British America, for the purpose of cutting planks for the English market. This machine works 15 saws in one frame, and is capable, it is said, of cutting annually not fewer than 8,000,000 feet of timber.

The mechanism of a sawing mill may be reduced to three principal things; the first, that the saw is drawn up and down as long as is necessary, by a motion communicated to the wheel by water; the second, that the piece of timber to be cut into boards is advanced by an uniform motion to receive the strokes of the saw; for here the wood is to meet the saw, and not the saw to follow the wood, therefore the motion of the wood and that of the saw ought immediately to depend the one on the other: the third, that where the saw has cut through the whole length of the piece, the whole machine stops of itself, and remains immoveable; lest having no obstacle to surmount, the moving power should turn the wheel with too great velocity, and break some part of the machine.

Saw-mills have been distinguished into two kinds, viz. those which have a reciprocating and those which have a rotatory motion.

Fig. 1.



Saw-mill.  
Plate  
cccclxix.  
Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. represents the elevation of a reciprocating saw-mill. AA is the shaft or axle, upon which is fixed the wheel BB (of 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  or 18 feet diameter), containing 40 buckets to receive the water by which it is impelled. CC a wheel fixed upon the same shaft containing 56 teeth, to drive the pinion N<sup>o</sup> 2. having 22 teeth, which is fastened upon an iron axle or spindle, having a coupling box on each end that turns the cranks, as DD, round: one end of the pole E is put on the crank, and its other end moves on a joint or iron bolt at F, in the lower end of the frame GG. The crank DD being turned round in the hole E, moves the frames GG up and down, and these having saws in them, by this motion cut the wood. The pinion, N<sup>o</sup> 2. may work, two, three, or more cranks, and thus move as many frames of saws. N<sup>o</sup> 3. an iron wheel having angular teeth, which one end of the iron K takes hold of, while its other end rolls on a bolt in the lever HH. One end of this lever moves on a bolt at I, the other end may lie in a notch in the frame GG so as to be pushed up and down by it. Thus the catch K pulls the wheel round, while the catch L falls into the teeth and prevents it from going backwards. Upon the axle of N<sup>o</sup> 3. is also fixed the pinion N<sup>o</sup> 4. taking into the teeth in the under edge of the iron bar, that is fastened upon the frame TT, on which the wood to be cut is laid: by this mean the frame TT is moved on its rollers SS, along the fixed frame UU; and of course the wood fastened upon it is brought forward to the saws as they are moved up and down by reason of the turning round of the crank DD. VV, the machine and handle to raise the sluice when the water is to be let upon the wheel BB to give it motion. By pulling the rope at the longer arm of the lever M, the pinion N<sup>o</sup> 2. is put into the hold or grip of the wheel CC, which drives it; and by pulling the rope R, this pinion is cleared from the wheel. N<sup>o</sup> 5. a pinion containing 24 teeth, driven by the wheel CC, and having upon its axle a sheave, on which is the rope PP, passing to the sheave N<sup>o</sup> 6. to turn it round; and upon its axle is fixed the pinion N<sup>o</sup> 7. acting on the teeth in an iron bar upon the frame TT, to roll that frame backwards when empty. By pulling the rope at the longer arm of the lever N, the pinion N<sup>o</sup> 5. is put into the hold of the wheel CC; and by pulling the rope O it is taken off the hold. N<sup>o</sup> 8. a wheel fixed upon the axle N<sup>o</sup> 9. having upon its periphery angular teeth, into which the catch N<sup>o</sup> 10. takes; and being moved by the lever attached to the upper part of the frame G, it pushes the wheel N<sup>o</sup> 8. round; and the catch N<sup>o</sup> 11. falls into the teeth of the wheel, to prevent it from going backwards while the rope rolls in its axle, and drags the logs or pieces of wood in at the door Y, to be laid upon the moveable frames TT, and carried forward to the saws to be cut. The catches N<sup>o</sup> 10, 11. are easily thrown out of play when they are not wanted. The gudgeons in the shafts, rounds of the cranks, spindles, and pivots, should all turn round in cuds or bushes of brass. Z, a door in one end of the mill-house at which the wood is conveyed out when cut. WW, walls of the mill-house. QQ, the couples or framing of the roof. XXX, &c. windows to admit light to the house.

Saw-mills for cutting blocks of stone are generally, though not always, moved horizontally: the horizontal alternate motion may be communicated to one or more

saws, by means of a rotatory motion, either by the use of cranks, &c. or in some such way as the following.

Let the horizontal wheel ABDC (fig. 2.) drive the pinion O p N, this latter carrying a vertical pin P, at the distance of about one-third of the diameter from the centre. This pinion and pin are represented separately in fig. 3. Let the frame WSTV, carrying four saws, marked 1, 2, 3, 4, have wheels V, T, W, W, each running in a groove or rut, whose direction is parallel to the proposed direction of the saws: and let a transverse groove PR, whose length is double the distance of the pin P from the centre of the pinion, be cut in the saw frame to receive that pin. Then, as the great wheel revolves, it drives the pinion, and carries round the pin P: and this pin, being compelled to slide in the straight groove PR, while by the rotation of the pinion on which it is fixed its distance from the great wheel is constantly varying, it causes the whole saw frame to approach to and recede from the great wheel alternately, while the grooves in which the wheels run confine the frame so as to move in the direction T t, V v. Other blocks of stone may be sawn at the same time by the motion of the great wheel, if other pinions and frames running off in the directions of the respective radii EB, EA, EC, be worked by the teeth at the quadrantal points B, A, and C. And the contrary efforts of these four frames and pinions will tend to soften down the joints, and equalize the whole motion.

The same contrivance, of a pin fixed at a suitable distance from the centre of a wheel, and sliding in a groove, may serve to convert a reciprocating into a rotatory motion: but it will not be preferable to the common conversion by means of a crank.

When saws are used to cut blocks of stone into pieces having cylindrical surfaces, a small addition is made to the apparatus. See figs 4 and 5. The saw, instead of being allowed to fall in a vertical groove as it cuts the block, is attached to a lever or beam FG, sufficiently strong; this lever has several holes pierced through it, and so has the vertical piece ED, which is likewise moveable towards either side of the frame in grooves in the top and bottom pieces AI, DM. Thus, the length KG of the radius can be varied at pleasure, to suit the curvature of NO; and as the saw is moved to and fro by proper machinery, in the direction CB, BC, it works lower and lower into the block, while, being confined by the beam FG, it cuts the cylindrical portion from the block P, as required.

When a completely cylindrical pillar is to be cut out of one block of stone, the first thing will be to ascertain in the block the position of the axis of the cylinder: then lay the block so that such axis shall be parallel to the horizon, and let a cylindrical hole of from one to two inches diameter be bored entirely through it. Let an iron bar, whose diameter is rather less than that of this tube, be put through it, having just room to slide freely to and fro as occasion may require. Each end of this bar should terminate in a screw, on which a nut and frame may be fastened: the nut frame should carry three flat pieces of wood or iron, each having a slit running along its middle nearly from one end to the other, and a screw and handle must be adapted to each slit: by these means the frame-work at each end of the bar may readily be so adjusted as to form equal isosceles or equilateral triangles; the iron bar will connect two cor-

Saw mill.

responding angles of these triangles, the saw to be used two other corresponding angles, and another bar of iron or of wood the two remaining angles, to give sufficient strength to the whole frame. This construction, it is obvious, will enable the workmen to place the saw at any proposed distance from the hole drilled through the middle of the block; and then, by giving the alternating motion to the saw frame, the cylinder may at length be cut from the block, as required.

If it were proposed to saw a conic frustum from such a block, then let two frames of wood or iron be fixed to those parallel ends of the block which are intended to coincide with the bases of the frustum, circular grooves being previously cut in these frames to correspond with the circumferences of the two ends of the proposed frustum; the saw being worked in these grooves will manifestly cut the conic surface from the block. This, we believe, is the contrivance of Sir George Wright.

The best method of drilling the hole through the middle of the proposed cylinder seems to be this: on a carriage running upon four low wheels let two vertical pieces (each having a hole just large enough to admit the borer to play freely) be fixed two or three feet asunder, and so contrived that the pieces and holes to receive the borer may, by screws, &c. be raised or lowered at pleasure, while the borer is prevented from sliding to and fro by shoulders upon its bar, which are larger than the holes in the vertical pieces, and which, as the borer revolves, press against those pieces: let a part of the boring bar between the two vertical pieces be square, and a grooved wheel with a square hole of a suitable size be placed upon this part of the bar; then the rotatory motion may be given to the bar by an endless band which shall pass over this grooved wheel and a wheel of a much larger diameter in the same plane, the latter wheel being turned by a winch handle in the usual way. See *boring of ORDNANCE*.

Circular saws, acting by a rotatory motion, have been long known in Holland, where they are used for cutting wood used in venecring. They were introduced into this country, we believe, by General Bentham, and are now used in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, and in a few other places: but they are not, as yet, so generally adopted as might be wished, considering how well they are calculated to abridge labour, and to accomplish with expedition and accuracy what is very tedious and irksome to perform in the usual way. Circular saws may be made to turn either in horizontal, vertical, or inclined planes; and the timber to be cut may be laid upon a plane inclined in any direction; so that it may be sawn by lines making any angle whatever, or at any proposed distance from each other. When the saw is fixed at a certain angle, and at a certain distance from the edge of the frame, all the pieces will be cut of the same size, without marking upon them by a chalked line, merely by causing them to be moved along and keeping one side in contact with the side of the frame; for then, as they are brought one by one to touch the saw revolving on its axle, and are pressed upon it, they are soon cut through.

Mr Smart, of Ordnance wharf, Westminster-bridge, has several circular saws, all worked by a horse in a moderate sized walk: one of these, intended for cutting and boring tenons used in this gentleman's hollow masts, is represented in fig. 6. NOPQR is a hollow frame,

Fig. 6.

under which is part of the wheel-work of the horse-mill. —A, B, D, C, E, F, are pulleys, over which pass straps or endless bands, the parts of which out of sight run upon the rim of a large vertical wheel: by means of this simple apparatus, the saws S, S', are made to revolve upon their axles with an equal velocity, the same band passing round the pulleys D, C, upon those axles; and the rotatory motion is given to the borer G by the band passing over the pulley A. The board I is inclined to the horizon in an angle of about 30 degrees; the plane of the saw S' is parallel to that of the board I, and about a quarter of an inch distant from it, while the plane of the saw S is vertical, and its lowest point at the same distance from the board I. Each piece of wood K out of which the tenon is to be cut is four inches long, an inch and a quarter broad, and 5-eighths of an inch thick. One end of such piece is laid so as to slide along the ledge at the lower part of the board I; and as it is pushed on, by means of the handle H, it is first cut by the saw S', and immediately after by the saw S: after this the other end is put lowest, and the piece is again cut by both saws: then the tenon is applied to the borer G, and as soon as a hole is pierced through it, it is dropped into the box beneath. By this process, at least 30 tenons may be completed in a minute, with greater accuracy than a man could make *one* in a quarter of an hour, with a common hand-saw and gimblet. The like kind of contrivance may, by slight alterations, be fitted for many other purposes, particularly all such as may require the speedy sawing of a great number of pieces into exactly the same size and shape. *Gregory's Mechanics, II.*

SAXE, MAURICE COUNT of, was born the 13th October 1696. He was the natural son of Frederic Augustus II. elector of Saxony, and king of Poland, and of the countess of Konigsmarc, a Swedish lady, celebrated both for her wit and beauty. He was educated along with Frederic Augustus the electoral prince, afterwards king of Poland. His infancy announced the future warrior. Nothing could prevail on him to apply to his studies but the promise of being allowed, after he had finished his task, to mount on horseback, or exercise himself with arms.

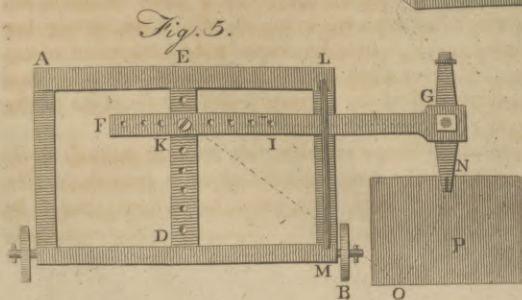
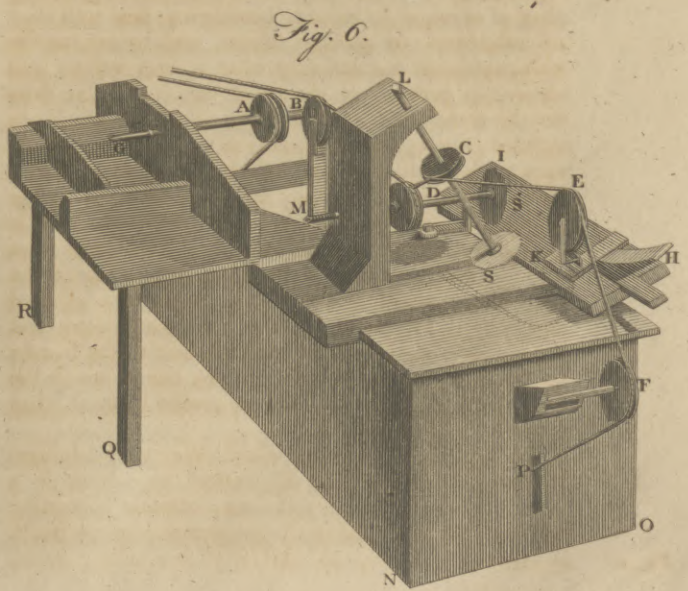
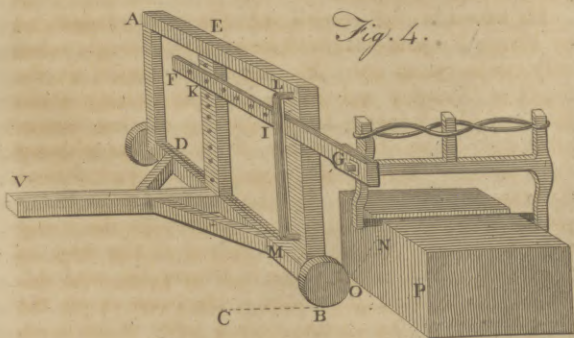
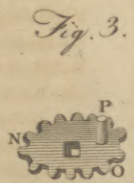
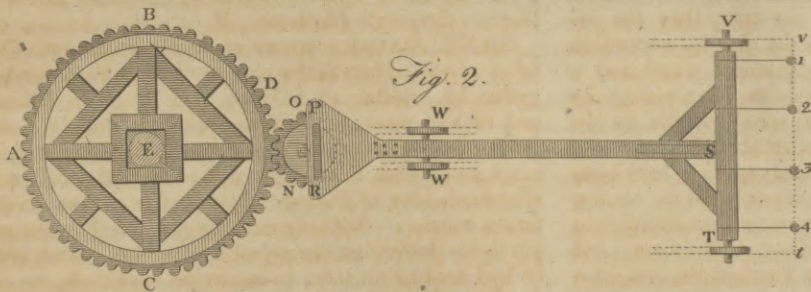
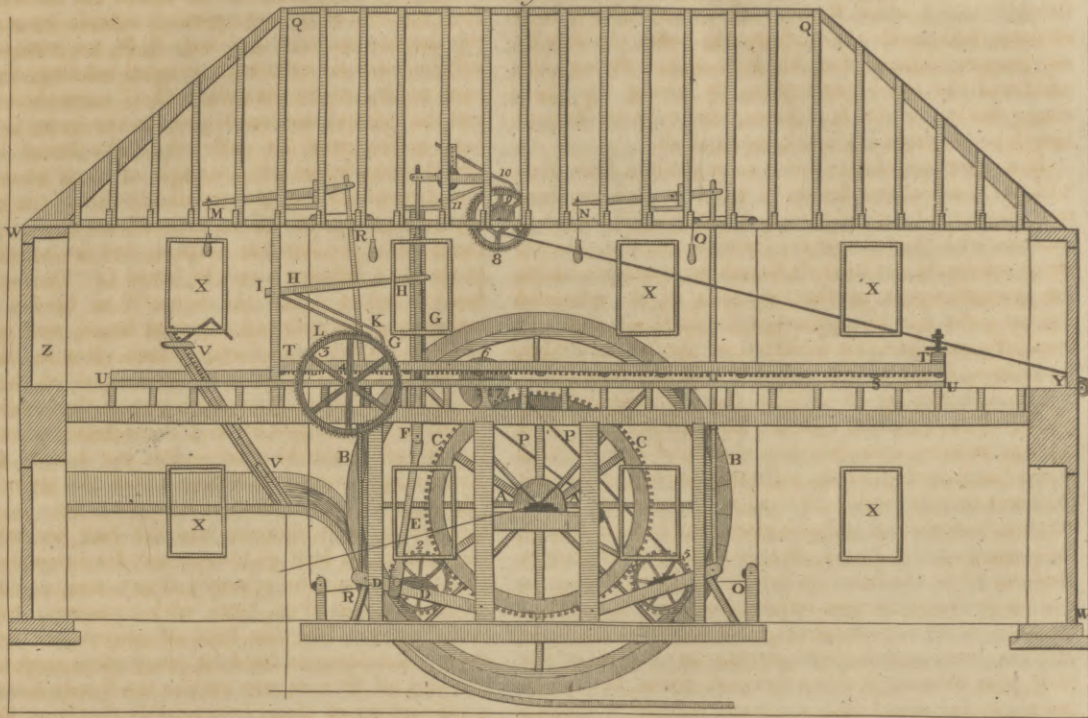
He served his first campaign in the army commanded by Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, when only twelve years old. He signalized himself at the sieges of Tournay and Mons, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet. In the evening of that memorable day, he was heard to say, "I'm content with my day's work." During the campaign of 1710, Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough made many public encomiums on his merit. Next year the young count accompanied the king of Poland to the siege of Stralsund, the strongest place in Pomerania, and displayed the greatest intrepidity. He swam across the river in sight of the enemy, with a pistol in his hand. His valour shone no less conspicuously on the bloody day of Gaedelbusck, where he commanded a regiment of cavalry. He had a horse killed under him, after he had three times rallied his regiment, and led them on to the charge.

Soon after that campaign, his mother prevailed on him to marry the countess of Lubin, a lady both rich and beautiful. This union lasted but a short time. In 1721, the count procured a dissolution of the marriage;

Saw-mill  
||  
Saxe.

SAW MILL.  
*Fig. 1.*

Plate CCCCLXIX.



*A Bell Prin. Mal. Sculptor fecit.*



Saxe.

a step of which he afterwards repented. The countess left him with regret; but this did not prevent her from marrying soon after. The count of Saxe was too fond of pleasure and variety to submit to the duties which marriage imposes. In the midst, however, of the pleasures in which he sometimes indulged, he never lost sight of his profession. He carried along with him wherever he went a library of military books; and even when he seemed most taken up with his pleasures, he never failed to spend an hour or two in private study.

In 1717 he went to Hungary, where the emperor had an army of 15,000 men under the command of Prince Eugene. Young Count Saxe was present at the siege of Belgrade, and at a battle which the prince gained over the Turks. On his return to Poland in 1718, he was made a knight of the golden eagle.

The wars in Europe being concluded by the treaties of Utrecht and Passarowitz, Count Saxe went to France. He had always professed a partiality for that country. French, indeed, was the only foreign language which during his infancy he was willing to learn. He spent his whole time during the peace in studying mathematics, fortification, and mechanics, sciences which exactly suited his genius. The mode of exercising troops had struck his attention when very young. At 16 he invented a new exercise, which was taught in Saxony with the greatest success. Having obtained a regiment in France in 1722, he formed it himself according to his new system. From that moment the *Chevalier Folard*, an excellent judge of military talents, predicted that he would be a great man.

In 1726 the states of Courland chose him for their sovereign. But both Poland and Russia rose in arms to oppose him. The Czarina wished to bestow the duchy on Menzikoff, a happy adventurer, who from a pastry-cook's boy became a general and a prince. Menzikoff sent 800 Russians to Milan, where they besieged the new-chosen duke in his palace. Count Saxe, who had only 60 men, defended himself with astonishing intrepidity. The siege was raised, and the Russians obliged to retreat. Soon after he retired to Usmatz, and prepared to defend his people against the two hostile nations. Here he remained with only 300 men, till the Russian general approached at the head of 4000 to force his retreat. That general invited the count to a conference, during which he intended to surprise him, and take him prisoner. The count, informed of the plot, reproached him for his baseness, and broke up the conference. About this time he wrote to France for men and money. Mademoiselle le Couvreur, a famous actress, pawned her jewels and plate, and sent him the sum of 40,000 livres. This actress had formed his mind for the fine arts. She had made him read the greater part of the French poets, and given him a taste for the theatre, which he retained even in the camp. The count, unable to defend himself against Russia and Poland, was obliged in the year 1729 to leave his new dominions, and retire into France. It is said that Anne Iwanowa, duchess dowager of Courland, and second daughter of the czar Iwan Alexiowitz, had given him hopes of marriage, and abandoned him at that time because she despaired of fixing his wavering passion.— This inconstancy lost him not only Courland, but the

throne of Russia itself, which that princess afterwards filled.

Count Saxe, thus stripped of his territories, devoted himself for some time to the study of mathematics. He composed also, in 13 nights, and during the intervals of an ague, his *Reveries*, which he corrected afterwards. This book is written in an incorrect but forcible style; it is full of remarks both new and profound, and is equally useful to the soldier and the general.

The death of the king of Poland his father, in 1733, kindled a new war in Europe. His brother, the elector of Saxony, offered him the command of all his forces, but he preferred the French service, and repaired to the marshal of Berwick's army, which was encamped on the Rhine. "Count," said that general, who was preparing to attack the enemy's entrenchments at Etlinghen, "I was going to send for 3000 men, but your arrival is of more value than theirs." When the attack began, the count, at the head of a regiment of grenadiers, forced the enemy's lines, and by his bravery decided the victory. He behaved at the siege of Philipburgh with no less intrepidity. For these services he was, in 1734, rewarded with the rank of lieutenant-general. Peace was concluded in 1736; but the death of Charles VI. emperor of Germany kindled a new war almost immediately.

Prague was besieged by the count of Saxe in 1741, near the end of November, and taken the same month by assault. The conquest of Egra followed that of Prague. It was taken a few days after the trenches were opened. This success gave so much joy to the emperor Charles VII. that he wrote a congratulatory letter to the conqueror with his own hands.

In 1744 he was made marshal of France, and commanded a part of the French army in Flanders. During that campaign he displayed the greatest military conduct. Though the enemy was superior in number, he observed their motions so skilfully that they could do nothing.

In January 1745, an alliance was concluded at Warsovia between the queen of Hungary, the king of England, and the States of Holland. The ambassador of the States General, meeting Marechal Saxe one day at Versailles, asked his opinion of that treaty. "I think (says he), that if the king my master would give me an unlimited commission, I would read the original at the Hague before the end of the year." This answer was not a bravado; the marshal was capable of performing it.

He went soon after, though exceedingly ill, to take the command of the French army in the Low Countries. A gentleman seeing the feeble condition in which he left Paris, asked him how he could in that situation undertake so great an enterprise. "The question (replied he) is not about living, but setting out."— Soon after the opening of the campaign, the battle of Fontenoy was fought. Marechal Saxe was at the point of death, yet he caused himself to be put into a litter, and carried round all the posts. During the action he mounted on horseback, though he was so very weak that his attendants dreaded every moment to see him expire. The victory of Fontenoy, owing entirely to his vigilance and capacity, was followed by the reduction of Tournay, Bruges, Ghent, Oudenarde, Ostend, Ath,

and

Saxe.

Saxe.

and Brussels: This last city was taken on the 28th February 1746; and very soon after the king sent to the marshal a letter of naturalization conceived in the most flattering terms. The succeeding campaigns gained him additional honours. After the victory of Raucoux, which he gained on the 11th October 1746, the king of France made him a present of six pieces of cannon. He was, on the 12th of January of the following year, created marshal of all the French armies, and, in 1748, commander-general of all those parts of the Netherlands which were lately conquered.

Holland now began to tremble for her safety. Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom had already fallen, and nothing but misfortunes seemed to attend the further prosecution of the war. The States General, therefore, offered terms of peace, which were accepted, and a treaty concluded on the 18th October 1748.

Marechal Saxe retired to Chambord, a country seat which the king of France had given him. Some time after he went to Berlin, where the king of Prussia received him as Alexander would have received Cæsar.— On his return to France, he spent his time among men of learning, artists, and philosophers. He died of a fever, on the 30th November 1750, at the age of 54.

Some days before his death, talking to M. Senac his physician about his life, "It has been (says he) an excellent dream." He was remarkably careful of the lives of his men. One day a general officer was pointing out to him a post which would have been of great use. "It will only cost you (says he) a dozen grenadiers. "That would do very well," replied the marshal, "were it only a dozen lieutenant-generals."

It was impossible for Marechal Saxe, the natural brother of the king of Poland, elected sovereign of Courland, and possessed of a vigorous and restless imagination, to be destitute of ambition. He constantly entertained the notion that he would be a king. After losing the crown of Russia by his inconstancy in love, he formed, it is said, the project of assembling the Jews, and of being the sovereign of a nation which for 1700 years had neither possessed chief nor country. When this chimerical idea could not be realized, he cast his eyes upon the kingdom of Corsica. After failing in this project also, he was busily employed in planning a settlement in some part of America, particularly Brazil, when death surprised him.

He had been educated and died in the Lutheran religion. "It is a pity (said the queen of France, when she heard of his death) that we cannot say a single *De profundis* (prayer for the dead) for a man who has made us sing so many *Te Deums*." All France lamented his death.

By his will, which is dated at Paris, March 1. 1748, he directed that his body should be buried in quicklime: "that nothing (says he) may remain of me in this world but the remembrance of me among my friends." These orders, however, were not complied with; for his body was embalmed, put into a leaden coffin, which was inclosed in another of copper, and this covered

with one of wood, bound about with iron. His heart was put into a silver gilt box, and his entrails into another coffin. Louis XV. was at the charge of his funeral. By his order his corpse was interred with great pomp and splendor in the Lutheran church of St Thomas, at Strasburg, on the 8th February 1751.

The marshal was a man of ordinary stature, of a robust constitution, and extraordinary strength. To an aspect, noble, warlike, and mild, he joined the excellent qualities of the heart. Affable in his manners, and disposed to sympathize with the unfortunate, his generosity sometimes carried him beyond the limits of his fortune. On his death-bed he reviewed the errors of his life with remorse, and expressed much penitence.

The best edition of his *Reveries* was printed at Paris 1757, in two vols 4to. It was compared with the greatest attention with the original manuscript in the king's library. It is accompanied with many designs exactly engraved, and a *Life of the Author*. The *Life of Marechal Saxe* was written by M. d'Espagnac, two vols 12mo. This history is written in the panegyric style. The author is, however, impartial enough to remark, that in the three battles upon which the reputation of Marechal Saxe is founded, he engaged in the most favourable circumstances. "Never did a general (says he) stand in a more advantageous situation. Honoured with the confidence of the king, he was not restrained in any of his projects. He always commanded a numerous army: his soldiers were steady, and his officers possessed great merit."

SAXIFRAGA, SAXIFRAGE, a genus of plants belonging to the decandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 13th order, *Succulentæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SAXO-GRAMMATICUS, descended from an illustrious Danish (A) family, was born about the middle of the 12th century. Stephens, in his edition of *Saxo-Græm-maticus*, printed at Soroc, indubitably proves, that he must have been alive in 1156, but cannot ascertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's *Prolegomena* to the Notes on *Saxo-Græm-maticus*, p. 8, to 24; also Holberg, vol. i. p. 269; and Mallet's *North. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 4. On account of his uncommon learning, Saxo was distinguished by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provost of the cathedral church of Roskild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Absalon, the celebrated archbishop of Lunden, at whose instigation he wrote the *History of Denmark*. His epigraph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verses, gives no account of the era of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His history, consisting of 16 books, begins from the earliest account of the Danish annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer, the first part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the ancient kings, is full of fables; but the eight last books, and particularly those which regard the events of his own times, deserve the utmost credit. He wrote in Latin;

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Saxo-  
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(A) Some authors have erroneously conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxe was no uncommon appellation among the ancient Danes. See Olaus Wormius *Monumenta Danica*, p. 186, and Stephens's *Prolegomena*, p. 10.

Saxo-  
Grammaticus  
||  
Saxony.

Saxony.

Latin; the style, if we consider the barbarous age in which he flourished, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for history. Mallet, in his *Histoire de Dannemarck*, vol. i. p. 182, says, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the assertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was secretary to Absalon; and that the Saxo provost of Roskild was another person, and lived earlier."

SAXONY, the name of two circles of the German empire, an electorate, and a duchy of the same. The lower circle is bounded to the south by the circle of Upper Saxony, and a part of that of the Upper Rhine; to the north, by the duchy of Sleswick, belonging to the king of Denmark, and the Baltic; to the west, by the circle of Westphalia and the North sea; and to the east by the circle of Upper Saxony. The states belonging to it are the dukes and princes of Magdeburg and Bremen, Zell, Grubenhagen, Calenberg, Wolfenbüttele, Halberstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Gültro, Holstein-Gluckstadt, Holstein-Gottorf, Hildesheim, Saxe-Lawenburg; the archbishopric of Lubeck; the principalities of Schwerin, Ratzeburg, Blankenburg, Ranzau; the imperial cities of Lubeck, Götztal, Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, Hamburg, and Bremen. The dukes of Bremen and Magdeburg are alternately directors and summoning princes; but, ever since the year 1682, the diets which used generally to be held at Brunswick or Lunenburg have been discontinued. Towards the army of the empire, which, by a decree of the empire in 1681, was settled at 40,000 men, this circle was to furnish 1322 horsemen and 2707 foot; and of the 300,000 florins granted to the imperial chest in 1707, its quota was 31,271 florins; both which assessments are the same with those of Upper Saxony, Burgundy, Swabia, and Westphalia. This circle at present nominates only two assessors in the chamber-judicatory of the empire, of one of which the elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg has the nomination, who must be a Lutheran, and is the ninth in rank. The inhabitants of this circle are almost all Lutherans.

The circle of Upper Saxony is bounded by that of Franconia, the Upper Rhine, and Lower Saxony; and also by the Baltic sea, Prussia, Poland, Silesia, Lusatia, and Bohemia. It is of great extent, and contains the following states; viz. the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Eisenach, Saxe-Cobourg, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Querfurt, the Hither and Farther Pomerania, Camin, Anhalt, Quidlenburg, Gernrode, Walkenried, Schwarzburg, Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Mansfeld, Stolberg, Barby, the counts of Reussen, and the counts of Schonberg. No diets have been held in this circle since the year 1683. The elector of Saxony has always been the sole summoning prince and director of it. Most of the inhabitants profess the Protestant religion. When the whole empire furnishes 40,000 men, the quota of this circle is 1322 horse and 2707 foot. Of the 300,000 florins granted by the empire in 1707, it contributed only 31,271 florins, 28 kruitzers, being rated no higher than those of Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Swabia, and Burgundy, though it is much larger. Agreeable to a resolution and regulation in 1654, this circle nominates now only two assessors of the chamber-court.

The electorate consists of the duchy of Saxony, the

greatest part of the margravate of Meissen, a part of the Vogtland, and the northern half of the landgravate of Thuringia. The Lusatias also, and a part of the country of Henneberg, belong to it, but are no part of this circle. The soil of the electoral dominions lying in this circle is in general exceeding rich and fruitful, yielding corn, fruits, and pulse in abundance, together with hops, flax, hemp, tobacco, aniseed, wild saffron, wood; and in some places woad, wine, coals, porcelain clay, terra sigillata, fullers-earth, fine shiver, various sorts of beautiful marble, serpentine stone, and almost all the different species of precious stones. Sulphur also, alum, vitriol, sand, and free-stone, salt-springs, amber, turf, cinnabar, quicksilver, antimony, bismuth, arsenic, cobalt, and other minerals, are found it. This country, besides the above articles, contains likewise valuable mines of silver, copper, tin, lead, and iron; and abounds in many places with horned cattle, sheep, horses, and venison. The principal rivers by which it is watered are the Elbe, the Scherweze-Elster, the Mulde, the Saale, the Unstrut, the Weisse-Elster, and the Pleisse. These rivers, as well as the lakes and rivulets, abound in fish; and in the White-Elster are found beautiful pearls. This electorate is extremely well cultivated and inhabited, and is said to include about 250 great and small towns, upwards of 5000 villages, 196 royal manors, and near as many royal castles, besides private estates, and commanderies. The provincial diets here consist of three classes. The first is composed of the prelates, the counts, and lords, and the two universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg. To the second belong the nobility in general, immediate or mediate, that is, such as stand immediately under the chief-chancery or the aulic judicatories, and such as are immediately under the jurisdiction of the amtmann. The third class is formed of the towns in general. The general provincial diets are ordinarily held every six years; but there are others, called *selection diets*, which are convened commonly every two years. We would here observe, that not only these diets, but those in most of the other states of Germany, are at present extremely insignificant and unimportant, retaining little more than the shadow of their former power and privileges; for even the petty princes, though they depend upon their more potent neighbours, and must be careful not to give them any umbrage, are almost as absolute in their respective territories as the grand seignior himself. As to religion, it was in this country that the reformation took its rise in the 16th century, to which it hath ever since adhered, according to the doctrines of Luther\*. The two late electors, when they embraced \* See Reformation, of Poland, gave the most solemn assurances to their people, that they would inviolably maintain the established religion and its professors in the full and free enjoyment of all their ecclesiastical rights, privileges, and prerogatives whatsoever, in regard to churches, worship, ceremonies, usages, universities, schools, benefices, incomes, profits, jurisdictions, and immunities. The electoral families still continue Roman Catholics, though they have lost the crown of Poland, for which they at first embraced Popery. With respect to ecclesiastical matters, the country is divided into parishes, and these again into spiritual inspections and consistories, all subordinate to the ecclesiastical council and upper consistory of Dresden, in which city and Leipzig the Calvinists and Roman

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Saxony.

man Catholics enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Learning flourishes in this electorate; in which, besides the free-schools and gymnasia in most of the chief towns, are the two celebrated universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig, in the last of which are also societies for the liberal arts and the German language, with booksellers and printers of the greatest eminence. A great variety of manufactures are also carried on in this country. The principal are those of fine and coarse linen, thread, fine laco, paper, fine glasses and mirrors; porcelain, equal if not superior to that of China; iron, brass, and steel wares; manufactures of gold and silver, cotton, wool, and silk; gloves, caps, hats, and tapestry; in which, and the natural productions mentioned above, together with dyeing, an important foreign commerce is carried on. A great addition has been made since the year 1718 to the electoral territories, by the extinction of the collateral branches of Zeitz, Merseburg, and Weiffenfels, whose dominions devolved to the elder electoral branch, descended from the margraves of Meissen. The first of these, who was elector of Saxony, was Frederick the Warlike, about the beginning of the 15th century.

This elector styles himself duke of Saxony, Juliers, Cleve, and Berg, as also of Engern and Westphalia, arch-marshal and elector of the Holy Roman empire, landgrave in Thuringia, margrave of Meissen, and of Upper and Lower Lusatia, burgrave of Magdeburg, princely count of Henneberg, count of La Mark, Ravensberg, Barby, and Hanau, and lord of Ravensstein. Among the electors he is reckoned the sixth, as great-marshal of the empire, of which he is also vicar, during an interregnum, in all places not subject to the vicariate of the count palatine of the Rhine. He is moreover sole director of the circle; and in the vacancy of the see of Mentz claims the directorium at the diet of the empire. His matricular assessment, on account of the electorate, is 1984 florins, besides what he pays for other districts and territories. To the chamber-courts he contributes, each term, the sum of 1545 rix-dollars, together with 83 rix-dollars and 62 kruiters on account of the county of Mansfeld. In this electorate, subordinate to the privy council, are various colleges for the departments of war, foreign affairs, the finances, siefs, mines, police, and ecclesiastical affairs, together with high tribunals and courts of justice, to which appeals lie from the inferior. The revenues of this elector are as considerable as those of any prince in the empire, if we except those of the house of Austria. They arise from the ordinary and extraordinary subsidies of the states; his own demesnes, consisting of 72 bailiwics; the impost on beer, and the fine porcelain of the country; tenths of corn, fruit, wine, &c.; his own silver mines, and the tenths of those that belong to particulars; all which, added together, bring in a yearly revenue of betwixt 700,000l. and 800,000l. yet the electorate is at present deeply in debt. The regular troops commonly amount to 20,000 men, exclusive of the militia of the ban, the arriere-ban, and the body of miners and hunters, who are obliged in time of war to bear arms. The whole electorate is divided into circles.

The electoral circle, or the duchy of Saxony, is bounded by the circles of Meissen, Leipzig, and Thuringia, the principality of Anhalt, the marche of Brandenburg, and Lusatia. The principality of Anhalt lies

across it, and divides it into two parts. Its greatest length and breadth is computed at about 40 miles; but though it is watered by the Elbe, the Black Elster, and the Mulde, it is not very fruitful, the soil for the most part consisting of sand. It contains 24 towns, three boroughs, betwixt 400 and 500 villages, 164 noblemen's estates, 11 superintendencies, three inspections under one consistory, and 11 prefecturates or districts. The present duchy of Saxony is not to be confounded with the old; for the latter was of a much greater extent, and contained in it those large tracts anciently called *Eastphalia*, *Engern*, and *Westphalia*, of which the electoral circle was no part, but was taken by Albert the Bear, margrave of Salzwedel, from the Venedi. His son Bernard obtaining the dignity of duke of Saxony from the emperor Frederic I. the name of *duchy* was given to this country; and the electoral dignity having been afterwards annexed to the duchy, it acquired thereby also the name of the *electoral circle*.

The country of Saxony is remarkable for being the mother of the present English nation; but concerning the Saxons themselves, previous to that period, we have very few particulars. The Saxons (says Mr Whitaker) have been derived by our historians from very different parts of the globe; India, the north of Asia, and the forests of Germany. And their appellation has been equally referred to very different causes; the name of their Indian progenitor, the plundering disposition of their Asiatic fathers, and the short hooked weapons of their warriors. But the real origin of the Saxons, and the genuine derivation of their name, seem clearly to be these.

In the earlier period of the Gallic history, the Celtæ of Gaul crossed the Rhine in considerable numbers, and planted various colonies in the regions beyond it. Thus the Volcæ Tectosages settled on one side of the Hercynian forest and about the banks of the Neckar, the Helvetii upon another and about the Rhine and Maine, the Boii beyond both, and the Senones in the heart of Germany. Thus also we see the Treviri, the Nervii, the Suevi, and the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Venedi, and others, in that country; all plainly betrayed to be Gallic nations by the Gallic appellations which they bear, and all together possessing the greatest part of it. And, even as late as the conclusion of the first century, we find one nation on the eastern side of this great continent actually speaking the language of Gaul, and another upon the northern using a dialect nearly related to the British. But as all the various tribes of the Germans are considered by Strabo to be *γεννησιοι Γαλαται*, or genuine Gauls in their origin; so those particularly that lived immediately beyond the Rhine, and are asserted by Tacitus to be indubitably native Germans, are expressly denominated *Γαλαται*, or Gauls, by Diodorus, and as expressly declared by Dio to have been distinguished by the equivalent appellation of *Celtæ* from the earliest period. And the broad line of nations, which extended along the ocean, and reached to the borders of Scythia, was all known to the learned in the days of Diodorus, by the same significant appellation of *Γαλαται*, or Gauls.

Of these, the most noted were the Si-Cambri and Cimbri; the former being seated near the channel of the Rhine, and the latter inhabiting the peninsula of Jutland. And the denominations of both declare their original;

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original; and show them to have been derived from the common stock of the Celtæ, and to be of the same Celtic kindred with the Cimbri of our own Somersetshire, and the Cymbri or Cambrians of our own Wales. The Cimbri are accordingly denominated *Celtæ* by Strabo and Appian. And they are equally asserted to be Gauls by Diodorus; to be the descendants of that nation which sacked the city of Rome, plundered the temple of Delphi, and subdued a great part of Europe and some of Asia.

Immediately to the south of these were the Saxons, extending from the isthmus of the Chersonesus to the current of the Elbe. And they were equally Celtic in their origin as their neighbours. They were denominated *Ambrones* as well as Saxons; and, as such, are included by Tacitus under the general appellation of *Cimbri*, and comprehended in Plutarch under the equal one of *Celto-Scythæ*. And the name of *Ambrones* appears particularly to have been Gallic; being common to the Saxons beyond the Elbe, and the Ligurians in Cisalpine Gaul; as both found to their surprise, on the irruption of the former into Italy with the Cimbri. And, what is equally surprising, and has been equally unnoticed by the critics, the Welsh distinguish England by the name of *Loegr* or *Liguria*, even to the present moment. In that irruption these Saxons, Ambrons, or Ligurians, composed a body of more than 30,000 men, and were principally concerned in cutting to pieces the large armies of Manlius and Cæpio. Nor is the appellation of *Saxons* less Celtic than the other. It was originally the same with the Belgic Sueffones of Gaul; the capital of that tribe being now intitled *Soifons* by the French, and the name of the Saxons pronounced *Saisfen* by the Welsh, *Safon* by the Scotch, and *Sasfenach* or *Saxfenach* by the Irish. And the Sueffones or Saxones of Gaul derived their own appellation from the position of their metropolis on a river, the stream at *Soifons* being now denominated the *Aisne*, and formerly the *Axon*; Ueffon or Axon importing only waters or a river, and S-ueffon or S-ax-on on the waters or the river. The Sueffones, therefore, are actually denominated the *Ueffones* by Ptolemy; and the Saxones are actually intitled the *Axones* by Lucan.

These, with their brethren and allies the Cimbri, having been more formidable enemies to the Romans by land, than the Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, Gauls, or Parthians, in the second century applied themselves to navigation, and became nearly as terrible by sea. They soon made themselves known to the inhabitants of the British isles by their piracies in the northern channels, and were denominated by them *Lochlyn* or *Lochlynach*; *lucd-lyn* signifying the people of the wave, and the *d* being quiescent in the pronunciation. They took possession of the Orkney islands, which were then merely large shoals of sand, uncovered with wood, and overgrown with rushes; and they landed in the north of Ireland, and ravaged the country. Before the middle of the third century they made a second descent upon the latter, disembarked a considerable body of men, and designed the absolute subjection of the island. Before the conclusion of it, they carried their naval operations to the south, infested the British channel with their little vessels, and made frequent descents upon the coasts. And in the fourth and fifth centuries, acting in conjunction with the Picts of Caledonia and the Scots of Ire-

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land, they ravaged all the eastern and south-eastern shores of Britain, began the formal conquest of the country, and finally settled their victorious soldiery in Lancashire.

SAY, or SAYE, in *Commerce*, a kind of serge much used abroad for linings, and by the religious for shirts; with us it is used for aprons by several sorts of artificers, being usually dyed green.

SCAB. See ITCH and MEDICINE.

SCAB in *Sheep*. See SHEEP, Diseases of, under FARRIERY.

SCABIOSA, SCABIGUS; a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 48th order, *Aggregata*. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCABRITA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCÆVOLA, C. MUCIUS, a young Roman of illustrious birth, is particularly celebrated in the Roman history for a brave but unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Porfena king of Hetruria, about the year before Christ 504. See the article Rome, N<sup>o</sup> 71.

SCÆVOLA, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCAFFOLD, among builders, an assemblage of planks and boards, sustained by treffels and pieces of wood fixed in the wall; whereon masons, bricklayers, &c. stand to work, in building high walls, and plasterers in plastering ceilings, &c.

SCAFFOLD, also denotes a timber-work raised in the manner of an amphitheatre, for the more commodious viewing any show or ceremony: it is also used for a stage raised in some public place for the execution of criminals.

SCALA-NOVA, anciently Neapolis, called by the Turks *Kouhadase*, is situated in a bay, on the slope of a hill, the houses rising one above another, intermixed with minarets and tall slender cypresses. "A street, through which we rode (says Dr Chandler †), was hung † *Travels in Asia Minor*. with goat-skins exposed to dry, dyed of a most lively red. At one of the fountains is an ancient coffin used as a cistern. The port was filled with small craft. Before it is an old fortress on a rock or islet frequented by gulls and sea-mews. By the water-side is a large and good khan, at which we passed a night on our return. This place belonged once to the Ephesians, who exchanged it with the Samians for a town in Caria."

SCALADO, or SCALLADE, in the art of war, a furious assault made on the wall or rampart of a city, or other fortified place, by means of ladders, without carrying on works in form, to secure the men.

SCALD-CREAM, sometimes also called *Clouted cream*; a curious method of preparing cream for butter, almost peculiar to Devonshire. Dr Hales, in *Philosophical Transactions* volume xlix. p. 342, 1755, Part I. gives some account of the method of preparing this delicate and luxurious article; other writers also speak of it. With an elucidation or two, we shall nearly quote Mr Feltham's account from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, volume lxi. Part II. It is there observed, that the purpose of making scald-cream is far superior butter than can be procured from the usual raw cream, being preferable for flavour and keeping; to which those accustomed are so partial, as seldom to eat any other. As leaden cisterns would not answer for scalding cream, the dairies

Say  
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Scald-cream.

Scald-  
cream  
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Scaliger.

dairies mostly adopt brass pans, which hold from three to five gallons for the milk; and that which is put into those pans one morning, stands till the next, when, without disturbing it, it is set over (on a trivet) a steady brisk wood fire, devoid of smoke, where it is to remain from seven to fifteen minutes, according to the size of the pan, or the quantity in it: the precise time of removing it from the fire must be particularly attended to, and is, when the surface begins to wrinkle or to gather in a little, showing signs of being near the agitation of boiling, which it must by no means do; it is then instantly to be taken off, and placed in the dairy until the next morning, when the fine cream is thrown up, and may be taken for the table, or for butter; into which it is now soon converted by stirring it with the hand. Some know when to remove it from the fire by sounding the pan with the finger, it being then less sonorous; but this can only be acquired by experience. Dr Hales observes, that this method of preparing milk takes off the ill taste which it sometimes acquires from the cows feeding on turnips, cabbage, &c.

SCALDS, in the history of literature, a name given by the ancient inhabitants of the northern countries to their poets; in whose writings their history is recorded.

SCALE, a mathematical instrument consisting of several lines drawn on wood, brass, silver, &c. and variously divided, according to the purposes it is intended to serve; whence it acquires various denominations, as the *plain scale*, *diagonal scale*, *plotting scale*, &c.

SCALE, in *Musick*, sometimes denominated a *gamut*, a *diagram*, a *series*, an *order*, a *diapason*. It consists of the regular gradations of sound, by which a composer or performer, whether in rising or descending, may pass from any given tone to another. These gradations are seven. When this order is repeated, the first note of the second is consentaneous with the lowest note of the first; the second of the former with the second of the latter; and so through the whole octave. The second order, therefore, is justly esteemed only a repetition of the first. For this reason the scale, among the moderns, is sometimes limited to an octave; at other times extended to the compass of any particular voice or instrument. It likewise frequently includes all the practical gradations of musical sound, or the whole number of octaves employed in composition or execution, arranged in their natural order.

SCALE, in *Architecture* and *Geography*, a line divided into equal parts, placed at the bottom of a map or draught, to serve as a common measure to all the parts of the building, or all the distances and places of the map.

SCALENE, or SCALENOUS TRIANGLE, *scalenum*, in *Geometry*, a triangle whose sides and angles are unequal. See GEOMETRY.

SCALENUS, in *Anatomy*. See there, *Table of the Muscles*.

SCALIGER, JULIUS CÆSAR, a learned critic, poet, physician, and philosopher, was born at the castle of Ripa, in the territories of Verona, in 1484; and is said to have been descended from the ancient princes of Verona, though this is not mentioned in the letters of naturalization he obtained in France in 1528. He learned the first rudiments of the Latin tongue in his own country; and in his 12th year was presented to the emperor Maximilian, who made him one of his

pages. He served that emperor 17 years, and gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct in several expeditions. He was present at the battle of Ravenna in April 1512, in which he had the misfortune to lose his father Benedict Scaliger, and his brother Titus; on which his mother died with grief: when being reduced to necessitous circumstances, he entered into the order of the Franciscans, and applied himself to study at Bologna; but soon after changing his mind with respect to his becoming a monk, he took arms again, and served in Piedmont; at which time a physician persuaded him to study physic, which he did at his leisure-hours, and also learned Greek; and at last the gout determined him, at 40 years of age, to abandon a military life. He soon after settled at Agen, where he married, and began to apply himself seriously to his studies. He learned first the French tongue, which he spoke perfectly in three months; and then made himself master of the Gascon, Italian, Spanish, German, Hungarian, and Sclavonian: but the chief object of his studies was polite literature. Meanwhile, he supported his family by the practice of physic. He did not publish any of his works till he was 47 years of age; when he soon gained a great name in the republic of letters. He had a graceful person, and so strong a memory, even in his old age, that he dictated to his son 200 verses which he had composed the day before, and retained without writing them down. He was so charitable, that his house was as it were an hospital for the poor and sick; and he had such an aversion to lying, that he would have no correspondence with those who were given to that vice; but, on the other hand, he had much vanity, and a satirical spirit, which created him many enemies. He died of a retention of urine in 1558. He wrote in Latin, 1. A Treatise on the Art of Poetry. 2. Exercitations against Cardan: which works are much esteemed. 3. Commentaries on Aristotle's History of Animals, and on Theophrastus on Plants. 4. Some Treatises on Physic. 5. Letters, Orations, Poems, and other works, in Latin.

SCALIGER, *Joseph Justus*, one of the most learned critics and writers of his time. He was the son of the former, and was born at Agen in France in 1540. He studied in the college of Bourdeaux; after which his father took him under his own care, and employed him in transcribing his poems; by which means he obtained such a taste for poetry, that before he was 17 years old he wrote a tragedy upon the subject of Oedipus, in which he introduced all the poetical ornaments of style and sentiment. His father dying in 1558, he went to Paris the year following, with a design to apply himself to the Greek tongue. For this purpose he for two months attended the lectures of Turnebus; but finding that in the usual course he should be a long time in gaining his point, he shut himself up in his closet, and by constant application for two years gained a perfect knowledge of that language. After which he applied to the Hebrew, which he learned by himself with great facility. He made no less progress in the sciences; and his writings procured him the reputation of one of the greatest men of that or any other age. He embraced the reformed religion at 22 years of age. In 1563, he attached himself to Lewis Casteignier de la Roch. Pozay, whom he attended in several journeys; and in 1593, was invited to accept of the place of honorary professor

Scaliger.

Scaliger  
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beg.

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via.

professor of the university of Leyden, which he completed with. He died of a dropfy in that city in 1609. He was a man of great temperance; was never married; and was so close a student, that he often spent whole days in his study without eating; and though his circumstances were always very narrow, he constantly refused the presents that were offered him. He published many works; the principal of which are, 1. Notes on Seneca's Tragedies, on Varro, Aufonius, Pompeius Festus, &c. 2. His Latin Poems. 3. A Treatise *de Emendatione Temporum*. 4. Eusebius's Chronicle, with Notes. 5. *Canones Isagogici*; and many other works. The collections entitled *Scaligeriana*, were collected from his conversations by one of his friends; and being ranged into alphabetical order, were published by Isaac Vossius.

SCALLOP. See OSTREA, CONCHOLOGY *Index*.

In the Highlands of Scotland, the great scallop shell is made use of for skimming milk. In old times, it had a more honourable place; being admitted into the halls of heroes, and was the cup of their festivity when the tribe assembled in the hall of their chieftain.

SCALPEL, in *Surgery*, a kind of knife used in anatomical dissections and operations in surgery.

SCALPER, or SCALPING-IRON, a surgeon's instrument used for scraping foul carious bones.

SCALPING, in military history, a barbarous custom, in practice among the Indian warriors, of taking off the tops of the scalps of the enemies skulls with their hair on. They preserve them as trophies of their victories, and are rewarded by their chiefs according to the number of scalps they bring in.

SCALPRA DENTALIA, instruments used by surgeons to take off those black, livid, or yellow crusts which adhere to the teeth, and not only loosen and destroy them, but taint the breath.

SCAMMONY, a concreted vegetable juice of a species of convolvulus, partly of the resin, and partly of the gum kind. See CONVOLVULUS, MATERIA MEDICA *Index*.

SCANDALUM MAGNATUM, in *Law*, is a defamatory speech or writing to the injury of a person of dignity; for which a writ that bears the same name is granted for the recovery of damages.

SCANDERBEG, the surname of George Castriot king of Albania, a province of Turkey in Europe, dependent on the Ottoman empire. He was delivered up with his three elder brothers as hostages, by their father, to Amurath II. sultan of the Turks, who poisoned his brothers, but spared him on account of his youth, being likewise pleased with his juvenile wit and amiable person. In a short time he became one of the most renowned generals of the age; and revolting from Amurath, he joined Hunniade Corvin, a most formidable enemy to the Ottoman power. He defeated the sultan's army, took Amurath's secretary prisoner, obliged him to sign and seal an order to the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up the citadel and city to the bearer of that order, in the name of the sultan. With this forged order he repaired to Croia; and thus recovered the throne of his ancestors, and maintained the independency of his country against the numerous armies of Amurath and his successor Mahommed II. who was obliged to make peace with this hero in 1461. He then went to the assistance of Fer-

dinand of Arragon, at the request of Pope Pius II. and by his assistance Ferdinand gained a complete victory over his enemy the count of Anjou. Scanderbeg died in 1467.

SCANDERON. See ALEXANDRETTA.

SCANDINAVIA, a general name for the countries of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, anciently under the dominion of one prince. The inhabitants of these countries, in former times, were excessively addicted to war. From their earliest years they applied themselves to the military art, and accustomed themselves to cold, fatigue, and hunger. Even the very sports of youth and childhood were dangerous. They consisted in taking frightful leaps, climbing up the steepest rocks, fighting naked with offensive weapons, wrestling with the utmost fury; so that it was usual to see them grown up to be robust men, and terrible in the combat, at the age of 15. At this early age the young men became their own masters; which they did by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance. This ceremony was performed at some public meeting. One of the principal men of the assembly named the youth in public; after which he was obliged to provide for his own subsistence, and was either now to live by hunting, or by joining in some incursion against the enemy. Great care was taken to prevent the young men from too early connections with the female sex; and indeed they could have no hope to gain the affection of the fair, but in proportion to the courage and address they had shown in their military exercises. Accordingly, in an ancient song, we find Bartholin, king of Norway, extremely surprised that his mistress should prove unkind, as he could perform eight different exercises. The children were generally born in camps; and being inured from their infancy to behold nothing but arms, effusion of blood, and slaughter, they imbibed the cruel disposition of their fathers, and when they broke forth upon other nations, behaved rather like furies than like human creatures.

The laws of this people, in some measure, resembled those of the ancient Lacedemonians. They knew no virtue but bravery, and no vice but cowardice. The greatest penalties were inflicted on such as fled from battle. The laws of the ancient Danes declared such persons infamous, and excluded them from society. Among the Germans, cowards were sometimes suffocated in mud; after which they were covered over with hurdles, to show, says Tacitus, that though the punishment of crimes should be public, there are certain degrees of cowardice and infamy which ought to be buried in oblivion. Frotho king of Denmark enacted, by law, that whoever solicited an eminent post ought upon all occasions to attack one enemy, to face two, to retire only one step back from three, and never to make an actual retreat till assaulted by four. The rules of justice themselves were adapted and warped to these prejudices. War was looked upon as a real act of justice, and force was thought to be an incontestable title over the weak, and a visible mark that God had intended them to be subject to the strong. They had no doubt but that the intentions of the Deity had been to establish the same dependence among men that takes place among inferior creatures; and, setting out from this principle of the natural *inequality* among men, they had from thence inferred that the weak had no right

Scandina-  
via.

to what they could not defend. This maxim was adopted with such rigour, that the name of divine judgement was given not only to the judicatory combat, but to conflicts and battles of all sorts; victory being, in their opinion, the only certain mark by which providence enables us to distinguish those whom it has appointed to command others.—Lastly, Their religion, by annexing eternal happiness to the military virtues, gave the utmost possible degree of vigour to that propensity which these people had for war, and to their contempt of death, of which we shall now give some instances. We are informed that Harold, surnamed *Blaaland*, or *Bluc-tooth*, a king of Denmark, who lived in the beginning of the ninth century, had founded on the coasts of Pomerania a city named *Julin* or *Jomsburg*. To this place he sent a colony of young Danes, bestowing the government on a celebrated warrior called *Palnatoko*. In this colony it was forbidden to mention the word *fear*, even in the most imminent dangers. No citizen of Jomsburg was to yield to any number of enemies however great. The sight of inevitable death was not to be taken as an excuse for showing the smallest apprehension. And this legislator really appears to have eradicated from the minds of most of the youths bred up under him, all traces of that sentiment so natural and so universal, which makes men think on their destruction with horror. Nothing can show this better than a single fact in their history, which deserves to have place here for its singularity. Some of them having made an irruption into the territories of a powerful Norwegian lord, named *Haquin*, were overcome in spite of the obstinacy of their resistance; and the most distinguished among them being made prisoners, were, according to the custom of those times, condemned to death. The news of this, far from afflicting them, was on the contrary received with joy. The first who was led to punishment was content to say, without changing countenance, and without expressing the least sign of fear, “Why should not the same happen to me as did to my father? He died, and so must I.” A warrior, named *Thorchill*, who was to cut off the head of the second, having asked him what he felt at the sight of death, he answered, “that he remembered too well the laws of Jomsburg to utter any words that denoted fear.” The third, in reply to the same question, said, “he rejoiced to die with glory; and that he preferred such a death to an infamous life like that of Thorchill’s.” The fourth made an answer much longer and more extraordinary. “I suffer with a good heart; and the present hour is to me very agreeable. I only beg of you (added he, addressing himself to Thorchill) to be very quick in cutting off my head; for it is a question often debated by us at Jomsburg, whether one retains any sense after being beheaded. I will therefore grasp this knife in my hand; if, after my head is cut off, I strike it towards you, it will show I have not lost all sense; if I let it drop, it will be a proof of the contrary. Make haste therefore, and decide the dispute.” Thorchill, adds the historian, cut off his head in a most expeditious manner; but the knife, as might be expected, dropt from his hand. The fifth showed the same tranquillity, and died rallying and jeering his enemies. The sixth begged of Thorchill, that he might not be led to punishment like a sheep; “Strike the blow in my face (said he), I will sit still without

shrinking; and take notice whether I once wink my eyes, or betray one sign of fear in my countenance: for we inhabitants of Jomsburg are used to exercise ourselves in trials of this sort, so as to meet the stroke of death without once moving.” He kept his promise before all the spectators, and received the blow without betraying the least sign of fear, or so much as winking with his eyes. The seventh, says the historian, was a very beautiful young man, in the flower of his age. His long hair, as fine as silk, floated in curls and ringlets on his shoulders. Thorchill asked him, what he thought of death? “I receive it willingly (said he), since I have fulfilled the greatest duty of life, and have seen all those put to death whom I would not survive. I only beg of you one favour, not to let my hair be touched by a slave, or stained with my blood.”

Neither was this intrepidity peculiar to the inhabitants of Jomsburg; it was the general character of all the Scandinavians, of which we shall only give this further instance. A warrior, having been thrown upon his back in wrestling with his enemy, and the latter finding himself without his arms, the vanquished person promised to wait, without changing his posture, till his antagonist fetched a sword to kill him; and he faithfully kept his word.—To die with his arms in his hand was the ardent wish of every free man; and the pleasing idea which they had of this kind of death led them to dread such as proceeded from old age and disease. The history of ancient Scandinavia is full of instances of this way of thinking. The warriors who found themselves lingering in disease, often availed themselves of their few remaining moments to shake off life, by a way that they supposed to be more glorious. Some of them would be carried into a field of battle, that they might die in the engagement. Others slew themselves: many procured this melancholy service to be performed by their friends, who considered it as a most sacred duty. “There is, on a mountain of Iceland, (says the author of an old Iceland romance), a rock so high, that no animal can fall from the top and live. Here men betake themselves when they are afflicted and unhappy. From this place all our ancestors, even without waiting for sickness, have departed into Eden. It is useless, therefore, to give ourselves up to groans and complaints, or to put our relations to needless expences, since we can easily follow the example of our fathers, who have all gone by the way of this rock.”—When all these methods failed, and at last when Christianity had banished such barbarous practices, the disconsolate heroes consoled themselves by putting on complete armour as soon as they found their end approaching.

SCANDIX, SHEPHERD’S NEEDLE, or *Venus Comb*, a genus of plants, belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 45th order, *Umbellatæ*. See *BOTANY INDEX*.

SCANNING, in *Poetry*, the measuring of verse by feet, in order to see whether or not the quantities be duly observed. The term is chiefly used in Greek and Latin verses. Thus an hexameter verse is scanned by resolving it into six feet; a pentameter, by resolving it into five feet, &c.

SCANTLING, a measure, size, or standard, by which the dimensions, &c. of things are to be determined. The term is particularly applied to the dimensions

Scandina-  
via  
||  
Scantling.

Scanto  
||  
Scapula.

*Swinburne's  
Travels in  
the two  
Sicilies.*

fions of any piece of timber, with regard to its breadth and thickness.

SCANTO, or SPAVENTO, a sudden impresson of horror upon the mind and body. It is extremely dreaded by the inhabitants of Sicily; and the wild ideas of the vulgar part of the inhabitants respecting it are almost incredible, and their dread of a sudden shock is no less surprising. There is scarce a symptom, disorder, or accident, they do not think may befall the human frame in consequence of the scanto. They are persuaded that a man who has been frightened only by a dog, a viper, scorpion, or any other creature, which he has an antipathy to, will soon be seized with the same pains he would really feel, had he been torn with their teeth, or wounded with their venomous sting; and that nothing can remove these nervous imaginary pangs but a strong dose of dilena, a species of cantharides found in Sicily.

SCAPE-GOAT, in the Jewish antiquities, the goat which was set at liberty on the day of solemn expiation. For the ceremonies on this occasion, see Levit. xvi. 5, 6, &c.

Some say, that a piece of scarlet cloth, in form of a tongue, was tied on the forehead of the scape-goat. *Hoff. Lex. Univ. in voc. Lingua.*

Many have been the disputes among the interpreters concerning the meaning of the word *scape-goat*; or rather of *azazel*, for which *scape-goat* is put in our version of the Bible.

Spencer is of opinion, that *azazel* is a proper name, signifying the devil or evil daemon. See his reasons in his book *De leg. Hebr. ritual.* Differt. viii. Among other things, he observes, that the ancient Jews used to substitute the name *Samaël* for *Azazel*; and many of them have ventured to affirm, that at the feast of expiation they were obliged to offer a gift to *Samaël* to obtain his favour. Thus also the goat, sent into the wilderness to *Azazel*, was understood to be a gift or oblation. Some Christians have been of the same opinion. But Spencer thinks that the genuine reasons of the ceremony were, 1. That the goat, loaded with the sins of the people, and sent to *Azazel*, might be a symbolical representation of the miserable condition of sinners. 2. God sent the goat thus loaded to the evil daemons, to show that they were impure, thereby to deter the people from any conversation or familiarity with them. 3. That the goat sent to *Azazel*, sufficiently expiating all evils, the Israelites might the more willingly abstain from the expiatory sacrifices of the Gentiles.

SCAPEMENT, in clock-work, a general term for the manner of communicating the impulse of the wheels to the pendulum. The ordinary scapements consist of the swing-wheel and pallets only; but modern improvements have added other levers or detents, chiefly for the purposes of diminishing friction, or for detaching the pendulum from the pressure of the wheels during part of the time of its vibration. See *WATCH-Work*.

SCAPULA, in *Anatomy*, the shoulder, or shoulder-bone.

SCAPULA, *John*, the reputed author of a Greek lexicon, studied at Lausanne. His name is recorded in the annals of literature, neither on account of his talents nor learning, nor virtuous industry, but for a gross act of dissingenuity and fraud which he committed against an

eminent literary character of the 16th century. Being employed by Henry Stephens as a corrector to his press while he was publishing his *Theaurus lingue Græcæ*, Scapula extracted those words and explications which he reckoned most useful, comprised them in one volume, and published them as an original work, with his own name.

The compilation and printing of the *Theaurus* had cost Stephens immense labour and expence; but it was so much admired by those learned men to whom he had shown it, and seemed to be of such essential importance to the acquisition of the Greek language, that he reasonably hoped his labour would be crowned with honour, and the money he had expended would be repaid by a rapid and extensive sale. But before his work came abroad, Scapula's abridgement appeared; which, from its size and price, was quickly purchased, while the *Theaurus* itself lay neglected in the author's hands. The consequence was, a bankruptcy on the part of Stephens, while he who had occasioned it was enjoying the fruits of his treachery. Scapula's Lexicon was first printed in 1570, in 4to. It was afterwards enlarged, and published in folio. It has gone through several editions, while the valuable work of Stephens has never been reprinted. Its success is, however, not owing to its superior merit, but to its price and more commodious size. Stephens charges the author with omitting a great many important articles. He accuses him of misunderstanding and perverting his meaning; and of tracing out absurd and trifling etymologies, which he himself had been careful to avoid. He composed the following epigram on Scapula:

*Quidam κειμενον me capulo tenuis abdidit ensen  
Æger eram à Scapulis, sanus et huc redeo.*

Doctor Busby, so much celebrated for his knowledge of the Greek language, and his success in teaching it, would never permit his scholars at Westminster school to make use of Scapula.

SCAPULAR, in *Anatomy*, the name of two pair of arteries, and as many veins.

SCAPULAR, or *Scapulary*, a part of the habit of several religious orders in the church of Rome, worn over the gown as a badge of peculiar veneration for the Blessed Virgin. It consists of two narrow slips or breadths of cloth covering the back and the breast, and hanging down to the feet.—The devotees of the scapulary celebrate its festival on the 10th of July.

SCARABÆUS, the BEETLE, a genus of insects of the coleoptera order. See *ENTOMOLOGY Index*.

SCARBOROUGH, a town of the north riding of Yorkshire, seated on a steep rock, near which are such craggy cliffs that it is almost inaccessible on every side. On the top of this rock is a large green plain, with two wells of fresh water springing out of the rock. It is greatly frequented on account of its mineral waters called the *Scarborough-Spa*; on which account it is much improved in the number and beauty of the buildings. The spring was under the cliff, part of which fell down in 1737, and the water was lost; but in clearing away the ruins in order to rebuild the wharf, it was recovered, to the great joy of the town. The waters of Scarborough are chalybeate and purging. The two wells are both impregnated with the same principles, in different proportions; though the purging well is the most

Scapula  
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Scarbo-  
rough.

Scarborough,  
Scardona.

most celebrated, and the water of this is usually called the *Scarborough water*. When these waters are poured out of one glass into another, they throw up a number of air bubbles; and if they are shaken for some time in a phial close stopped, and the phial be suddenly opened before the commotion ceases, they displode an elastic vapour, with an audible noise, which shows that they abound in fixed air. At the fountain they have a brisk, pungent chalybeate taste; but the purging water tastes bitterish, which is not usually the case with the chalybeate one. They lose their chalybeate virtues by exposure and by keeping; but the purging water the soonest. They both putrefy by keeping; but in time recover their sweetness. Four or five half pints of the purging water drank within an hour, give two or three easy motions, and raise the spirits. The like quantity of the chalybeate purges less, but exhilarates more, and passes off chiefly by urine. These waters have been found beneficial in hectic fevers, weaknesses of the stomach, and indigestion; in relaxations of the system; in nervous, hysteric, and hypochondriacal disorders; in the green sickness, scurvy, rheumatism, and asthmatic complaints; in gleans, the fluor albus, and other preternatural evacuations; and in habitual costiveness. Here are assemblies and balls in the same manner as at Tunbridge. It is a place of some trade, has a very good harbour, and sends two members to parliament. E. Long. 54. 18. N. Lat. 0. 3.

SCARDONA, a sea port town of Dalmatia, seated on the eastern banks of the river Cherca, with a bishop's see. It has been taken and retaken several times by the Turks and Venetians; and these last ruined the fortifications and its principal buildings in 1537; but they have been since put in a state of defence.

"No vestiges (says Fortis) now remain visible of that ancient city, where the states of Liburnia held their assembly in the times of the Romans. I however transcribed these two beautiful inscriptions, which were discovered some years ago, and are preserved in the house of the reverend canon Mercati. It is to be hoped, that, as the population of Scardona continues increasing, new lands will be broken up, and consequently more frequent discoveries made of the precious monuments of antiquity. And it is to be wished, that the few men of letters, who have a share in the regulation of this reviving city, may bestow some particular attention on that article, so that the honourable memorials of their ancient and illustrious country, which once held so eminent a rank among the Liburnian cities, may not be lost, nor carried away. It is almost a shame, that only six legible inscriptions actually exist at Scardona; and that all the others, since many more certainly must have been dug up there, are either miserably broken, or lost, or transported to Italy, where they lose the greatest part of their merit. Roman coins are very frequently found about Scardona, and several valuable ones were shown to me by that hospitable prelate Monsignor Trevisani, bishop and father of the rising settlement. One of the principal gentlemen of the place was so kind as to give me several sepulchral lamps, which are marked by the name of *Fortis*, and by the elegant form of the letters appear to be of the best times. The repeated devastations to which Scardona has been exposed, have left it no traces of grandeur. It is now, however, beginning to rise again, and many merchants of Servia

and Bosnia have settled there, on account of the convenient situation for trade with the upper provinces of Turkey. But the city has no fortifications, notwithstanding the assertion of P. Farlati to the contrary." E. Long. 17. 25. N. Lat. 43. 55.

SCARIFICATION, in *Surgery*, the operation of making several incisions in the skin by means of lances or other instruments, particularly the cupping instrument. See *SURGERY*.

SCARLET, a beautiful bright red colour. See *DYEING Index*.

In painting in water-colours, minium mixed with a little vermilion produces a good scarlet: but if a flower in a print is to be painted a scarlet colour, the lights as well as the shades should be covered with minium, and the shaded parts finished with carmine, which will produce an admirable scarlet.

SCARLET-Fever. See *MEDICINE Index*.

SCARP, in *Fortification*, is the interior talus or slope of the ditch next the place, at the foot of the rampart.

SCARP, in *Heraldry*, the scarf which military commanders wear for ornament. It is borne somewhat like a battoon sinister, but is broader than it, and is continued out to the edges of the field, whereas the battoon is cut off at each end.

SCARPANTO, an island of the Archipelago, and one of the Sporades, lying to the south-west of the isle of Rhodes, and to the north-east of that of Candia. It is about 22 miles in length and 8 in breadth; and there are several high mountains. It abounds in cattle and game; and there are mines of iron, quarries of marble, with several good harbours. The Turks are masters of it, but the inhabitants are Greeks.

SCARPE, a river of the Netherlands, which has its source near Aubigny in Artois, where it washes Arras and Douay; after which it runs on the confines of Flanders and Hainault, passing by St Amand, and a little after falls into the Scheldt.

SCARRON, PAUL, a famous burlesque writer, was the son of a counsellor in parliament, and was born at Paris about the end of the year 1610, or in the beginning of the succeeding year. His father marrying a second time, he was compelled to assume the ecclesiastical profession. At the age of 24 he visited Italy, where he freely indulged in licentious pleasures. After his return to Paris he persisted in a life of dissipation till a long and painful disease convinced him that his constitution was almost worn out. At length when engaged in a party of pleasure at the age of 27, he lost *the use of those legs which danced so gracefully, and of those hands which could paint and play on the lute with so much elegance*. In the year 1638 he was attending the carnival at Mons, of which he was a canon. Having dressed himself one day as a savage, his singular appearance excited the curiosity of the children of the town. They followed him in multitudes, and he was obliged to take shelter in a marsh. This wet and cold situation produced a numbness which totally deprived him of the use of his limbs; but notwithstanding this misfortune he continued gay and cheerful. He took up his residence at Paris, and by his pleasant humour soon attracted to his house all the men of wit about the city. The loss of his health was followed by the loss of his fortune. On the death of his father he entered into a process

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Scarron. with his mother-in-law. He pleaded the cause in a ludicrous manner, though his whole fortune depended on the decision. He accordingly lost the cause. Mademoiselle de Hautefort, compassionating his misfortunes, procured for him an audience of the queen. The poet requested to have the title of *Valetudinarian* to her majesty. The queen smiled, and Scarron considered the smile as the commission to his new office. He therefore assumed the title of *Scarron, by the grace of God, unworthy valetudinarian to the queen.*

Cardinal Mazarine gave him a pension of 500 crowns; but that minister having received disdainfully the dedication of his *Typhon*, the poet immediately wrote a *Mazarinade*, and the pension was withdrawn. He then attached himself to the prince of Condé, and celebrated his victories. He at length formed the extraordinary resolution of marrying, and was accordingly, in 1651, married to Mademoiselle d'Aubigné (afterwards the famous Madame de Maintenon), who was then only 16 years of age. "At that time (says Voltaire) it was considered as a great acquisition for her to gain for a husband a man who was disfigured by nature, impotent, and very little enriched by fortune." When Scarron was questioned about the contract of marriage, he said he acknowledged to the bride two large invincible eyes, a very beautiful shape, two fine hands, and a large portion of wit. The notary demanded what dowry he would give her? Immediately replied Scarron, "The names of the wives of kings die with them, but the name of Scarron's wife shall live for ever." She restrained by her modesty his indecent buffooneries, and the good company which had formerly resorted to his house were not less frequent in their visits. Scarron now became a new man. He became more decent in his manners and conversation: and his gaiety, when tempered with moderation, was still more agreeable. But, in the mean time, he lived with so little economy, that his income was soon reduced to a small annuity and his marquissate of Quinet. By the marquissate of Quinet, he meant the revenue he derived from his publications, which were printed by one Quinet. He was accustomed to talk to his superiors with great freedom in his jocular style. In the dedication to his *Don Japhet d'Armenie*, he thus addresses the king. "I shall endeavour to persuade your majesty, that you would do yourself no injury were you to do me a small favour; for in that case I should become more gay: if I should become more gay, I should write sprightly comedies: and if I should write sprightly comedies, your majesty would be amused, and thus your money would not be lost. All this appears so evident, that I should certainly be convinced of it if I were as great a king as I am now a poor unfortunate man."

Though Scarron wrote comedies, he had neither time nor patience to study the rules and models of dramatic poetry. Aristotle and Horace, Plautus and Terence, would have frightened him; and perhaps he did not know that there was ever such a person as Aristophanes. He saw an open path before him, and he followed it. It was the fashion of the times to pillage the Spanish writers. Scarron was acquainted with that language, and he found it easier to use the materials which were already prepared, than to rack his brain in inventing a subject; a restraint to which a genius like his could not easily submit. As he borrowed liberally

from the Spanish writers, a dramatic piece did not cost him much labour. His labour consisted not in making his comic characters talk humorously, but in keeping up serious characters; for the serious was a foreign language to him. The great success of his *Jodelet Maitre* was a vast allurements to him. The comedians who acted it eagerly requested more of his productions. They were written without much toil, and they procured him large sums. They served to amuse him. If it be necessary to give more reasons for Scarron's readiness to engage in these works, abundance may be had. He dedicated his books to his sister's greyhound bitch; and when she failed him, he dedicated them to a certain Monseigneur, whom he praised higher, but did not much esteem. When the office of historiographer became vacant, he solicited for it without success. At length Fouquet gave him a pension of 1600 livres. Christina queen of Sweden having come to Paris, was anxious to see Scarron. "I permit you (said she to Scarron) to fall in love with me. The queen of France has made you her valetudinarian, and I create you my *Roland*." Scarron did not long enjoy that title: he was seized with so violent a hiccough, that every person thought he would have expired. "If I recover (he said), I will make a fine satire on the hiccough." His gaiety did not forsake him to the last. Within a few minutes of his death, when his domestics were shedding tears about him, "My good friends (says he), I shall never make you weep so much for me as I have made you laugh." Just before expiring, he said, "I could never believe before that it is so easy to laugh at death." He died on the 14th of October 1660, in the 51st year of his age.

His works have been collected and published by Bruzen de la Martiniere, in 10 vols 12mo, 1737. There are, 1. The *Eneid* travestied, in 8 books. It was afterwards continued by Moreau de Brasay. 2. *Typhon*, or the *Gigantomachia*. 3. Many comedies; as, *Jodelet*, or the *Master Valet*; *Jodelet cuffed*; *Don Japhet d'Armenie*; *The Ridiculous Heir*; *Every Man his own Guardian*; *The Foolish Marquis*; *The Scholar of Salamanca*; *The False Appearance*; *The Prince Corsaire*, a tragi-comedy. Besides these, He wrote other pieces in verse. 4. His *Comic Romance* in prose, which is the only one of his works that deserves attention. It is written with much purity and gaiety, and has contributed not a little to the improvement of the French language. Scarron had great pleasure in reading his works to his friends as he composed them: he called it trying his works. Segrais and another of his friends coming to him one day, "Take a chair (says Scarron to them) and sit down, that I may examine my *Comic Romance*." When he observed the company laugh, "Very well (said he), my book will be well received since it makes persons of such delicate taste laugh." Nor was he deceived. His *Romance* had a prodigious run. It was the only one of his works that Boileau could submit to read. 5. *Spanish Novels* translated into French. 6. A volume of *Letters*. 7. *Poems*; consisting of *Songs*, *Epistles*, *Stanzas*, *Odes*, and *Epigrams*. The whole collection abounds with sprightliness and gaiety. Scarron can raise a laugh in the most serious subjects; but his sallies are rather those of a buffoon than the effusions of ingenuity and taste. He is continually falling into the mean and the obscene. If we should make any excep-  
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tion in favour of some of his comedies, of some passages in his Eneid travestied, and his Comic Romance, we must acknowledge that all the rest of his works are only fit to be read by footmen and buffoons. It has been said that he was the most eminent man in his age for burlesque. This might make him an agreeable companion to those who choose to laugh away their time; but as he has left nothing that can instruct posterity, he has but little title to posthumous fame.

SCENE, in its primary sense, denoted a theatre, or the place where dramatic pieces and other public shows were exhibited; for it does not appear that the ancient poets were at all acquainted with the modern way of changing the scenes in the different parts of the play, in order to raise the idea of the persons represented by the actors being in different places.

The original scene for acting of plays was as simple as the representations themselves: it consisted only of a plain plot of ground proper for the occasion, which was in some degree shaded by the neighbouring trees, whose branches were made to meet together, and their vacancies supplied with boards, sticks, and the like; and to complete the shelter, these were sometimes covered with skins, and sometimes with only the branches of other trees newly cut down, and full of leaves. Afterwards more artificial scenes, or scenical representations, were introduced, and paintings used instead of the objects themselves. Scenes were then of three sorts; tragic, comic, and satiric. The tragic scene represented stately magnificent edifices, with decorations of pillars, statues, and other things suitable to the palaces of kings: the comic exhibited private houses with balconies and windows, in imitation of common buildings: and the satiric was the representation of groves, mountains, dens, and other rural appearances; and these decorations either turned on pivots, or slid along grooves as those in our theatres.

To keep close to nature and probability, the scene should never be shifted from place to place in the course of the play: the ancients were pretty severe in this respect, particularly Terence, in some of whose plays the scene never shifts at all, but the whole is transacted at the door of some old man's house, whither with inimitable art he occasionally brings the actors. The French are pretty strict with respect to this rule; but the English pay very little regard to it.

SCENE is also a part or division of a dramatic poem. Thus plays are divided into acts, and acts are again subdivided into scenes; in which sense the scene is properly the persons present at or concerned in the action on the stage at such a time: whenever, therefore, a new actor appears, or an old one disappears, the action is changed into other hands; and therefore a new scene then commences.

It is one of the laws of the stage, that the scenes be well connected; that is, that one succeed another in such a manner as that the stage be never quite empty till the end of the act. See POETRY.

SCENOGRAPHY, (from the Greek, *σκηνη* scene, and *γραφη* description), in perspective, a representation of a body on a perspective plane; or a description thereof in all its dimensions, such as it appears to the eye. See PERSPECTIVE.

SCEPTIC, *σκηπτικος*, from *σκηπτομαι*, "I consider, look about, or deliberate," properly signifies *considera-*

*tive* and *inquisitive*, or one who is always weighing reasons on one side and the other, without ever deciding between them. It is chiefly applied to an ancient sect of philosophers founded by Pyrrho (see PYRRHO), who, according to Laetius, had various other denominations. From their master they were called *Pyrrhonians*; from the distinguishing tenets or characteristic of their philosophy they derived the name of *Apoietici*, from *αποειν*, "to doubt;" from their suspension and hesitation they were called *ephetici*, from *επεχειν*, "to stay or keep back:" and lastly, they were called *scetetic* or *seekers*, from their never getting beyond the search of truth.

That the sceptical philosophy is absurd, can admit of no dispute in the present age; and that many of the followers of Pyrrho carried it to the most ridiculous height, is no less true. But we cannot believe that he himself was so extravagantly sceptical as has sometimes been asserted, when we reflect on the particulars of his life, which are still preserved, and the respectful manner in which we find him mentioned by his contemporaries and writers of the first name who flourished soon after him. The truth, as far as at this distance of time it can be discovered, seems to be, that he learned from Democritus to deny the real existence of all qualities in bodies, except those which are essential to primary atoms, and that he referred every thing else to the perceptions of the mind produced by external objects, in other words, to appearance and opinion. All knowledge of course appeared to him to depend on the fallacious report of the senses, and consequently to be uncertain; and in this notion he was confirmed by the general spirit of the Eleatic school in which he was educated. He was further confirmed in his scepticism by the subtleties of the Dialectic schools, in which he had been instructed by the son of Stilpo; choosing to overturn the cavils of sophistry by recurring to the doctrine of universal uncertainty, and thus breaking the knot which he could not unloose. For being naturally and habitually inclined to consider immoveable tranquillity as the great end of all philosophy, he was easily led to despise the dissensions of the dogmatists, and to infer from their endless disputes, the uncertainty of the questions on which they debated; controversy, as it has often happened to others, becoming also with respect to him the parent of scepticism.

Pyrrho's doctrines, however new and extraordinary, were not totally disregarded. He was attended by several scholars, and succeeded by several followers, who preserved the memory of his notions. The most eminent of his followers was Timon (see TIMON), in whom the public succession of professors in the Pyrrhonic school terminated. In the time of Cicero it was almost extinct, having suffered much from the jealousy of the dogmatists, and from a natural aversion in the human mind to acknowledge total ignorance, or to be left in absolute darkness. The disciples of Timon, however, still continued to profess scepticism, and their notions were embraced privately at least by many others. The school itself was afterwards revived by Ptolemaeus a Cyrenian, and was continued by Ænesidemus a contemporary of Cicero, who wrote a treatise on the principles of the Pyrrhonic philosophy, the heads of which are preserved by Photius. From this time it was continued through a series of preceptors of little note to Sextus Empiricus, who also gave a summary of the sceptical doctrine.

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A system of philosophy thus founded on doubt, and clouded with uncertainty, could neither teach tenets of any importance, nor prescribe a certain rule of conduct; and accordingly we find that the followers of scepticism were guided entirely by chance. As they could form no certain judgement respecting good and evil, they accidentally learned the folly of eagerly pursuing any apparent good, or of avoiding any apparent evil; and their minds of course settled into a state of undisturbed tranquillity, the grand postulatam of their system.

In the schools of the sceptics we find ten distinct topics of argument urged in support of the doctrine of uncertainty, with this precaution, however, that nothing could be positively asserted either concerning their number or their force. These arguments chiefly respect objects of sense: they place all knowledge in appearance; and, as the same things appear very different to different people, it is impossible to say which appearance most truly expresses their real nature. They likewise say, that our judgement is liable to uncertainty from the circumstance of frequent or rare occurrence, and that mankind are continually led into different conceptions concerning the same thing by means of custom, law, fabulous tales, and established opinions. On all these accounts they think every human judgement is liable to uncertainty; and concerning any thing they can only assert, that it seems to be, not that it is what it seems.

This doubtful reasoning, if reasoning it may be called, the sceptics extended to all the sciences, in which they discovered nothing true, or which could be absolutely asserted. In all nature, in physics, morals, and theology, they found contradictory opinions, and inexplicable or incomprehensible phenomena. In physics, the appearances they thought might be deceitful; and respecting the nature of God and the duties of morality, men were, in their opinion, equally ignorant and uncertain. To overturn the sophistical arguments of these sceptical reasoners would be no difficult matter, if their reasoning were worthy of confutation. Indeed, their great principle is sufficiently, though shortly refuted by Plato, in these words. "When you say all things are incomprehensible (says he), do you comprehend or conceive that they are thus incomprehensible, or do you not? If you do, then something is comprehensible; if you do not, there is no reason we should believe you, since you do not comprehend your own assertion."

But scepticism has not been confined entirely to the ancients and to the followers of Pyrrho. Numerous sceptics have arisen also in modern times, varying in their principles, manners, and character, as chance, prejudice, vanity, weakness, or indolence, prompted them. The great object, however, which they seem to have in view, is to overturn, or at least to weaken, the evidence of analogy, experience, and testimony; though some of them have even attempted to show, that the axioms of geometry are uncertain, and its demonstrations inconclusive. This last attempt has not indeed been often made; but the chief aim of Mr Hume's philosophical writings is to introduce doubts into every branch of *physics, metaphysics, history, ethics, and theology*. It is needless to give a specimen of his reasonings in support of modern scepticism. The most important of them have

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been noticed elsewhere (see MIRACLE, METAPHYSICS, and PHILOSOPHY, N<sup>o</sup> 41.); and such of our readers as have any relish for speculations of that nature can be no strangers to his Essays, or to the able confutations of them by the Doctors Reid, Campbell, Gregory, and Beattie, who have likewise exposed the weakness of the sceptical reasonings of Des Cartes, Malbranche, and other philosophers of great fame in the same school.

SCEPTICISM, the doctrines and opinions of the sceptics. See the preceding article.

SCEPTRE, a kind of royal staff, or baton, borne on solemn occasions by kings, as a badge of their command and authority. Nicod derives the word from the Greek *σκηπτρον*, which he says originally signified "a javelin," which the ancient kings usually bore as a badge of their authority; that instrument being in very great veneration among the heathens. But *σκηπτρον* does not properly signify a javelin, but a *staff to rest upon*, from *σκηπω*, *innitor*, "I lean upon." Accordingly, in the simplicity of the earlier ages of the world, the sceptres of kings were no other than long walking-staves: and Ovid, in speaking of Jupiter, describes him as resting on his sceptre (Met. i. ver. 178.) The sceptre is an ensign of royalty of greater antiquity than the crown. The Greek tragic and other poets put sceptres in the hands of the most ancient kings they ever introduce. Justin observes, that the sceptre, in its original, was a *hasta*, or spear. He adds, that, in the most remote antiquity, men adored the *hasta* or sceptres as immortal gods; and that it was upon this account, that, even in his time, they still furnished the gods with sceptres.— Neptune's sceptre is his trident. Tarquin the Elder was the first who assumed the sceptre among the Romans. Le Gendre tells us, that, in the first race of the French kings, the sceptre was a golden rod, almost always of the same height with the king who bore it, and crooked at one end like a crozier. Frequently instead of a sceptre, kings are seen on medals with a palm in their hand. See REGALIA.

SCHÆFFERA, a genus of plants belonging to the diœcia class; and in the natural method ranking with those that are doubtful. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCHAFFHAUSEN, the smallest canton of Switzerland, bounded on the north and west by Suabia, on the east by the canton of Zurich and the bishopric of Constance, and on the south by the same and Thurgau. It is about 15 miles long and 9 broad, and its population amounts to about 30,000. Its revenues are not extensive, as one proof of which the burgomaster or chief has not more than 150*l.* a year. The reformation was introduced before the middle of the 16th century. The clergy are paid by the state, the highest incomes not exceeding 100*l.*, and the lowest 40*l.* annually. Sumptuary laws are in force, as well as in most other parts of Switzerland; and no dancing is allowed except on very particular occasions. Wine is their chief article of commerce, which they exchange with Suabia for corn, as this canton produces very little of that necessary article.

SCHAFFHAUSEN, a town of Switzerland, the metropolis of a canton of the same name. It is seated on the Rhine, and owes its origin to the interruption of the navigation of that river by the cataract at Lauffen. It was at one period an imperial town, and admitted a

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member of the Helvetic confederacy in 1501; and its territory forms the 12th canton in point of rank. The inhabitants of this town are computed at 6000, but the number of citizens or burghesses is about 1600. From these were elected 85 members, who formed the great and little council; the senate, or little council of 25, being entrusted with the executive power; and the great council finally deciding all appeals, and regulating the more important concerns of government. Though a frontier town, it has no garrison, and the fortifications are weak; but it once had a famous wooden bridge over the Rhine, the work of one Ulric Grubenman, a carpenter. The sides and top of it were covered; and it was a kind of hanging bridge; the road was nearly level, and not carried as usual, over the top of the arch, but let into the middle of it, and there suspended. This curious bridge was burnt by the French, when they evacuated Schaffhausen, after being defeated by the Austrians, April 13. 1799. Schaffhausen is 22 miles north by east of Zurich, and 39 east of Basil. Long. 3°. 41' E. Lat. 47°. 39' N.

SCHALBEA, a genus of plants belonging to the didymia class. See BOTANY Index.

SCHEDULE, a scroll of paper or parchment, annexed to a will, lease, or other deed; containing an inventory of goods, or some other matter omitted in the body of the deed.—The word is a diminutive of the Latin *scheda*, or Greek *σχηδη*, a leaf or piece of paper.

SCHÉELE, CHARLES WILLIAM, was born on the 19th of December 1742, at Stralsund, where his father kept a shop. When he was very young, he received the usual instructions of a private school; and was afterwards advanced to an academy. At a very early age he shewed a strong desire to follow the profession of an apothecary, and his father suffered him to gratify his inclinations. With Mr Bauch, an apothecary at Gottenburg, he passed his apprenticeship, which was completed in six years. He remained, however, some time longer at that place, and it was there that he so excellently laid the first foundations of his knowledge. Among the various books which he read, that treated of chemical subjects, Kunckel's Laboratory seems to have been his favourite. He used to repeat many of the experiments contained in that work privately in the night, when the rest of the family had retired to rest. A friend of Scheele's had remarked the progress which he had made in chemistry, and had asked him by what inducements he had been at first led to study a science in which he had gained such knowledge? Scheele returned the following answer: "The first cause, my friend, arose from yourself. Nearly at the beginning of my apprenticeship you advised me to read Neuman's Chemistry; from the perusal of which I became eager to make experiments myself; and I remember very well how I mixed together, in a conserve-glass, oil of cloves and fuming acid of nitre, which immediately took fire. I see also still before my eyes an unlucky experiment which I made with pyrophorus. Circumstances of this kind did but the more inflame my desire to repeat experiments." After Scheele's departure

from Gottenburg, in the year 1765, he obtained a place with Kalstrom, an apothecary at Malmo. Two years afterwards he went from thence to Stockholm, and managed the shop of Mr Scharenberg. In 1773, he changed this appointment for another at Upsal, under Mr Loock. Here he was fortunately situated; as, from his acquaintance with learned men, and from having free access to the university laboratory, he had opportunities of increasing his knowledge. At this place also he happily commenced the friendship which subsisted between him and Bergman. During his residence at this place, his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, accompanied by the Duke of Sudermania, visited Upsal, and chose this opportunity to see the academical laboratory. Scheele was accordingly appointed by the university to exhibit some chemical experiments to them. This office he undertook, and shewed some of the most curious processes in chemistry. The two princes asked him many questions, and expressed their approbation of the answers which he returned to them. The duke asked him what countryman he was, and seemed to be much pleased when Scheele informed him that he was born at Stralsund. At their departure they told the professor, who was present, that they should esteem it a favour if he would permit the young man to have free access to the laboratory, as often as he chose, to make experiments.

In the year 1777 Scheele was appointed by the Medical College to be apothecary at Koping. It was at that place that he soon shewed the world how great a man he was, and that no place or situation could confine his abilities. When he was at Stockholm he shewed his acuteness as a chemist, as he discovered there the new and wonderful acid contained in the fluor spar. It has been confidently asserted, that Scheele was the first who discovered the nature of the aerial acid; and that whilst he was at Upsal he made many experiments to prove its properties. This circumstance might probably have furnished Bergman with the means of treating this subject more fully. At the same place he began the series of excellent experiments on that remarkable mineral substance, manganese; from which investigation he was led to make the very valuable and interesting discovery of oxymuriatic acid. At the same time he examined the properties of ponderous earth.

At Koping he finished his dissertation on Air and Fire; a work which the celebrated Bergman most warmly recommended in the friendly preface which he wrote for it. The theory which Scheele endeavours to prove in this treatise is, that fire consists of pure air and phlogiston. According to more recent opinions (if inflammable air be phlogiston), water is composed of these two principles. Of these opinions we may say, in the words of Cicero, "*Opiniones tam variae sunt tamque inter se dissidentes ut alicrum profecto fieri potest, ut earum nulla, alterum certe, non potest ut plus una, vera sit.*" The author's merit in this work, exclusive of the encomiums of Bergman, was sufficient to obtain the approbation of the public; as the ingenuity displayed in treating so delicate a subject, and the many new and valuable observations (A) which are dispersed through the treatise, justly

Scheele.

(A) Scheele mentions in this work, in a cursory way, the decomposition of common salt by the calx of lead. Mr Turner,

Scheele. justly entitled the author to that fame which his book procured him. It was spread abroad through every country, became soon out of print, was reprinted, and translated into many languages. The English translation is enriched with the notes of that accurate and truly philosophic genius Richard Kirwan, Esq.

Scheele now diligently employed himself in contributing to the Transactions of the Academy at Stockholm. He first pointed out a new way to prepare the salt of benzoïn. In the same year he discovered that arsenic, freed in a particular manner from phlogiston, partakes of all the properties of an acid, and has its peculiar affinities to other substances.

In a Dissertation on Flint, Clay, and Alum, he clearly overturned Beaumé's opinion of the identity of the siliceous and argillaceous earths. He published an Analysis of the Human Calculus. He shewed also a mode of preparing mercurius dulcis in the humid way, and improved the process of making the powder of Algaroth. He analysed the mineral substance called *molybdena*, or flexible black lead. He discovered a beautiful green pigment. He shewed us how to decompose the air of the atmosphere. He discovered that some neutral salts are decomposed by lime and iron. He decomposed plumbago, or the common black lead. He observed, with peculiar ingenuity, an acid in milk, which decomposes acetated alkali; and in his experiments on the sugar of milk, he discovered another acid, different in some respects from the above-mentioned acid and the common acid of sugar. He accomplished the decomposition of tungsten, the component parts of which were before unknown, and found in it a peculiar metallic acid united to lime. He published an excellent dissertation on the different sorts of ether. He found out an easy way to preserve vinegar for many years. His investigation of the colouring matter in Prussian blue, the means he employed to separate it, and his discovery that alkali, sal ammoniac, and charcoal, mixed together, will produce it, are strong marks of his penetration and genius. He found out a peculiar sweet matter in expressed oils, after they have been boiled with litharge and water. He shewed how the acid of lemons may be obtained in crystals. He found the white powder in rhubarb, which Model thought to be selenite, and which amounts to one-seventh of the weight of the root, to be calcareous earth, united to the acid of sorrel. This suggested to him the examination of the acid of sorrel. He precipitated acetate of lead with it, and decomposed the precipitate thus obtained by the vitriolic acid, and by this process he obtained the common acid of sugar; and by slowly dropping a solution of fixed alkali into a solution of the acid of sugar, he regenerated the acid of sorrel.—From his examination of the acids contained in fruits and berries, he found not one species of acid alone, viz. the acid of lemon, but another also, which he denominated the mala-

ceous or malic acid, from its being found in the greatest quantity in apples. Scheele.

By the decomposition of Bergman's new metal (siderite) he shewed the truth of Meyer's and Klaproth's conjecture concerning it. He boiled the calx of siderite with alkali of tartar, and precipitated nitrate of mercury by the middle salt which he obtained by this operation; the calx of mercury which was precipitated was found to be united to the acid of phosphorus; so that he demonstrates that this calx was phosphorated iron. He found also, that the native Prussian blue contained the same acid. He discovered by the same means, that the perlate acid, as it was called, was not an acid *sui generis*, but the phosphoric united to a small quantity of the mineral alkali. He suggested an improvement in the process for obtaining magnesia from Epsom salt; he advises the adding of an equal weight of common salt to the Epsom salt, so that an equal weight of Glauber's salt may be obtained; but this will not succeed unless in the cold of winter. These are the valuable discoveries of this great philosopher, which are to be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society at Stockholm. Most of his essays have been published in French by Madame Picardet, and Mons. Morveau of Dijon. Dr Beddoes also has made a very valuable present to his countrymen of an English translation of a greater part of Scheele's dissertations, to which he has added some useful and ingenious notes. The following discoveries of Scheele are not, we believe, published with the rest. He shewed what that substance is, which has been generally called 'the earth of the fluor spar.' It is not produced unless the fluor acid meet with siliceous earth. It appears from Scheele's experiments to be a triple salt, consisting of flint, acid of fluor, and fixed alkali. Scheele proved also, that the fluor acid may be produced without any addition of the vitriolic or any mineral acid: the fluor is melted with fixed alkali, and the fluorated alkali is decomposed by acetated lead. If the precipitate be mixed with charcoal dust, and exposed in a retort to a strong heat, the lead will be revived, and the acid of fluor, which was united to it, will pass into the receiver possessed of all its usual properties. This seems to be an ingenious and unanswerable proof of its existence.

He observed, that no pyrophorus can be made unless an alkali be present; and the reason why it can be prepared from alum and coal is, that the common alum always contains a little alkali, which is added in order to make it crystallize; for if this be separated from it, no pyrophorus can be procured from it. His last dissertation was his very valuable observations on the acid of the gall-nut. Ehrhart, one of Scheele's most intimate friends, asserts, that he was the discoverer of both of the acids of sugar and tartar. We are also indebted to him for that masterpiece of chemical decomposition, the separation of the acid of phosphorus from bones. This ap-

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Turner, a gentleman who happily unites the skill of the manufacturer with the knowledge of the philosophic chemist, has also the merit of this discovery, as he observed the same fact, without having been indebted to Scheele's hint on the subject. Mr Turner has done more; he has converted this discovery to some use in the arts; he produces mineral alkali for sale, arising from the decomposition; and from the lead which is united to the marine acid he forms the beautiful pigment called the *patent yellow*.

Scheele.

pears from a letter which Scheele wrote to Gahn, who has generally had the reputation of this great discovery. This acid, which is so curious in the eye of the chemist, begins to draw the attention of the physician. It was first used in medicine, united to the mineral alkali, by the ingenious Dr Pearson. The value of this addition to the materia medica cannot be better evinced than from the increase of the demand for it, and the quantity of it which is now prepared and sold in London.

We may stamp the character of Scheele as a philosopher from his many and important discoveries. What concerns him as a man we are informed of by his friends, who affirm, that his moral character was irreproachable. From his outward appearance, you would not at first sight have judged him to be a man of extraordinary abilities; but there was a quickness in his eye, which, to an accurate observer, would point out the penetration of his mind. He mixed but little with the crowd of common acquaintance; for this he had neither time nor inclination, as, when his profession permitted him, he was for the most part employed in his experimental inquiries. But he had a soul for friendship; nor could even his philosophical pursuits withhold him from truly enjoying the society of those whom he could esteem and love. Before he adopted any opinion, or a particular theory, he considered it with the greatest attention; but when once his sentiments were fixed, he adhered to them, and defended them with resolution. Not but that he was ingenuous enough to suffer himself to be convinced by weighty objections; as he has shewn that he was open to conviction.

His chemical apparatus was neither neat nor convenient; his laboratory was small and confined; nor was he particular in regard to the vessels which he employed in his experiments, as often the first phial which came to hand was placed in his sand-heat: so that we may justly wonder how such discoveries, and such elegant experiments, could have been made under such unfavourable circumstances. He understood none of the modern languages except the German and Swedish; so that he had not the advantage of being benefited by the early intelligence of discoveries made by foreigners, but was forced to wait till the intelligence was conveyed to him in the slow and uncertain channel of translation. The important services which Scheele did to natural philosophy entitled him to universal reputation; and he obtained it: his name was well known by all Europe, and he was member of several learned academies and philosophical societies.

It was often wished that he would quit his retirement at Koping, and move in a larger sphere. It was suggested to him, that a place might be procured in England, which might afford him a good income and more leisure; and, indeed, latterly an offer was made to him of an annuity of 300*l.* if he would settle in this country. But death, alas! put an end to this project. For half a year before this melancholy event, his health had been declining, and he himself was sensible that he would not recover. On the 19th of May 1786, he was confined to his bed; on the 21st he bequeathed all of which he was possessed to his wife (who was the widow of his predecessor at Koping, and whom he had lately married); and on the same day he departed this life. So the world lost, in less than two years, Bergman and Scheele, of whom Sweden may justly boast; two philo-

sophers, who were beloved and lamented by all their contemporaries, and whose memory posterity will never cease most gratefully to revere.

SCHEINER, CHRISTOPHER, a German mathematician, astronomer, and Jesuit, eminent for being the first who discovered spots on the sun, was born at Schwaben in the territory of Middleheim in 1575. He first discovered spots on the sun's disk in 1611, and made observations on these phenomena at Rome, until at length reducing them to order, he published them in one vol. folio in 1630. He wrote also some smaller things relating to mathematics and philosophy; and died in 1690.

SCHELD, a river which rises on the confines of Picardy, and runs north-east by Cambray, Valenciennes, Tournay, Oudenarde, &c. and receiving the Lis at Ghent, runs east by Dendermond, and then north to Antwerp: below which city it divides into two branches, one called *the Wester-Scheld*, which separates Flanders from Zealand, and discharges itself into the sea near Flushing; and the other called *the Ofter-Scheld*, which runs by Bergen-op-zoom, and afterwards between the islands Beveland and Schowen, and a little below falls in the sea.

SCHEME, a draught or representation of any geometrical or astronomical figure, or problem, by lines sensible to the eye; or of the celestial bodies in their proper places for any moment; otherwise called a diagram.

SCHEMNITZ, a town of Upper Hungary, with three castles. It is famous for mines of silver and other metals, as also for hot baths. Near it is a rock of a shining blue colour mixed with green, and some spots of yellow. E. Long. 19. 0. N. Lat. 48. 40.

SCHERARDIA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCHETLAND. See SHETLAND.

SCHEUCHZERIA, a genus of plants belonging to the hexandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the fifth order, *Tripelatoideæ*. See BOTANY *Index*.

SCHIECHS, or SCHECH, among the Arabs, is a name applied to their nobles. "Among the Bedouins," says Niebuhr, "it belongs to every noble, whether of the highest or the lowest order. Their nobles are very numerous, and compose in a manner the whole nation; the plebeians are invariably actuated and guided by the schiechs, who superintend and direct in every transaction. The schiechs, and their subjects, are born to the life of shepherds and soldiers. The greater tribes rear many camels, which they either sell to their neighbours, or employ them in the carriage of goods, or in military expeditions. The petty tribes keep flocks of sheep. Among those tribes which apply to agriculture, the schiechs live always in tents, and leave the culture of their grounds to their subjects, whose dwellings are wretched huts. Schiechs always ride on horses or dromedaries, inspecting the conduct of their subjects, visiting their friends, or hunting. Traversing the desert, where the horizon is wide as on the ocean, they perceive travellers at a distance. As travellers are seldom to be met with in those wild tracts, they easily discover such as pass that way, and are tempted to pillage them when they find their own party the strongest."

SCHINUS, a genus of plants belonging to the dicocia class;

Scheiner  
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Schinus.

Schiras class; and in the natural method ranking under the 43d order, *Dumoseæ*. See BOTANY Index.

Schiras  
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Scholastic.

SCHIRAS, or SCHIRAUZ, a large and famous town of Persia, capital of Farfistan, is three miles in length from east to west, but not so much in breadth. It is seated at the north-west end of a spacious plain surrounded with very high hills, under one of which the town stands. The houses are built of bricks dried in the sun; the roofs are flat and terraced. There are 15 handsome mosques, tiled with stones of a bluish green colour, and lined within with black polished marble. There are many large and beautiful gardens, surrounded with walls fourteen feet high, and four thick. They contain various kinds of very fine trees, with fruits almost of every kind, besides various beautiful flowers. The wines of Schiras are not only the best in Persia, but, as some think, in the whole world. The women are much addicted to gallantry, and Schiras is called *an earthly paradise* by some. The ruins of the famous Persepolis are 30 miles to the north-east of this place. E. Long. 56. 0. N. Lat. 29. 36.

SCHISM, (from the Greek, *σχισμα*, *clift*, *fissure*), in its general acceptation signifies *division*, or *separation*; but is chiefly used in speaking of separations happening from diversity of opinions among people of the same religion and faith.

Thus we say the *schism* of the ten tribes of Judah and Benjamin, the *schism* of the Persians from the Turks and other Mahometans, &c.

Among ecclesiastical authors, the great schism of the West is that which happened in the times of Clement VII. and Urban VI. which divided the church for 40 or 50 years, and was at length ended by the election of Martin V. at the council of Constance.

The Romanists number 34 schisms in their church.—They bestow the name *English schism* on the reformation of religion in this kingdom. Those of the church of England apply the term *schism* to the separation of the nonconformists, viz. the presbyterians, independents, and anabaptists, for a further reformation.

SCHISTUS, in *Mineralogy*, a name given to several kinds of stones, as argillaceous, siliceous, bituminous, schistus, &c. See MINERALOGY Index.

SCHMIEDELIA, a genus of plants belonging to the octandria class. See BOTANY Index.

SCHOENOBATES, (from the Greek, *σχονος*, *a rope*; and *βαινω*, *I walk*), a name which the Greeks gave to their rope-dancers: by the Romans called *funambuli*. See ROPE-DANCER and FUNAMBULUS.

The *schœnobates* were slaves whose masters made money of them, by entertaining the people with their feats of activity. *Mercurialis de arte gymnastica*, lib. iii. gives us five figures of *schœnobates* engraven after ancient stones.

SCHOENUS, a genus of plants belonging to the triandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 3d order, *Calamariæ*. See BOTANY Index.

SCHOLASTIC, something belonging to the schools. See SCHOOL.

SCHOLASTIC Divinity, is that part or species of divinity which clears and discusses questions by reason and arguments; in which sense it stands, in some measure, opposed to *positive divinity*, which is founded on the authority of fathers, councils, &c. The school-divinity

is now fallen into contempt; and is scarce regarded any where but in some of the universities, where they are still by their charters obliged to teach it.

Scholast  
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Schomburg.

SCHOLIAST, or COMMENTATOR, a grammarian who writes *scholia*, that is, notes, glosses, &c. upon ancient authors who have written in the learned languages. See the next article.

SCHOLIUM, a note, annotation, or remark, occasionally made on some passage, proposition, or the like. This term is much used in geometry and other parts of mathematics, where, after demonstrating a proposition, it is customary to point out how it might be done some other way, or to give some advice or precaution in order to prevent mistakes, or add some particular use or application thereof.

SCHOMBERG, FREDERICK-ARMAND DUKE OF, a distinguished officer, sprung from an illustrious family in Germany, and the son of Count Schomberg by an English lady, daughter of Lord Dudley, was born in 1608. He was initiated into the military life under Frederick-Henry prince of Orange, and afterwards served under his son William II. of Orange, who highly esteemed him. He then repaired to the court of France, where his reputation was so well known, that he obtained the government of Gravelines, of Furnes, and the surrounding countries. He was reckoned inferior to no general in that kingdom except Marechal Turenne and the Prince of Condé; men of such exalted eminence that it was no disgrace to acknowledge their superiority. The French court thinking it necessary to diminish the power of Spain, sent Schomberg to the assistance of the Portuguese, who were engaged in a war with that country respecting the succession to their throne.—Schomberg's military talents gave a turn to the war in favour of his allies. The court of Spain was obliged to solicit for peace in 1668, and to acknowledge the house of Braganza as the just heirs to the throne of Portugal. For his great services he was created Count Mentola in Portugal; and a pension of 5000l. was bestowed upon him, with the reversion to his heirs.

In 1673 he came over to England to command the army; but the English at that time being disgusted with the French nation, Schomberg was suspected of coming over with a design to corrupt the army, and bring it under French discipline. He therefore found it necessary to return to France, which he soon left, and went to the Netherlands. In the month of June 1676, he forced the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Maestricht; and it is said he was then raised to the rank of Marechal of France. But the French *Dictionnaire Historique*, whose information on a point of this nature ought to be authentic, says, that he was invested with this honour the same year in which he took the fortress of Bellegarde from the Spaniards while serving in Portugal.

Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when the persecution commenced against the Protestants, Schomberg, who was of that persuasion, requested leave to retire into his own country. This request was refused; but he was permitted to take refuge in Portugal, where he had reason to expect he would be kindly received on account of past services. But the religious zeal of the Portuguese, though it did not prevent them from accepting assistance from a heretic when their kingdom

Schomberg kingdom was threatened with subversion, could not permit them to give him shelter when he came for protection. The inquisition interfered, and obliged the king to send him away. He then went to Holland by the way of England. Having accepted an invitation from the elector of Brandenburg, he was invested with the government of Ducal Prussia, and appointed commander in chief of the elector's forces. When the prince of Orange failed to England to take possession of the crown which his father-in-law James II. had abdicated, Schomberg obtained permission from the elector of Brandenburg to accompany him. He is supposed to have been the author of an ingenious stratagem which the prince employed after his arrival in London to discover the sentiments of the people respecting the revolution. The stratagem was, to spread an alarm over the country that the Irish were approaching with fire and sword. When the prince was established on the throne of England, Schomberg was appointed commander in chief of the forces and master of the ordnance. In April 1689 he was made knight of the garter, and naturalized by act of Parliament; and in May following was created a baron, earl, marquis, and duke of the kingdom of England, by the name and title of baron Teys, earl of Brentford, marquis of Harwich, and duke of Schomberg. The House of Commons voted to him 100,000*l.* as a reward for his services. Of this he only received a small part; but after his death a pension of 5000*l.* a-year was bestowed upon his son.

In August 1689 he was sent to Ireland to reduce that kingdom to obedience. When he arrived, he found himself at the head of an army consisting only of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, while King James commanded an army three times more numerous. Schomberg thought it dangerous to engage with so superior a force, and being disappointed in his promised supplies from England, judged it prudent to remain on the defensive. He therefore posted himself at Dundalk, about five or six miles distance from James, who was encamped at Ardee. For six weeks he remained in this position, without attempting to give battle, while from the want of the season he lost nearly the half of his army. Schomberg was much blamed for not coming to action; but some excellent judges admired his conduct as a display of great military talents. Had he risked an engagement, and been defeated, Ireland would have been lost. At the famous battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st July 1690, which decided the fate of James, Schomberg passed the river at the head of his cavalry, defeated eight squadrons of the enemy, and broke the Irish infantry. When the French Protestants lost their commander, Schomberg went to rally and lead them on to charge. While thus engaged, a party of King James's guards, which had been separated from the rest, passed Schomberg, in attempting to rejoin their own army. They attacked him with great fury, and gave him two wounds in the head. As the wounds were not dangerous, he might soon have recovered from them; but the French Protestants, perhaps thinking their general was killed, immediately fired upon the guards, and shot him dead on the spot. He was buried in St Patrick's cathedral.

Bishop Burnet says, Schomberg was "a calm man, of great application and conduct, and thought much better than he spoke; of true judgement, of exact propriety, and of a humble and obliging temper."

SCHOOL, a public place, wherein the languages, the arts, or sciences, are taught. Thus we say, a grammar school, a writing school, a school of natural philosophy, &c.—The word is formed from the Latin *schola*, which, according to Du Cange, signifies *discipline* and *correction*; he adds, that it was anciently used, in general, for all places where several persons met together, either to study, to converse, or do any other matter. Accordingly, there were *scholæ palatinæ*, being the several posts wherein the emperor's guards were placed; *schola scutariorum*, *schola gentilium*, &c. At length the term passed also to civil magistrates; and accordingly in the code we meet with *schola chartulariorum*, *schola agentium*, &c.; and even to ecclesiastics, as *schola cantorum*, *schola sacerdotum*, &c.

The Hebrews were always very diligent to teach and study the laws that they had received from Moses. The father of the family studied and taught them in his own family. The Rabbin taught them in the temple, in the synagogues, and in the academies. They pretend, that even before the deluge there were schools for knowledge and piety, of which the patriarchs had the direction.—They place Adam at their head, then Enoch, and lastly Noah. Melchisedec, as they say, kept a school in the city of Kajrath-sepher, otherwise Hebron, in Palestine. Abraham, who had been instructed by Heber, taught in Chaldæa and in Egypt. From him the Egyptians learned astronomy and arithmetic. Jacob succeeded Abraham in the office of teaching. The scripture says, he was "a plain man dwelling in tents;" which, according to the Chaldee paraphrast, is, "that he was a perfect man, and a minister of the house of doctrine."

All this, indeed, must be very precarious and uncertain. It cannot be doubted but that Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel, instructed the people in the wilderness, and that many good Israelites were very industrious to instruct their families in the fear of God. But all this does not prove to us that there were any such schools as we are now inquiring after. Under Joshua we see a kind of academy of the prophets, where the children of the prophets, that is, their disciples, lived in the exercise of a retired and austere life, in study, in the meditation and reading of the law of God. There were schools of the prophets at Naioth in Ramah; 1 Sam. xix. 12, 20, &c. See the article PROPHET.

These schools, or societies of the prophets, were succeeded by the synagogues. See the article SYNAGOGUE.

Charity-SCHOOLS, are those schools which are set apart by public contributions or private donations for the instruction of poor children, who could not otherwise enjoy the benefits of education. In no country are these more numerous than in Great Britain, where charity and benevolence are characteristic of the nation at large. The following is a summary view of the number of charity-schools in Great Britain and Ireland, according to the best information at present, 1795.

School  
||  
Schrebera

|  | Schools. | Boys. | Girls. |
|--|----------|-------|--------|
| At London,   | 182      | 4442  | 2870   |
| In other parts of South Britain,   | 1329     | 19506 | 3915   |
| In North Britain by the account published in 1786,   | 135      | 5187  | 2618   |
| In Ireland, for teaching to read and write only,   | 168      | 2406  | 600    |
| In ditto, erected pursuant to his majesty's charter, and encouraged by his bounty of 1000l. per annum, for instructing, employing, and wholly maintaining the children, exclusive of the Dublin work-house school, | 42       | 1935  | —      |
| Total of schools, &c.  | 1856     | 33476 | 10003  |

*Sunday-SCHOOLS* are another species of charity schools lately instituted, and now pretty common in Great Britain. The institution is evidently of the first importance; and if properly encouraged must have a very favourable effect on the morals of the people, as it tends not only to preserve the children of the poor from spending Sunday in idleness, and of consequence in dissipation and vice, but enables them to lay in for the conduct and comfort of their future life a stock of useful knowledge and virtuous principles, which, if neglected in early life, will seldom be sought for or obtained amidst the hurry of business and the cares and temptations of the world.

The excellent founder of Sunday-schools was Mr Raikes, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, who, together with Mr Stock, a clergyman in the same county, and who, we believe, was equally instrumental in the business with Mr Raikes, shewed the example, and convinced many of the utility of the plan. From Gloucestershire the institution was quickly adopted in every county and almost every town and parish of the kingdom; and we have only further to remark on a plan so generally known, so much approved, and so evidently proper, that we hope men of eminence and weight will always be found sufficiently numerous and willing to bestow their time and countenance in promoting it to the utmost of their power.

*SCHOONER*, in sea-language, a small vessel with two masts, whose main-sail and fore-sail are suspended from gaffs, reaching from the mast towards the stern, and stretched out below by booms, whose foremost ends are hooked to an iron, which clasps the mast so as to turn therein as upon an axis, when the after ends are swung from one side of the vessel to the other.

*SCHORL*, a species of mineral belonging to the siliceous genus. See *MINERALOGY Index*.

*SCHOTIA*, a genus of plants belonging to the decandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 33d order, *Lomentaceæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

*SCHREBERA*, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class. See *BOTANY Index*.

*SCHREVELIUS*, CORNELIUS, a laborious Dutch <sup>Schrevelius</sup> critic and writer, who has published some editions of the ancient classics more distinguished for their elegance than accuracy: his Greek Lexicon is esteemed the best of all his works. He died in 1667. <sup>Schurman</sup>

*SCHULTENS*, ALBERT, professor of Hebrew and of the eastern languages at Leyden, and one of the most learned men of the 18th century, was born at Groningen, where he studied till the year 1706, and from thence continued his studies at Leyden and Utrecht. Schultens at length applied himself to the study of Arabic books, both printed and in manuscript; in which he made great progress. A short time after he became minister of Wassenar, and two years after professor of the eastern tongues at Francker. At length he was invited to Leyden, where he taught Hebrew and the eastern languages with extraordinary reputation till his death, which happened in 1750. He wrote many learned works; the principal of which are, 1. A Commentary on Job, 2 vols 4to. 2. A Commentary on the Proverbs. 3. *Vetus et regia via Hebraizandi*. 4. *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti*. 6. An excellent Hebrew grammar, &c. Schultens discovered in all his works found criticism and much learning. He maintained against Gouffet and Driessen, that in order to have a perfect knowledge of Hebrew, it is necessary to join with it, not only the Chaldee and Syriac, but more particularly the Arabic.

*SCHURMAN*, ANNA MARIA, a most extraordinary German lady. Her natural genius discovered itself at six years of age, when she cut all sorts of figures in paper with her scissars without a pattern. At eight, she learned, in a few days, to draw flowers in a very agreeable manner. At ten, she took but three hours to learn embroidery. Afterwards she was taught music, vocal and instrumental; painting, sculpture, and engraving; in all of which she succeeded admirably. She excelled in miniature-painting, and in cutting portraits upon glass with a diamond. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, were so familiar to her, that the most learned men were astonished at it. She spoke French, Italian, and English, fluently. Her hand-writing, in almost all languages, was so inimitable, that the curious preserved specimens of it in their cabinets. But all this extent of learning and uncommon penetration could not protect her from falling into the errors of Labadie, the famous French enthusiast, who had been banished France for his extravagant tenets and conduct. To this man she entirely attached herself, and accompanied him wherever he went; and even attended him in his last illness at Altena in Holstein. Her works, consisting of *De vitæ humanæ termino*, and *Dissertatio de ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores literas aptitudine*, and her Letters to her learned correspondents, were printed at Leyden in 1648; but enlarged in the edition of Utrecht, 1662, in 12mo, under the following title: *A. M. Schurman Opuscula Hebraea, Græca, Latina, Gallica, Prosaica, et Metrica*. She published likewise at Altena, in Latin, A Defence of her attachment to Labadie, while she was with him in 1673; not worth reading. She was born at Cologne in 1607, but resided chiefly in Holland, and died in Friesland in 1678.

*SCHWARTENBURG*,

Schwarten-  
burg  
||  
Schweitz.

**SCHWARTENBURG**, a town and castle of Germany, and circle of Upper Saxony, in the landgravate of Thuringia, and capital of a county of the same name belonging to a prince of the house of Saxony. It is seated on the river Schwartz, 20 miles south-east of Erford, and 35 north of Cullembach. E. Long. 11. 27. N. Lat. 50. 45.

**SCHWARTS, CHRISTOPHER**, an eminent history-painter, born at Ingolstadt in 1550, who was distinguished by the appellation of the *German Raphael*. He learned the first principles of the art in his own country, but finished his studies at Venice; when he not only made the works of Titian his models, but had the advantage of receiving some personal instructions from that illustrious master. His performances were soon in the highest esteem, as his manner of painting was very different from what the Germans had been accustomed to before that time: he was, therefore, invited by the elector of Bavaria to his court, and appointed his principal painter. He died in 1594; and his most capital works, as well in fresco as in oil, are in the palace at Munich, and in the churches and convents.

**SCHWARTZEMBERG**, a town of Germany, in the circle of Franconia, and capital of a principality of the same name. The castle is seated on the river Lec, 5 miles north-west of Nuremberg, and 20 east of Wertzburg, subject to its own prince. E. Long. 10. 27. N. Lat. 49. 43.

**SCHWEIDNITZ**, a strong town of Silesia, and capital of a province of the same name, with a castle. Next to Breslaw, it is the handsomest town of Silesia. The streets are large, the church fine, and the houses well built. The fortifications are not very considerable, and the royal palace is turned into a convent. Great part of the city was burnt down in 1716, but it was afterwards elegantly rebuilt and improved. In 1757 it fell into the hands of the Austrians, but was retaken by the Prussians the following year. All the magistrates are Roman Catholics; but most of the inhabitants are Protestants, who have a church without the town, as also a public school. It is seated on an eminence on the river Weisfritz, 27 miles south-east of Lignitz, and 22 south-west of Breslaw. E. Long. 16. 54. N. Lat. 50. 46.

**SCHWEINFURT**, a very strong, free, and imperial town of Franconia in Germany, with a magnificent palace, where the senators, who are 12 in number, meet. The environs are rich in cattle, corn, and wine; the inhabitants are Protestants. They carry on an extensive trade in woollen and linen cloth, goose-quills, and feathers. It is seated on the river Maine, 27 miles north-east of Wurtzburg, and 25 west of Bamberg. E. Long. 10. 25. N. Lat. 50. 15. This town was taken by the French in 1796.

**SCHWEITZ**, a canton of Switzerland, bounded on the west by the lake of the Four Cantons; on the south by the canton of Uri; on the east by that of Glaris, and on the north by those of Zurich and Zug. This canton, in conjunction with those of Uri and Underwalden, threw off the Austrian yoke in 1308, and formed a perpetual alliance in 1315, which was the grand foundation of the Helvetic confederacy. The name of Schweitzerland, or Switzerland, which at first compre-

hended only those three cantons, was afterwards extended to all Helvetia. It derived that name, either from the canton of Schweitz, as being the most distinguished by the revolution of 1308, or because the Austrians called all the inhabitants of these mountainous parts by the general denomination of Schweitzers. The government of Schweitz and Uri was entirely democratical before the late revolution. They contain about 50,000 inhabitants, and could furnish more than 12,000 militia. The whole country being mountainous, consists chiefly of pasture, raises little corn, and has no wine; but the soil, though naturally barren, has been improved by the natives to a great degree of fertility. Luxury is scarcely known here; and a purity of morals prevails, which can scarcely be imagined by the inhabitants of extensive and opulent cities. The Roman catholic is the established religion.

A dreadful disaster happened in this canton by the fall of part of a mountain called Ruffiberg or Rosenbergh, on the evening of the 2d of September 1806. Three villages were entirely overwhelmed by it in less than five minutes, and two others were very much damaged. The torrent of earth and stones disengaged on this melancholy occasion was even more rapid than that of lava, and its terrible effects were equally irresistible, carrying rocks, trees, houses, every thing before it, and burying a space of charming country upwards of three miles square. So rapid was the motion of this dreadful mass, that it not only covered the adjoining valley, but ascended to a considerable height on the side of the opposite mountain. A portion of it rolled into the lake of Lauwertz, a fifth part of which it is supposed to have filled up. The agitation of the water was so great as to overturn a number of houses, chapels, mills, &c. along the southern shore of the lake, particularly the mill of Lauwertz, where 15 persons were killed, and buried in the ruins of the buildings, although it was about 60 feet above the level of the lake.

The villages of Goldau and Rothen, consisting of 115 houses, that of Busingen, of 126, and that of Huzlock, totally disappeared. Of Lauwertz there remain only ten buildings much damaged, and 25 were destroyed. Stein lost two houses and several stables, which latter were very numerous in all these villages. The total loss of property of different kinds, as houses, cows, horses, goats, sheep, &c. sustained on this occasion, has been estimated at 120,000l. sterling. In the villages which were overwhelmed, not an individual escaped. More than 1000 persons were the victims of this disaster. Thirteen travellers were on their way from Arth to Schweitz, of whom the foremost nine perished, and the remaining four escaped, being about 40 paces behind them.

About 20 years ago General Pfyffer foretold this catastrophe, from his particular knowledge of the mountain. There was a sea of water above Spietzflue, which for several years had undermined the rock, and in a cavern of great depth beneath the waters were engulfed. The quantity of water which fell during the preceding years, tended to hasten the approach of this melancholy event, and the rains of some weeks before, decided the fate of this mountain.

**SCHWEITZ**, a town of Switzerland, and capital of the canton of the same name, is seated near the Waldstætter sea,



Schweitz  
#  
Sciagraphy. } sea, on the slope of a hill, and at the bottom of two high, sharp, and rugged rocks, called the Schweitzer Hahuen. The church is an edifice both large and magnificent. It is 10 miles south-east of Lucerne. E. Long. 8. 30. N. Lat. 46. 55.

SCHWENKFELDIA, a genus of plants belonging to the pentandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those that are doubtful. [See BOTANY Index.

SCHWENKIA, a genus of plants belonging to the diandria class. See BOTANY Index.

SCHWINBURG, a town of Denmark, on the south coast of the island of Funen, opposite to the islands of Arroa and Langeland. E. Long. 10. 30. N. Lat. 55. 10.

SCIACCA, anciently called *Therma Selinuntia*, in Sicily, derives its present denomination from the Arabic word *Scheich*. It is a very ancient place, being mentioned in the account of the wars between the Greeks and Carthaginians, to the latter of whom it belonged. It is defended by ancient walls and the castle of Luna. It stands upon a very steep rock, hanging over the sea, and excavated in every direction into prodigious magazines, where the corn of the neighbouring territory is deposited for exportation; there is no harbour, but a small bay formed by a wooden pier, where lighters lie to load the corn which they carry out about a mile to ships to anchor.

The town is irregularly but substantially built, and contains 13,000 inhabitants, though Amico's *Lexicon Topographicum* says the last enumeration found only 9484. His accounts do not take in ecclesiastics, and several denominations of lay persons.

SCIÆNA, a genus of fishes belonging to the order thoracici. See ICHTHOLOGY Index.

SCIAGRAPHY, or SCIOGRAPHY, the profile or vertical section of a building, used for shewing the inside of it.

SCIAGRAPHY, in *Astronomy*, &c. is a term made use of by some authors for the art of finding the hour of the day or night, by the shadow of the sun, moon, stars, &c.

SCIATICA, the HIP-GOUT. See MEDICINE Index.

SCIENCE, in *Philosophy*, denotes any doctrines deduced from self-evident principles.

Sciences may be properly divided as follows, 1. The knowledge of things, their constitutions, properties, and operations: this, in a little more enlarged sense of the word, may be called *φυσική*, or *natural philosophy*; the end of which is speculative truth. See PHILOSOPHY and PHYSICS.—2. The skill of rightly applying these powers, *πρακτική*: The most considerable under this head is ethics, which is the seeking out those rules and measures of human actions that lead to happiness, and the means to practise them (see MORAL PHILOSOPHY); and the next is mechanics, or the application of the powers of natural agents to the uses of life (see MECHANICS).—3. The doctrine of signs, *σημειωτική*; the most usual of which being words, it is aptly enough termed *logic*. See LOGIC.

This, says Mr Locke, seems to be the most general, as well as natural, division of the objects of our understanding. For a man can employ his thoughts about nothing but either the contemplation of things themselves for the discovery of truth; or about the things in his own power, which are his actions, for the attainment of his own ends; or the signs the mind makes use of both in the one and the other, and the right ordering of them for its clearer information. All which three, viz. things as they are in themselves knowable, actions as they depend on us in order to happiness, and the right use of signs in order to knowledge, being *totò cælo* different, they seem to be the three great provinces of the intellectual world, wholly separate and distinct one from another.

Sciagraph Science.

## SCIENCE, AMUSEMENTS OR RECREATIONS OF,

Nature and utility of Scientific recreations. }  
A DESIRE of amusement and relaxation is natural to man. The mind is soon fatigued with contemplating the most sublime truths, or the most refined speculations, while these are addressed only to the understanding. In philosophy, as in polite literature, we must, to please and secure attention, sometimes address ourselves to the imagination or to the passions, and thus combine the agreeable with the useful. For want of this combination, we find that pure mathematics (comprehending *arithmetic, geometry, algebra, fluxions, &c.*), notwithstanding their great and acknowledged utility, are studied but by few; while the more attractive sciences of experimental philosophy and chemistry, are almost universally admired, and seldom fail to draw crowds of hearers or spectators to the lectures of their professors. The numerous striking phenomena which these latter sciences present to our senses, the splendid experiments by which their principles may be illustrated, and the continual application which they admit, of those principles and experiments to the affairs of common life, have a powerful influence on the imagination; fix and keep alive the attention; excite the passions of joy, terror, or surprise, and gratify that love of the marvellous which nature has implanted in the human mind. Even the more abstruse subjects of pure mathematics,

especially *arithmetic* and *geometry*, may be sometimes enlivened by amusing examples and contrivances; and are found the more pleasing, in proportion as they are susceptible of such elucidation.

These experimental contrivances, and useful applications to the purposes of common life, constitute what we may term the *Amusements* or *Recreations* of SCIENCE. They have very properly been denominated *rational recreations*, as they serve to relax and unbend the mind after long attention to the cares of business, or to severer studies, in a manner more rational, and often more satisfactory, than those frivolous pursuits which too often employ the time, and injure the health of the rising generation.

In the preceding volumes of this work, we have supplied our readers with many examples of *scientific recreation*. Thus, the articles LEGERDEMAIN and PYROTECHNY may be regarded as entirely of this nature; and in the experimental parts of CHEMISTRY, ELECTRICITY, GALVANISM, and MAGNETISM; in the articles ACOUSTICS, HYDRODYNAMICS, MECHANICS, OPTICS, and its correlative divisions, CATOPTRICS, DIOPTRICS, PERSPECTIVE, and MICROSCOPE; in PNEUMATICS and AEROSTATION, we have related a variety of interesting experiments, and described many ingenious

Object and plan of this article.

Introduc-  
tion.

ous contrivances, calculated both for instruction and amusement. It is the object of the present article to bring these under one point of view, and to add a few of the more curious or useful experiments and contrivances which could not before be conveniently introduced. In particular, we propose to explain some of those scientific deceptions which have excited so much interest and admiration, and to describe several useful philosophical instruments, which either are of very late invention, or have been overlooked in the preceding parts of the work. We shall thus be enabled to supply several deficiencies (otherwise unavoidable), and shall render the present article a sort of general index or table of reference to the various subjects of scientific amusement which are dispersed through the Encyclopædia.

For greater convenience, and more easy reference to preceding articles, we shall arrange the sections under which the various amusements of science may be reduced, in alphabetical order, according to the series of the principal mathematical and philosophical treatises. Thus the article will be divided into 13 sections, comprehending the recreations and contrivances that relate to *ACOUSTICS, ARITHMETIC, ASTRONOMY, CHEMISTRY, ELECTRICITY, GALVANISM, GEOGRAPHY, GEOMETRY, HYDRODYNAMICS, MAGNETISM, MECHANICS, OPTICS, and PNEUMATICS.*

It must not be supposed, from the title of this article, that the subjects which we are here to discuss are puerile or trifling. They will be such as are best calculated to excite the attention, quicken the ingenuity, and improve the memory of our young readers, and they will be similar to those pursuits which have employed the lighter hours of some of the most distinguished philosophers and mathematicians. The names of Bacon, of Boyle, of Newton, of Desaguliers, of Ozanam, of Montucla, and of Hutton, stamp a value on the recreations of science, and prevent us from considering them as frivolous or trifling.

3  
Writers on  
scientific  
recreations.

The subject of scientific recreations must be regarded as entirely modern, as, previous to the era of Lord Bacon, philosophers were much more attached to rigid demonstration and metaphysical reasoning, than to experimental illustration. Much may be found on these subjects in the works of Lord Bacon and Mr Boyle; but the earliest collection of scientific amusements which deserves notice, is the work of Ozanam, entitled *Récréations Mathématiques et Physiques*, published in 1692, in 2 vols 8vo, and afterwards several times republished with improvements and additions, till it was enlarged to 4 vols 8vo. This work was soon translated into most of the modern languages, and was given to the English reader by Dr Hooper, under the title of *Rational Recreations*, first published, we believe, in 1774, and again in 1783, in 4 vols 8vo. The original work of Ozanam has been lately recomposed and greatly improved by M. Montucla, and a translation of this improved edition into English was published in 1803, in 4 vols 8vo, by Dr Charles Hutton. In this English edition, the work is much better adapted than in any former copy, to the English reader, and is enriched by some of the latest improvements in natural philosophy and chemistry.

4  
Popular  
works on  
experimental  
philosophy.

It may not be improper to add, to this notice of works on the amusements of science, a list of the best popular treatises on natural and experimental philosophy and chemistry, to which our younger readers may have

recourse for an explanation of the principles of these sciences, if they should find some of the articles in this Encyclopædia too abstruse or too mathematical.

Recreations  
in Acoustics.

To young people who have never read any work on these sciences, we may recommend Mr Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues*, *Dialogues on Chemistry*, and *Dialogues on the Microscope*, and Mr Frensd's *Evening Amusements*. After attentively perusing these, they may enlarge their information by reading Brewster's edition of *Ferguson's Lectures*; Nicholson's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy*; Gregory's *Economy of Nature*; or Dr Young's *Lectures on Natural Philosophy*; and Henry's *Epitome of Chemistry*, 8vo edition.

#### SECT. I. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to ACOUSTICS.*

In the article *ACOUSTICS*, Vol. I. p. 159. we have explained six amusing experiments and contrivances, and related them on the principles of acoustics. These are, the *conversing statue*, explained on the principle of the reflection of sound; the *communicative busts*, and the *oracular head*, explained from the reverberation of sound; the *solar sonata*, the *automaton harpsichord*, and the *ventose symphony*, explained partly on the principles of acoustics, and partly on those of mechanics. We have now to explain a deception connected with the conveyance of sound, well known to many of our readers, by the name of the *invisible lady* or *invisible girl*; and to notice some curious figures assumed by sand or other light bodies on the surface of vibrating plates.

5  
Recreations  
in Acoustics.

Some years ago M. Charles, brother to the well-known philosopher of that name, exhibited in London, and afterwards in most of the large towns of Great Britain and Ireland, the experiment of the *invisible girl*. The apparatus by means of which this experiment was conducted, and the principal circumstances attending the exhibition, have been described by Mr Nicholson, in his *Philosophical Journal*, from which the following account is principally taken.

6  
Invisible  
lady.

In the middle of a large lofty room, in an old house, where, from the appearance of the wainscot, and other circumstances, there seemed to be no situation for placing acoustic tubes or reflectors, was fixed a wooden railing, about 5 feet high, and as many wide, inclosing a square space. A perspective view of the apparatus is given at fig. 1. of Plate CCCCLXX, where A, A, A, A, represent the four upright posts. These posts were united by a cross rail near the top, BB, and by two or more similar rails at the bottom. The frame, thus constructed, stood upon the floor, and from the top of each of the four upright pillars proceeded a strong bended brass wire *a, a, a, a*, so that they all met together at the top *c*, where they were secured by a crown and prince's feather, or other ornaments. From these four wires was suspended a hollow copper ball, about a foot in diameter, by means of slight ribbons, so as to cut off all possible communication with the frame. Round this ball were placed four trumpets, at right angles to each other, as represented at A, A, A, A, fig. 2. having their mouths opening externally.

Such was the apparent construction of the apparatus, and it was pretended that there resided within the ball an invisible lady, capable of giving answers to any questions that were put to her. When a question was proposed,

Recreations  
in Acoustics

posed, it was uttered in at the mouth of one of the trumpets, and an answer immediately proceeded from all the trumpets, so distinctly loud as to be heard by an ear applied to any of them, and yet so distant and feeble, that it appeared to come from a very diminutive being. In this consisted the whole of the experiment, except that the lady could converse in several languages, sing, describe all that happened in the room, and displayed a fund of lively wit and accomplishment that admirably qualified her to support the character she had undertaken.

Fig. 3.

The principles on which this experiment is constructed are similar to those of the *oracular head* described under ACOUSTICS; except that, in the present deception, an artificial echo is produced by means of the trumpets, and thus the sound is completely reversed, instead of proceeding in its original direction. Fig. 3. represents a section of the apparatus, and will explain the method by which the deception is effected. One of the posts *A, A*, as well as one-half of the hand-rail connected with it, is hollowed into a tube, the end of which opens on the inside of the rail, opposite the centre of the trumpet on that side, though the hole is very small, and is concealed by reeds or other mouldings. At the other end the tube communicates with a long tin pipe *pp* about half an inch in diameter, concealed below the floor of the room *ff*, and passing up the wall to a large deal case, *k*, almost similar to an inverted funnel, and large enough to contain the confederate, and a piano forte, on which tunes may be occasionally played. A small hole closed with glass is left through the funnel and side-wall of the room, as at *k*, so that the confederate may have an opportunity of observing and commenting on any circumstances which may take place in the room. Thus, when any question is asked at one of the trumpets, the sound is conveyed through the communicating tubes into the funnel-shaped case, so as to be heard by the confederate, who then gives the answer, which in like manner is conveyed through the tube below the floor to one of the trumpets, and is heard, either from that, or any of the rest.

*On the Figures produced by Light Bodies on Vibrating Surfaces.*

7  
Vibration  
Figures.

About the year 1787, Dr Chladni of Wittemberg drew the particular attention of philosophers to the nature of vibration, by investigating the curves produced by the moving points of vibrating surfaces. It is found that if sand, or a similar substance, be strewed on the surface of an elastic plate, such as glass or the sonorous metals, and if the plate be made to vibrate, the sand will arrange itself on particular parts of the surface, showing that these points are not in motion. These figures are often extremely curious, and may be varied according to the pleasure or address of the experimentalist. Some of the more remarkable are represented at figs. 5, 6, 10, 11.

Fig. 5, 6.  
10, 11.

To produce these figures, nothing is necessary but to know the method of bringing that part of the surface which we wish not to vibrate into a state of rest; and of putting in motion that which we wish to vibrate: on this depends the whole expertness of producing what are called *vibration figures*.

Those who have never tried these experiments may

imagine that to produce fig. 5. it would be necessary to damp, in particular, every point of the part to be kept at rest, viz. the two concentric circles and the diameter, and to put in motion every part intended to vibrate. This, however, is not the case; for we need damp only the points *a* and *b*, and cause to vibrate one part *c*, at the edge of the plate; for the motion is soon communicated to the other parts which we wish to vibrate, and the required figure will in this manner be produced.

Recreations  
in Acoustics.

The damping may be best effected by laying hold of the place to be damped between the fingers, or by supporting it with only one finger. This will be more clearly comprehended by turning to fig. 8. where the hand is represented in the position necessary to hold the plate. In order to produce fig. 6. we must hold the plate horizontally, placing the thumb above at *a*, with the second finger directly below it; and besides this, we must support the point *b* on the under side of the plate. If the bow of a violin be then rubbed against the plate at *c*, there will be produced on the glass the figure which is delineated at fig. 6. When the point to be supported or damped lies too near the centre of the plate, we may rest it on a cork, not too broad at the end, brought into contact with the glass in such a manner as to supply the place of the finger. It is convenient also, when we wish to damp several points at the circumference of the glass, to place the thumb on the cork, and to use the rest of the fingers for touching the parts which we wish to keep at rest. For example, if we wish to produce fig. 7. on an elliptic plate, the larger axis of which is to the less as 4 to 3, we must place the cork under *c*, the centre of the plate; put the thumb on this point, and then damp the two points of the edge *p* and *q*, as may be seen at fig. 8. and make the plate to vibrate by rubbing the violin bow against it at *r*. There is still another convenient method of damping several points at the edge when large plates are employed.

Fig. 4. represents a strong square piece of metal *a b*, a line in circumference, which is screwed to the edge of the table, or made fast in any other manner; and a notch, about as broad as the edge of the plate, is cut into one side of it by a file. We then hold the plate resting against this piece of metal, by two or more fingers when requisite, as at *c* and *d*, by which means the edge of the plate will be damped in three points *d, c, c*; and in this manner, by putting the plate in vibration at *f*, we can produce fig. 13. In cases of necessity, the edge of a table may be used, instead of the piece of metal; but it will not answer the purpose so well.

To produce the vibration at any required place, a common violin bow, rubbed with rosin, is the most proper instrument to be employed. The hair must not be too slack, because it is sometimes necessary to press pretty hard on the plate, in order to produce the tone sooner.

When we wish to produce any particular figure, we must first form it in idea upon the plate, in order that we may be able to determine where a line at rest, and where a vibrating part, will occur. The greatest rest will always be where two or more lines intersect each other, and such places must in particular be damped. For example, in fig. 9. we must damp the part *n*, and stroke with the bow in *p*. Fig. 13. may be produced with no less ease, if we hold the plate at *r*, and stroke with the

Recreations  
in Acoustics.

Fig. 10, 11.

bow at *f*. The strongest vibration seems always to be in that part of the edge which is bounded by a curve; for example, in figs. 10. and 11. at *n*. To produce these figures, therefore, we must rub with the bow at *n*, and not at *r*.

Fig. 5.

We must, however, damp not only those points where two lines intersect each other, but endeavour to support at least one which is suited to that figure, and to no other. For example, when we support *a* and *b*, fig. 5. and rub with the bow at *c*, fig. 9. also may be produced, because both figures have these two points at rest. To produce fig. 5. we must support with one finger the part *e*, and rub with the bow in *c*; but fig. 9. cannot be produced in this manner, because it has not the point *e* at rest.

One of the greatest difficulties in producing the figures, is to determine before-hand the vibrating and resting points which belong to a certain figure, and to no other. Hence, when we are not able to damp those points which distinguish one figure from another, if the violin bow be rubbed against the plate, several hollow tones are heard, without the sand forming itself as expected. We must therefore acquire by experience a readiness, in being able to search out among these tones, that which belongs to the required figure, and to produce it on the plate by rubbing the bow against it. When we have acquired sufficient expertness in this respect, we can determine before-hand, with tolerable certainty, the figures to be produced, and even the most difficult. It may be easily conceived, that we must remember what part of the plate, and in what manner we damped; and we may mark these points by scratching the plate with a piece of flint.

When the plate has acquired the proper vibration, endeavour to keep it in that state for some seconds; which can be done by rubbing the bow against it several times. By these means the sand will be more accurately formed.

Any sort of glass may be employed, provided its surface be smooth, otherwise the sand will fall into the hollow parts, or be thrown about irregularly. Common glass plates, when cut with a stone, are very sharp on the edge, and would soon destroy the hair of a violin bow; for which reason the edge must be smoothed by a file, or a piece of freestone.

We must endeavour to procure such plates as are uniformly thick, and of different sizes; such as circular ones from four to 12 inches in diameter. Sand too fine must not be employed. The plate must be equally beset with it, and not too thickly, as the lines will then be exceedingly fine, and the figures will acquire a better defined appearance\*.

\* *Phil. Mag.* vol. iii. p. 389.  
8  
Ventriloquism.

The subject of ventriloquism, or that peculiar modification of voice by which sounds are made to appear as coming from situations at a distance from the person who utters them, is a deception connected with the subject of acoustics. This deception we have already explained under *PHYSIOLOGY*, N<sup>o</sup> 251, 254.

SECT. II. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to ARITHMETIC.*

Arithmetical Recreations.

THE only amusements connected with this subject, of which we have already given an account, are those contained under the head of *Miscellaneous Performances* in the 4th section of the article *LEGERDEMAIN*, the most curious of which is the method of discovering, by calculation, what person in a select party has put a ring on his finger, as well as the *hand*, the *finger*, and the *joint* on which the ring is placed. We have also described the magic squares, and magic circles, in vol. xvi. p. 354, *et seq.* A mechanical method of performing the principal arithmetical operations has been described under *ABACUS*.

To perform a question in Simple Addition merely by knowing the first line.

The question proposed may consist of five lines of figures, of which the first and second lines are written by the proposer, the third by the person to whom the question is proposed, and the fourth and fifth alternately by the proposer and expounder; but before the second line is written, the expounder is to discover the sum in the following manner. To each digit of the first line he adds 2, which gives as many digits of the sum as are contained in the first line of the question, and to these 2 is to be prefixed on the left hand. To accommodate the question to this sum, when the proposer has written the second line, the expounder constructs the third by deducting each digit of this line from 10, so that his third line consists of the remainders. In like manner the expounder constructs the fifth line by remainders from the digits of the fourth line set down by the proposer, deducting the first digit on the right hand from 12, and the rest from 10. The following example will illustrate the method of procedure.

Suppose it be required to find the sum in a question of which the first line is 35726. Adding 2 to each of these digits, and prefixing 2 to the sum, we have for the sum of the whole question 257948. Let us now suppose that the second line written by the proposer is 21354. To construct the third line, the expounder subtracts 2, 1, 3, 5, 4 each from 10; and the remainders 8, 9, 7, 5, 6, form the third line. Lastly, Suppose that the proposer's next line, forming the fourth, stands thus, 1, 3, 2, 4, 8. To find the last line, the expounder deducts 1, 3, 2, 4, each from 10, and 8 from 12, by which he obtains 9, 7, 8, 6, 4; and it is evident that the addition of these five lines produces the sum originally set down from the first line only.

N. B. It is essential to the performance of this question, that none of the digits written by the proposer be cyphers (A).

Most

(A) Though it is not our intention in the present article, to explain all the experiments and contrivances so fully as to leave nothing to the ingenuity of the reader, we may remark, with respect to the present question, that as the obtained sum is derived merely from the first line of figures, all below this must be so contrived as to produce by their addition a line in which all the digits are 2's. Accordingly, it will be found that the addition of the first

Arithmeti-  
cal Recrea-  
tions.

Arithmeti-  
cal Recrea-  
tions.

Most of our readers are well acquainted with the question in multiplication respecting the price of a horse from successively doubling a farthing as often as there are nails in the horse's shoes. (See Montucla's *Recreations* by Hutton, vol. i. or *Sandford and Merton*, vol. i.) The following question is of a similar nature, but appears still more surprising.

11 *A courtier having performed some very important service to his sovereign, the latter wishing to confer on him a suitable reward, desired him to ask whatever he thought proper, promising that it should be granted. The courtier, who was well acquainted with the science of numbers, requested only that the monarch would give him a quantity of wheat equal to that which would arise from one grain doubled 63 times successively. What was the value of the reward?*

The origin of this problem is related in so curious a manner by Al-Sephadi, an Arabian author, that it deserves to be mentioned. A mathematician named Sessa, says he, the son of Daher, the subject of an Indian prince, having invented the game of chess, his sovereign was highly pleased with the invention, and wishing to confer on him some reward worthy of his magnificence, desired him to ask whatever he thought proper, assuring him that it should be granted. The mathematician, however, asked only a grain of wheat for the first square of the chess-board, two for the second, four for the third, and so on to the last or 64th. The prince at first was almost incensed at this demand, conceiving that it was ill suited to his liberality, and ordered his vizir to comply with Sessa's request; but the minister was much astonished when, having caused the quantity of corn necessary to fulfil the prince's order to be calculated, he found that all the grain in the royal granaries, and that even of all his subjects, and in all Asia, would not be sufficient. He therefore informed the prince, who sent for the mathematician, and candidly acknowledged his inability to comply with his demand, the ingenuity of which astonished him still more than the game which he had invented.

To find the amount of this prodigious reward, to pay which even the treasury of a mighty prince was insufficient, we shall proceed most easily by way of geometrical progression, though it might be discovered by common multiplication and addition. It will be found by calculation, that the 64th term of the double progression, beginning with unity, is 9,223,372,036,854,775,808. But the sum of all the terms of a double progression, beginning with unity, may be obtained by doubling the last term and subtracting from it unity. The number, therefore, of the grains of wheat equal to Sessa's demand, will be 18,446,744,073,709,551,615. Now, if a standard English pint contain 9216 grains of wheat, a gallon will contain 73,728; and, as eight gallons make one bushel, if we divide the above result by 8 times 73,728, we shall have 31,274,997,412,295 for the number of the bushels of wheat necessary to dis-

charge the promise of the Indian king; and if we suppose that one acre of land be capable of producing in one year, 30 bushels of wheat, to produce this quantity would require 1,042,499,913,743 acres, which make more than 8 times the surface of the globe; for the diameter of the earth being supposed equal to 7930 miles, its whole surface, comprehending land and water, will amount to very little more than 126,437,889,177 square acres.

If the price of a bushel of wheat be estimated at 10s. (it is at present, August 1809, 12s. 6d. per bushel), the value of the above quantity will amount to 15,637,498,706,147l. 10s.; a sum which, in all probability, far surpasses all the riches on the earth\*.

\* Hutton's  
Recrea-  
tions, vol. i.

To discover any Number thought of.

Of this problem there are several cases, differing chiefly in complexity of operation.

I. Desire the person who has thought of a number, to triple it, and to take the exact half of that triple if it be even, or the greater half if it be odd. Then desire him to triple that half, and ask him how many times that product contains 9; for the number thought of will contain double the number of nines, and one more if it be odd.

Thus, if 4 has been the number thought of, its triple will be 12, which can be divided by 2 without a remainder. The half of 12 is 6, and if this be multiplied by 3, we shall have 18, which contains 9 twice, the number will therefore be 4 equal twice 2, the number of nines in the last product.

II. Bid the person multiply the number thought of by itself; then desire him to add unity to the number thought of, and to multiply that sum also by itself; in the last place, ask him to tell the difference of those two products, which will certainly be an odd number, and the least half of it will be the number required.

Let the number thought of be 10, which multiplied by itself gives 100; in the next place 10 increased by 1 is 11, which multiplied by itself makes 121, and the difference of these two squares is 21, the least half of which being 10, is the number thought of.

This operation might be varied in the second step by desiring the person to multiply the number by itself, after it has been diminished by unity, and then to tell the difference of the two squares, the greater half of which will be the number thought of.

Thus, in the preceding example, the square of the number thought of is 100, and that of the same number, subtracting 1, is 81; the difference of these is 19, the greater half of which, or 10, is the number thought of.

III. Desire the person to add to the number thought of its exact half if it be even, or its greater half if it be odd, in order to obtain a first sum; then bid him add to this sum its exact half, or its greater half, according

12  
To tell a  
number  
thought of.

as

first right-hand column produces 22, and that of all the rest 20, which, with the addition of the 2 carried, supplies the other 2's in the line. From this it is evident, that though, for more easy illustration, we have given a question containing only five lines; seven, nine, or any unequal number may be employed, constructing the seventh, ninth, &c. on similar principles.

Arithmetical Recreations

as it is even or odd, to have a second sum, from which the person must subtract the double of the number thought of. Then desire him to take the half of the remainder, or its less half if it be an odd number, and continue halving the half till he comes to unity. When this is done, count how many subdivisions have been made, and for the first division retain two, for the second 4, for the third 8, and so of the rest, in double proportion. It is here necessary to observe, that 1 must be added for each time that the least half was taken, because, by taking the least half, one always remains; and that 1 only must be retained when no subdivision could be made; for thus you will have the number the halves of the halves of which have been taken; the quadruple of that number then will be the number thought of, in case it was not necessary at the beginning to take the greater half, which will happen only when the number thought of is evenly even, or divisible by 4; but if the greater half has been taken at the first division, 3 must be subtracted from the above quadruple, or only 2 if the greater half has been taken at the second division, or 5 if it has been taken at each of the two divisions, and the remainder then will be the number thought of.

Thus, if the number thought of has been 4; by adding to it its half, we shall have 6; and if to this we add its half, 3, we shall have 9; if 8, the double of the number thought of, be subtracted, there will remain 1, which cannot be halved, because we have arrived at unity. For this reason, we must retain 1; and the quadruple of this, or 4, will be the number thought of.

IV. Desire the person to take 1 from the number thought of, and to double the remainder; then bid him take 1 from this double, and add to it the number thought of. Having asked the number arising from this addition, add 3 to it, and the third of the sum will be the number required.

Let the number thought of be 5; if 1 be taken from it, there will remain 4, the double of which 8, being diminished by 1, and the remainder 7 being increased by 5, the number thought of, the result will be 12; if to this we add 3, we shall have 15, the third part of which, 5, will be the number required.

V. Desire the person to add 1 to the triple of the number thought of, and to multiply the sum by 3; then bid him add to this product the number thought of, and the result will be a sum, from which if 3 be subtracted, the remainder will be double of the number required. If 3 therefore be taken from the last sum, and if the cipher on the right be cut off from the remainder, the other figure will indicate the number sought.

Let the number thought of be 6, the triple of which is 18, and if unity be added it makes 19; the triple of this last number is 57, and if 6 be added it makes 63, from which if 3 be subtracted the remainder will be 60; now, if the cipher on the right be cut off, the remaining figure 6 will be the number required.

VI. Among the various methods contrived for discovering numbers thought of, we have seen none more ingenious than the following, which was lately communicated to us. This is a sort of puzzle, consisting of six slips of paper or pasteboard, on which are written numbers as expressed in the following columns.

| A  | B  | C  | D  | E  | F  |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1  | 2  | 4  | 8  | 16 | 32 |
| 3  | 3  | 5  | 9  | 17 | 33 |
| 5  | 6  | 6  | 10 | 18 | 34 |
| 7  | 7  | 7  | 11 | 19 | 35 |
| 9  | 10 | 12 | 12 | 20 | 36 |
| 11 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 21 | 37 |
| 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 22 | 38 |
| 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 23 | 39 |
| 17 | 18 | 20 | 24 | 24 | 40 |
| 19 | 19 | 21 | 25 | 25 | 41 |
| 21 | 22 | 22 | 26 | 26 | 42 |
| 23 | 23 | 23 | 27 | 27 | 43 |
| 25 | 26 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 44 |
| 27 | 27 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 45 |
| 29 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 46 |
| 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 47 |
| 33 | 34 | 36 | 40 | 48 | 48 |
| 35 | 35 | 37 | 41 | 49 | 49 |
| 37 | 38 | 38 | 42 | 50 | 50 |
| 39 | 39 | 39 | 43 | 51 | 51 |
| 41 | 42 | 44 | 44 | 52 | 52 |
| 43 | 43 | 45 | 45 | 53 | 53 |
| 45 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 54 | 54 |
| 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 55 | 55 |
| 49 | 50 | 52 | 56 | 56 | 56 |
| 51 | 51 | 53 | 57 | 57 | 57 |
| 53 | 54 | 54 | 58 | 58 | 58 |
| 55 | 55 | 55 | 59 | 59 | 59 |
| 57 | 58 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| 59 | 59 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 |
| 61 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 |
| 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 |

Arithmetical Recreations

The six slips being thus prepared, a person is to think of any one of the numbers which they contain, and to give to the expounder of the question those slips which contain the number thought of. To discover this number, the expounder has nothing to do but to add together the numbers at the top of the columns put into his hand. Their sum will express the number thought of.

Example. Thus, suppose we think of the number 14. We find that this number is in three of the slips, viz. those marked B, C, and D, which are therefore given to the expounder, who on adding together 2, 4, and 8, obtains 14, the number thought of.

This trick may be varied in the following manner. Instead of giving to the expounder the slips containing the number thought of, these may be kept back, and those in which the number does not occur be given. In this case the expounder must add together, as before, the numbers at the top of the columns, and subtract their sum from 63; the remainder will be the number thought of.

Example. Taking again the former number 14, the slips in which this is not contained are those marked A, E, and F. Adding together 1, 16 and 32, the expounder has 49, which subtracted from 63, leaves 14, the number thought of as before.

The slips containing the columns of numbers are usually

Astronomical Recreations.

usually marked with letters on the back, and not above the columns, as we have expressed them. This renders the deception more complete, as the expounder of the question knowing before hand the number at the top of each column, has only to examine the letters at the back of the slips given him, when he performs the problem without looking at the numbers, and thus renders the trick more extraordinary.

Towards explaining the principles on which this puzzle has been constructed, we may remark, 1. That each column may be divided into sets of figures; those of each column consisting of as many figures as are represented by the number at the head of the column, one figure in each set in the column marked 1; two in that marked 2; four in 4, &c. 2. That after each parcel there is a blank of as many figures as that parcel consists of, counting in a regular series from the last number of the parcel. 3. That the numbers of each parcel are in arithmetical progression, while those at the head of the columns are in geometrical progression. 4. That the first sets of all the columns taken together in regular series, compose the whole series of numbers in the columns from 1 to 63, and are consequently the most important, as any number thought of must be found in only one of these sets. 5. That the sum of all the terms of the geometrical progression is equal to the last or highest term of the arithmetical progression 63, and is also equal to the double of the last term of the geometrical progression diminished by unity.

Having premised these remarks, we shall not proceed farther than to hint, that, in constructing this ingenious puzzle, the author appears to have employed the properties of geometrical progressions, and their relations to arithmetical progressions, for which see the article SERIES.

To render these columns more portable, they may each be divided into three or more, and written on small cards, marked at the back with letters. In this form the first figure of the first column must be employed, like the first figure at the head of the slips, or the better to disguise the contrivance, the figures of each column may be placed in a confused order, and the letters alone employed.

Mr William Friend, well known as the author of the *Evening Amusements*, has rendered an important service to the rising generation, by the publication of his *Tangible Arithmetic*, or the Art of Numbering made easy, by means of an arithmetical toy. The toy which forms the basis of this method of numbering, is similar to what has been called the Chinese board, which is explained in the fourth volume of Mr Friend's *Evening Amusements*. This toy is so constructed as to be capable of expressing any number as far as 16,666,665, and is capable of performing a great variety of arithmetical operations, merely by moving a few balls. The author gives a variety of simple instances and amusing games, by which the first four rules of arithmetic may be explained and illustrated. The whole contrivance is very ingenious, and well deserves the attention of mothers and all teachers of children.

13 Friend's tangible arithmetic.

SECT. III. Recreations and Contrivances relating to ASTRONOMY.

MANY scientific recreations may be derived from astronomy, and some of these have already been noticed

14 Astronomical recreations.

in our treatise on that subject. Among the most useful of the astronomical amusements, however, is the method of discovering the several stars that compose the constellations, and this we shall here explain.

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Before we can become acquainted with the stars that compose the constellations, we must be provided with accurate celestial charts, or a good planisphere, of such a size that stars of the first and second magnitudes can be readily distinguished on it. Having placed before us one of these charts, as that containing the north pole, or that part of the planisphere which contains the northern hemisphere, first find out the *Great Bear*, commonly called *Charles's wain* (Plate CCCCLXXI, fig. 14). It may be easily known, as it forms one of the most remarkable groupes in the heavens, consisting of several stars of the second magnitude, four of which are arranged in such a manner as to represent an irregular square, and the other three a prolongation in the form of a very obtuse scalene triangle. Besides, by examining the figure of these seven stars, as exhibited in the chart, we shall easily distinguish those in the heavens which correspond to them. When we have made ourselves acquainted with these seven principal stars, we examine on the chart the configuration of the neighbouring stars, which belong to the *great bear*; and thence learn to distinguish the other less considerable stars which compose that constellation.

Method of learning the constellations.

After knowing the *Great Bear*, we may easily proceed to the *Lesser Bear*; for nothing will be necessary but to draw, as may be seen in fig. 15, a straight line through the two anterior stars of the square of the *Great Bear*, or the two farthest distant from the tail; this line will pass very near the polar star, a star of the second magnitude, and the only one of that size in a pretty large space. At a little distance from it, there are two other stars of the second and third magnitudes, which, with four more of a less size, form a figure somewhat similar to that of the *Great Bear*, but smaller. This is what is called the *Lesser Bear*; and we may learn, in the same manner as before, to distinguish the stars which compose it.

Fig. 15.

Now if a straight line be drawn through those stars of the *Great Bear*, nearest to the tail, and through the polar star, it will conduct us to a very remarkable group of five stars arranged nearly in this form M (see fig. 16.) These are the constellation of *Cassiopeia*, in which a very brilliant new star appeared in 1572; though soon after it became fainter, and at length disappeared.

Fig. 16.

If a line, perpendicular to the above line, be next drawn through this constellation, it will conduct, on the one side, to a very beautiful star called *Algenib*, which is in the back of *Perseus*; and in the other, to the constellation of the *Swan* (fig. 17.), remarkable by a star of the first magnitude. Near *Perseus* is the brilliant star of the *Goat*, called *Capella*, which is of the first magnitude, and forms part of the constellation of *Auriga*.

Fig. 17.

After this, if a straight line be drawn through the last two stars of the tail of the *Great Bear*, we shall come to the neighbourhood of *Arcturus*, one of the most brilliant stars in the heavens, which forms part of the constellation of *Bootes* (fig. 18.)

In this manner we may successively employ the knowledge which we have obtained of the stars of one constellation, to enable us to find out the neighbouring ones.

Astronomical Recreations.

16  
Brewster's  
astrometer.

ones. We shall not enlarge farther on this method; for it may be easily conceived, that we cannot proceed in this manner through the whole heavens; but any person of ingenuity may thus in the course of a few nights, learn to know a great part of the heavens, or at any rate the principal stars and constellations.

In the article ASTRONOMY we have described the usual instruments for ascertaining the situation, distances, &c. of the heavenly bodies. We must here add an account of an ingenious instrument for finding the rising and setting of the stars and planets, and their position in the heavens. This instrument is called an *astrometer*, and was originally invented by M. Jurat. An improved astrometer has been lately contrived by Dr David Brewster, and is thus described by him in Nicholson's Journal for May 1807, vol. xvi.

"This astrometer, represented in Plate CCCCLXXI. fig. 19. consists of four divided circumferences. The innermost of these is moveable round the centre A, and is divided into 24 hours, which are again subdivided into quarters and minutes, when the circle is sufficiently large. The second circumference is composed of four quadrants of declination, divided by means of a table of semidiurnal arcs, adapted to the latitude of the place. In order to divide these quadrants, move the horary circle, so that 12 o'clock noon may be exactly opposite to the index B: then since the star is in the equator, and its declination 0, when the semidiurnal arc is VI hours, the zero of the scales of declination will be opposite VI. VI. and as the declination of a star is equal to the colatitude of the place, when its semidiurnal arc is 0, or when it just comes to the fourth point of the horizon, without rising above it, the degree of declination at the other extremity of the quadrant, or opposite XII. XII. will be the same as the colatitude of the place, which in the present case is 39°, the latitude of the place being supposed 51° North. The intermediate degrees of declination are then to be laid down from a table of semidiurnal arcs, by placing the degree of declination opposite to the arc to which it corresponds; thus the 10° of south declination must stand opposite V<sup>h</sup> 13' in the afternoon, and VI<sup>h</sup> 47' in the morning, because a declination of 10° south gives a semidiurnal arc of V<sup>h</sup> 13'. When the scales of declination are thus completed, the instrument is ready for shewing the rising and setting of the stars. For this purpose move the horary circle till the index B points to the time of the star's southing; thus, opposite to the star's declination in the scale C, if the declination is south, or in the scale D if it is north, will be found the time of its rising above the horizon; and the degree of declination on the scales E and F, according as it is south or north, will point out on the horary circle the time of the star setting. If the rising of the star is known from observation, bring its declination to the time of its rising on the circle of hours, and the index B will point out the time at which it passed the meridian; and its declination on the opposite scale will indicate the time when it descends below the horizon. In the same way, from the time of the star setting, we may determine the time when it rises and comes to the meridian.

"The two exterior circles are added to the astrometer, for the purpose of finding the position of the stars and planets in the heavens. The outermost of these is divided into 360 equal parts; and the other, which is a

scale of amplitudes, is so formed, that the amplitude of any of the heavenly bodies may be exactly opposite the corresponding degree of declination in the adjacent circle. The degree of south declination, for instance, in the latitude of 51°, corresponds with an amplitude of 15° 20', consequently the 15° of amplitude must be nearly opposite to the 10th degree of declination; so that by a table of amplitudes the other points of the scale may be easily determined. The astrometer is also furnished with a moveable index MN, which carries at its extremities two vertical sights *mn*, in a straight line with the centre A. The instrument being thus completed, let it be required to find the planet Saturn, when his declination is 15° north, and the time of his southing 3<sup>h</sup> 30' in the morning. The times of his rising and setting will be found to be 7<sup>h</sup> 15', and 10<sup>h</sup> 45', and his amplitude 24° north. Then shift the moveable index till the side of it which points to the centre is exactly above 24° of the exterior circle in the north-east quadrant, and when the line AB is placed in the meridian, the two sight holes will be directed to the point of the horizon where Saturn will be seen at 7<sup>h</sup> 15', the time of his rising. The same being done in the north-west quadrant, the point of the horizon where the planet sets will likewise be determined. In the same way the position of the fixed stars, and the other planets, may be easily discovered.

"If it is required to find the name of any particular star, that is observed in the heavens, place the astrometer due north and south, and when the star is near the horizon, either at its rising or setting, shift the moveable index till the two sights point to the star. The sight of the index will then point out, on the exterior circle, the star's amplitude. With this amplitude enter the third scale from the centre, and find the declination of the star in the second circle. Shift the moveable horary circle till the time at which the observation is made be opposite to the star's declination, and the index B will point to the time at which it passes the meridian. The difference between the time of the star's southing, and 12 o'clock noon, converted into degrees of the equator, and added to the right ascension of the sun if the star comes to the meridian after the sun, but subtracted from it if the star souths before the sun, will give the right ascension of the star. With the right ascension and declination thus found, enter a table of the right ascensions and declination of the principal fixed stars, and you will discover the name of the star which corresponds with these numbers. The meridian altitudes of the heavenly bodies may always be found by counting the number of degrees between their declination and the index B. The astrometer may be employed in the solution of various other problems; but the application of it to other purposes is left to the ingenuity of the young astronomer."

#### SECT. IV. Recreations and Contrivances relating to CHEMISTRY.

THE experiments which illustrate the principles of Chemical Chemistry, afford abundant examples of scientific recreations. We cannot here enter on this extensive field, as we have already illustrated the subject very fully under the article CHEMISTRY. In the present section, therefore, we shall do little more than enumerate some of the more striking experiments, referring our readers for

Chemical Recreations.



for a description and explanation of them, to the above article, and to the principal elementary works on modern chemistry, especially the *Epitome of Chemistry*, by Dr William Henry (8vo edition), to which the following enumeration will chiefly refer.

Among the more curious and interesting experiments of chemistry, we may notice the combustion produced by wrapping *nitrate of copper*, slightly moistened, in a sheet of *tin foil* (Henry, p. 15.); the reflection of heat and cold from the surface of concave mirrors (CHEMISTRY, N<sup>o</sup> 170, or Henry, p. 28.); the artificial production of great degrees of cold, so as to freeze *mercury* and *alcohol* (CHEMISTRY, 274, or Henry, p. 36.); the experiments of Dr Herschel, shewing that the sun emits rays which *heat* without *illuminating*; others which *illuminate* without *heating*; and others which neither *illuminate* nor *heat*, but produce evident *chemical changes* (CHEMISTRY, 172, or Henry, p. 48.); the *combustion of charcoal, phosphorus, and iron wires*, in *oxygenous gas*, and more especially the combustion of metals in a combined stream of *oxygen and hydrogen gases* (Henry, p. 60.); the *explosion of hydrogeous and oxygenous gases*, and consequent production of water (CHEMISTRY, 382, and Henry, p. 70.); the *decomposition of water* (CHEMISTRY, 384, or Henry, p. 78.); the effect of *alkalies and acids* in changing the colour of *blue vegetable infusions to green and red* (Henry, p. 102.); the combustion produced by mixing *nitric acid* with *essential oils*, or other combustibles (CHEMISTRY, 510, and Henry, p. 151.); the combustion produced by throwing *metallic particles* into *oxygenized muriatic acid gas* (Henry, p. 181.); the deflagration of *hyperoxygenized muriate of potash*, with *phosphorus* and other combustibles (CHEMISTRY, 962, et seq. or Henry, p. 187.); the production of *phosphorated hydrogen gas*, by throwing *phosphuret of lime* into water (Henry, p. 197.); and the decomposition of metallic solutions, so as to procure the metals in a pure or metallic state.

As these last experiments are only incidentally noticed in the article CHEMISTRY, and in Dr Henry's *Epitome*, we shall here describe two of the most curious instances of what have been called *metallic vegetations*.

The first of these which we shall notice is called *Arbor Dianæ*, the tree of Diana, or the silver tree, as it is produced by decomposing a solution of silver, so that the silver is exhibited in the metallic state, and in an arborescent form. There are two methods of producing the *arbor Dianæ*, one by Homberg, and the other by Beaumé.

According to Homberg's method, an amalgam is to be formed by rubbing a quarter of an ounce of very pure mercury, and half an ounce of fine silver reduced to leaves or filings, by triturating them together in a porphyry mortar, with an iron pestle. This amalgam is to be dissolved in four ounces of the purest nitric acid of a moderate strength, and the solution is to be diluted with about 24 ounces of distilled water. An ounce of this liquor is to be poured into a glass, and a small piece of a similar amalgam of mercury and silver, of the consistence of butter, is to be introduced. Soon after there may be seen rising from the ball of amalgam a multitude of small shining filaments, which visibly increase in number and size, and throw out branches, so as to form a kind of shrub.

Beaumé's method is as follows.—Six parts of a solution of silver in nitric acid, and four of a solution of

mercury in the same acid, both in a state of saturation, are to be mixed together, and a small quantity of distilled water to be added. This mixture is to be poured into a conical glass vessel, containing six parts of an amalgam made of seven parts of mercury and one of silver. At the end of some hours there will appear on the surface of the amalgam a metallic precipitate in the form of a vegetation.

The other experiment which we have to describe is that of producing a leaden tree, which, as it may be performed on a large scale, and at a trifling expence, is preferable to the former. The method of effecting this decomposition which we have found most effectual, is the following.

Dissolve in distilled or pure rain water a quantity of acetate of lead (sugar of lead), not sufficient to saturate it; viz. in the proportion of four scruples of the salt to the English pint of water. When the solution has become clear, pour it into a cylindrical vessel, or a glass wine decanter of considerable size, and introduce into it an irregular piece of pure bright zinc, suspended by a string, or a piece of brass wire. In the course of a few hours, the zinc will be covered with a dusky grayish mass, having the appearance of moss, and from this are gradually shot out plates or leaves of a brilliant metallic substance. These will extend themselves towards the bottom of the vessel, and will form trunks, branches, and leaves, so as to resemble a leaden tree suspended by its roots from a mossy hill. In this way we have produced a vegetation that has nearly filled a cylindrical glass-jar of a foot in height, and four or five inches in diameter.

#### SECT. V. Recreations and Contrivances relating to ELECTRICITY.

THE subject of electricity, like that of chemistry, affords ample room for scientific recreations. Of these we have given a large collection in our treatise on ELECTRICITY, and shall here only enumerate the more striking experiments.

These are, the phenomena produced by paper when excited by caoutchouc or Indian rubber (see ELECTRICITY, Part I. Chap. 3.); the experiments of the *dancing-figures, dancing-balls*, illustrating electrical attraction and repulsion; the *electrical orrery*, and *electrified cotton*, illustrating the action of points; the *electrified spider*; the *magic picture, electrical jack, self-moving wheel, spiral tube, luminous conductor, aurora borealis, electrified can and chain*, and the *thunder-house*.

#### SECT. VI. Amusements and Contrivances relating to GALVANISM.

The subject of galvanism, though so nearly allied to electricity, is capable of supplying still more extraordinary experiments, many of which are often witnessed with surprise and admiration. Many of these have been related in our treatise of Galvanism. The most striking of these are, the muscular contractions produced in dead animals, especially those of Aldini (GALVANISM, N<sup>o</sup> 35.); the combustion of charcoal (N<sup>o</sup> 42.); the deflagration of metals (N<sup>o</sup> 43.); and the decomposition of water (N<sup>o</sup> 44.). The experiments on deflagrating the metals, and on other perfect conductors, succeed best with a trough of very large plates of zinc and copper; but experiments on animal bodies, and other imperfect conductors,

Geographical Recreations. directors, are most effectual in proportion to the number of plates employed.

SECT. VII. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to GEOGRAPHY.*

22 Geographical recreations. SOME of the problems on the globes, and the use of the *analemma* engraved on Plate CCXXXV. constitute the principal recreations and contrivances relating to geography. To these we shall add only an easy method of approximating to the third problem on the terrestrial globe, (see GEOGRAPHY, N<sup>o</sup> 67.), namely, having the hour at any place given, to find what hour it is at other places on the earth.

23 Geographical horologium. Fig. 20. consists of an outer circle graduated at the edge into 96 equal parts, representing the 24 hours and their quarters, and is marked with two sets of hours from I. to XII. each; the XII. at the top of the figure representing noon, and the XII. at the bottom, midnight. The hours on the right hand are of course those of the evening, and those on the left are morning hours. About the centre of this large circle there is moveable a circular plate, having the figure of a globe in the middle, and having the circumference divided into 360 equal parts, comprehending so many degrees. The diameter marked 0, 180, represents the meridian of London. It has the names of the principal places on the earth marked at its edge. Of these London is the principal, and is engraved in capitals. Now, by means of this contrivance, if the time at any one of these places be given, we can find very nearly the time at the other places marked on the inner circle. Thus, suppose it is X. o'clock in the forenoon at London, to find the hour at the other places in the inner circle, place the word LONDON opposite X. on the left hand; then we shall find that at *Rome* it is a quarter before XI.; at *Berlin* it is about XI.; at *Stockholm* about 20 minutes after XI.; at *St Petersburg* it is noon; at *Bombay* it is nearly III. in the afternoon; at *Pekin* it is nearly VI. in the evening; at *Botany Bay* it is about VIII. in the evening; at *New Zealand* it is X. at night; at *Mexico* it is about III. in the morning; at *Philadelphia* it is V.; and at the *Leeward Islands* about VI. in the morning.

24 Gualtier's game of geography. The Abbé Gualtier has contrived a game, by which he shows how geography may be taught to young people by means of a set of toys. This method appears to be very ingenious, and is much extolled by those who are acquainted with it. As we have not been able to procure the apparatus, we cannot describe the method, according to which the game is conducted.

25 Edgeworth's portable globe. Mr Edgeworth proposes that geography should be taught to young people by means of a large globe made of silk, marked with the proper meridians and parallels, to be occasionally inflated; and that the places met with in reading should be laid down according to their proper longitudes and latitudes as they occur. See *Practical Education*, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 239.

SECT. VIII. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to GEOMETRY.*

26 Geometrical recreations. FROM among the numerous problems which have been contrived by geometers, we shall select a few of the most simple and curious.

To divide a Rectangular Gnomon into four equal and similar Gnomons. Geometrical Recreations. Fig. 21.

Suppose we have the rectangular figure A, B, C, D, E, F, fig. 21. (A); it is required to divide it into four equal and similar rectangular figures.

On examining this figure, we find that the sides AB and BC are equal, and that if the sides AF and CD were produced, they would, by meeting, complete the square, of which the gnomon is evidently a part. The figure therefore forms three-fourths of a square, and may be divided into three squares, AHEF, EHBG, and DEGC. Each of these squares may in like manner be divided into four, as represented by the dotted lines. Thus we have the whole gnomon divided into 12 equal squares, and it is easy to see how from this division we may form four figures, each constituting three-fourths of a square, and consequently similar to the original figure.

From four unequal Triangles, of which three must be Right-angled, to form a Square.

As the triangles with which this problem is usually performed, are generally made mechanically, by cutting them from a square already formed, we shall for the more easy solution, follow the same method in our first illustration. The square A, B, C, D, fig. 22. is divided into the four triangles E, F, G, H, of which E, F, and G, are evidently right-angled triangles, while H is a scalene triangle. To form a square of four unequal triangles. Fig. 22.

If these triangles were separate, it would appear very difficult to unite them, so as to form a square. This may be done, however, by reflecting that three of the angles of the square must be formed by the angles of the right-angled triangles, so that these must first be placed as in the figure, while the scalene triangle fills up the vacant space, and by its most acute angle contributes with the most acute angles of the two other large triangles, to form the remaining right angle of the square.

These triangles may be constructed geometrically, without forming them immediately out of a square. For this purpose the following proportions may be employed. Two of the right-angled triangles must have one of the sides about the right angle of the same length in both. The other side about the right angle may be in one, two-thirds of the first side in the same triangle, while in the other it may be one-half. In the third right-angled triangle, one of the sides containing the right angle must, in the present case, be one-third, and the other one-half of the larger side containing the right angle in the two former triangles. Having these three triangles formed, the hypotenuses of which are evidently determined by the length of the sides containing the right angles, we may easily construct the remaining triangle from the hypotenuses of the three triangles already formed, according to the 22d proposition of the first book of Euclid.

To illustrate this by numbers, let us suppose that the side of the square to be formed is = four inches. One of the triangles, as E, will have its longer side = four inches, its shorter = three inches, and its hypotenuse = five inches. The second triangle, as F, will have its longer

(A) We have denominated this figure a *gnomon*, because it resembles, in its outline, that part of a parallelogram which is distinguished by the name of *gnomon* in the second definition of the second book of Euclid's Elements.

Geometrical Recreations.

Geometrical Recreations.

longer side = four inches, its shorter = two inches, and its hypotenuse = square root of 20 (4.472135); and the third triangle, as G, will have its longer side = two inches, its shorter = one inch, and its hypotenuse = square root of 5 (2.236068): the sides of the remaining triangle will be respectively five inches, 4.472135 inches, and 2.236068 inches.

with Mr Edgeworth, that though there is certainly no royal road to geometry, the way may be rendered easy and pleasant by timely preparations for the journey. Without some previous knowledge of the country, or of its peculiar language, we can scarcely expect that our young traveller should advance with facility or pleasure. Young people should, from their earliest years, be accustomed to what are commonly called the regular solids, viz. the tetrahedron, or regular four-sided solid; the cube, or regular six-sided solid; the octahedron, or regular eight-sided solid; the dodecahedron, or regular 12-sided solid; and the icosaedron, or regular 20-sided solid. These may be formed of card or wood, and Mr. Don, an ingenious mathematician of Bristol, has constructed models of these and other mathematical figures, and explained them in an Essay on Mechanical Geometry. Children should also be accustomed to the figures in mathematical diagrams. To these should be added their respective names, and the whole language of the science should be rendered as familiar as possible \*.

\* See Edgeworth's Practical Education, chap xvi. 31  
Le Petit Euclid, Fig. 25.

To form a Square of five equal Squares.

Divide one side of each of four of the squares, as A, B, C, D, (fig. 23, n° 1, and 2,) into two equal parts, and from one of the angles adjacent to the opposite side draw a straight line to the point of division; then cut these four squares in the direction of that line, by which means each of them will be divided into a trapezium and a triangle, as seen fig. 23. n° 1.

Lastly, arrange these four trapeziums and these four triangles around the whole square E, as seen fig. 23. n° 2. and you will have a square evidently equal to the five squares given.

To describe an Ellipsis or Oval geometrically.

The geometrical oval is a curve with two unequal axes, and having in its greater axis two points so situated, that if lines be drawn to these two points, from each point of the circumference, the sum of these two lines will be always the same. See CONIC SECTIONS.

Let AB (fig. 24.) be the greater axis of the ellipsis to be described; and let DE, intersecting it at right angles, and dividing it into two equal parts, be the lesser axis, which is also divided into two equal parts at C; from the point D as a centre, with a radius = AC, describe an arc of a circle, cutting the greater axis in F and f; these two points are what are called the foci. Fix in each of these a pin, or if you operate on the ground, a very straight peg; then take a thread or a chord, if you mean to describe the figure on the ground, having its two ends tied together, and in length equal to the line AB, plus the distance Ff; place it round the pins or pegs Ff; then stretch it as seen at FGf, and with a pencil, or sharp-pointed instrument, make it move round from B, through D, A, and E, till it return again to B. The curve described by the pencil on paper, or on the ground, by any sharp instrument, during a whole revolution, will be the curve required.

This ellipsis is sometimes called the *gardener's oval*, because, when gardeners describe that figure, they employ this method.

An oval figure approximating to the ellipse, may be described at one sweep of the compasses, by wrapping the paper on which it is to be described round a cylindrical surface. If a circle be described upon the paper thus placed, assuming any point as a centre, it is evident that when the paper is extended on a plain surface, we shall have an oval figure, the shorter diameter of which will be in the direction of the axis of the cylinder on which the oval was described. This figure, however, is by no means an accurate oval, though it may serve very well as the border of a drawing, or for similar purposes, where great accuracy is not required.

In no science are amusing contrivances more requisite to facilitate the progress of the young pupil than in geometry. We are therefore disposed to regard, with particular attention, every attempt to illustrate and render popular the elements of this science. We may say

We have lately met with a contrivance for rendering familiar to children the terms of geometry by means of an easy trick. This contrivance is called *Le Petit Euclid*, and consists of two circular cards which are represented at fig. 25. Plate CCCCLXXII, and fig. 26. Plate CCCCLXXIII. Each of these circles is divided into eight compartments, marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and within each compartment are represented several mathematical figures or diagrams. In the centre of the card represented at fig. 25. is the word *question*, and in that at fig. 26. the word *answer*. On the latter the figures are distinguished by numbers, referring to their explanations in the following table.

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| N°                                       | N°                              |
| 1. The cone.                             | 29. The foci of an ellipse.     |
| 2. Curve line.                           | 30. Octagon.                    |
| 3. Quadrant.                             | 31. Rhomboid.                   |
| 4. A point.                              | 32. Equilateral triangle.       |
| 5. Dotted cosine.                        | 33. Pentagon.                   |
| 6. Dotted secant.                        | 34. Spindle.                    |
| 7. Cube.                                 | 35. A scalene triangle.         |
| 8. Pyramid.                              | 36. Parallelogram.              |
| 9. A perpendicular.                      | 37. Obtuse-angled triangle.     |
| 10. Acute-angled triangle.               | 38. Dotted height.              |
| 11. Decagon.                             | 39. Hyperbola.                  |
| 12. Hexagon.                             | 40. Dotted conjugate diameter.  |
| 13. Square.                              | 41. Dotted hypotenuse.          |
| 14. Right-angled triangle.               | 42. Dotted parameter.           |
| 15. Sphere.                              | 43. Rhombus.                    |
| 16. Circular segment.                    | 44. Dotted diameter.            |
| 17. An angle.                            | 45. Dotted sine.                |
| 18. Dotted length.                       | 46. An obtuse angle.            |
| 19. Parallelopipedon.                    | 47. Parabola.                   |
| 20. Dotted radius.                       | 48. Cylinder.                   |
| 21. A sector.                            | 49. External angle.             |
| 22. Heptagon.                            | 50. Dotted tangent.             |
| 23. The base.                            | 51. Straight line.              |
| 24. Dotted abscisse.                     | 52. Ellipsis.                   |
| 25. Isosceles triangle.                  | 53. Dotted diagonal.            |
| 26. Dotted line subtending an angle.     | 54. Circle.                     |
| 27. Dotted ordinate.                     | 55. Dotted transverse diameter. |
| 28. Enneagon, or regular 9-sided figure. | 56. Prism.                      |

28 To form a square of five equal squares. Fig. 23.

29 Method of describing an oval.

Fig. 24.

30 Contrivances for facilitating the study of geometry.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Geometri-<br/>cal<br/>Recrea-<br/>tions.</p> | <p>N<sup>o</sup><br/>57. Dotted versed sine.<br/>58. Alternate angles.<br/>59. A femicircle.<br/>60. Dotted chord.<br/>61. A right angle.</p> | <p>N<sup>o</sup><br/>62. A spherical frustum.<br/>63. Vertical or oppositely an-<br/>gles.<br/>64. An acute angle.</p> |
|---|---|--|

seq. we have described and explained the clepsydra with its varieties. The following amusing experiments are derived from Ozanam and Montucla.

To construct a vessel which, when filled to a certain height with any liquor, shall retain the liquor, but shall suffer the whole to escape when filled with the same fluid ever so little above that height.

To form a trick with these cards, the teacher is to hold the question card, and the pupil the answer card. The teacher is to think of a figure in any one of his compartments, and to mention to the pupil both the number of the compartment in the question, and that in the answer card, on which the figure is found. The pupil is then to begin with the first or outmost diagram on the left hand of the compartment in his own card, where the figure thought on is said to be contained, and to count from this down the left-hand row towards the centre, and thence, if necessary, from the outmost diagram on the right hand of the same compartment towards the centre, till his counting reaches the number of the compartment in the question card, where the figure was at first found.

For example, let us suppose that the teacher thinks on a figure in the compartment of his card marked 2, and that he finds the same figure in the compartment of the answer card which is marked 6. The learner beginning to count from the first figure on the left hand in his sixth compartment, viz. that marked 48, comes immediately to the figure marked 30, which is that thought of by the teacher, and proves to be an octagon. Again, if the figure thought on be found in the sixth compartment of the question card, and in the fifth of the answer card, the learner beginning with the figure marked 15, and passing successively to 22, 24, 57, and 49, comes for his sixth place to 36, the figure thought of, which is a parallelogram.

The design of this contrivance is ingenious, but its execution, at least in the copy which we have seen, is extremely faulty. Many of the terms are misprinted, some of them inaccurate, and the explanation scarcely intelligible. We have endeavoured to rectify these defects, and trust we have succeeded.

SECT. IX. Recreations and Contrivances relating to HYDRODYNAMICS.

<sup>32</sup>  
Hydrostatic  
recreations.

IN our treatise on HYDRODYNAMICS, under which head we have included HYDROSTATICS and HYDRAULICS, we have described several entertaining experiments and useful contrivances, and explained them according to hydrostatical principles. Thus, at N<sup>o</sup> 49 and 50, we have explained the *hydrostatic paradox*, showing that the pressure on the bottoms of vessels filled with fluids does not depend on the quantity of fluid which they contain, but on its altitude; at N<sup>o</sup> 51, we have illustrated the upward pressure of fluids by the *hydrostatic bellows*; at N<sup>o</sup> 54 and 55, we have explained and illustrated the use of the syphon; at N<sup>o</sup> 112 and 113, we have shown how capillary attraction and the attraction of cohesion may be illustrated by experiment; in Chap. III. of Part III. we have described the various machines employed for raising water, such as pumps, fire engines, Archimedes's screw, the Persian wheel, &c. and explained their action; at N<sup>o</sup> 355, we have described Bramah's hydrostatic press, and at N<sup>o</sup> 356, et

Let there be a metallic vessel, as ABCD, fig. 27. divided into two parts by a partition Ff, having in the middle a small round hole, as at M, to receive a tube MS, about two lines in diameter, so that the lower orifice M may descend a little below the partition. This tube is open at both ends, but is to be covered with another a little larger, closed at the top, and having on one side, at the bottom, an aperture, so that when water is poured into the vessel, it may force its way between the two tubes, and rise to the upper orifice S, of the inner tube. This mechanism must be concealed by a small figure of a man in the attitude of stooping to drink, which we may call *Tantalus*. This figure must have its lips a little above the orifice S.

If water be poured into this vessel, so long as it does not ascend above the orifice S, it will be retained; but as soon as it gets above this orifice, so as to touch the lips of Tantalus, it will begin to run off, the tubes acting in the manner of a syphon, and carrying off the whole of the water into the lower cavity, which ought to have in its side, near the partition, a small aperture for allowing the air which it contains to escape, while the water supplies its place.

This machine may be rendered still more amusing by constructing the small figure of Tantalus in such a manner, that when the water has attained its utmost height, it shall cause the head of the figure to move, so that its lips may approach the fluid, thus representing the gestures of Tantalus endeavouring to catch the water to quench his thirst.

To construct a vessel which, while standing upright, retains the liquor poured into it; but if inclined, as for the purpose of drinking, immediately suffers it to escape.

Let a hole be pierced in the bottom or side of the vessel to which you are desirous of giving this property, and insert in it the longer branch of a syphon, the other extremity of which must reach nearly to the bottom, as seen fig. 28; then fill the vessel with any liquor as far as the lower side of the bent part of the syphon; it is evident that when inclined, and applied to the mouth, this movement will cause the surface of the water to rise above the bending, and from the nature of the syphon the liquor will begin to flow off; and if the vessel is not restored to its former position, will continue doing so till it becomes empty.

This artifice might be concealed by means of a double cup, as appears at fig. 29.; for the syphon abc, placed between the two sides, will produce the same effect. If the vessel be properly presented to the person whom you are desirous of deceiving, that is to say, in such a manner as to make him apply his lips to the side b, the summit of the syphon, the inclination of the liquor will cause it to rise above that summit, and it will immediately escape at c. Those persons, however, who are acquainted with the artifice will apply their lips to the other side, and not meet with the same disappointment.

Method

<sup>33</sup>  
Tantalus's  
cup.

Fig. 27.

Fig. 28.

Fig. 29.

Hydrostatic  
Recrea-  
tions.

33  
Fig. 30.

*Method of constructing an hydraulic machine, in which a bird appears to drink up all the water that spouts up through a pipe, and falls into a basin.*

Let A B D C, fig. 30, be a vessel, divided into two parts by a horizontal partition E F; and let the upper cavity be divided into two parts also by a vertical partition G H. A communication is formed between the upper cavity B F, and the lower one E C, by a tube L M, which proceeds from the lower partition, and descends almost to the bottom D C. A similar communication is formed between the lower cavity E C, and the upper one A G, by the tube I K, which, rising from the horizontal partition E F, proceeds nearly to the top A B. A third tube, terminating at the upper extremity in a very small aperture, descends nearly to the partition E F, and passes through the centre of a basin R S, intended to receive the water which issues from it. Near the edge of this basin is a bird with its bill immersed in it; and through the body of the bird passes a bent syphon Q P, the aperture of which, P, is much lower than the aperture Q. Such is the construction of this machine, the use of which is as follows.

Fill the two upper cavities with water through two holes, made for the purpose in the sides of the vessel, and which must be afterwards shut. It may be easily seen that the water in the cavity A G ought not to rise above the orifice K of the pipe K I. If the cock adapted to the pipe L M be then opened, the water of the upper cavity H F will flow into the lower cavity, where it will compress the air, and make it pass through the pipe K I into the cavity A G; in this cavity it will compress the air which is above it, and the air pressing upon it, will force it to spout up through the pipe N O, from whence it will fall down into the basin.

But at the same time that the water flows from the cavity B G, into the lower one, the air will become rarefied in the upper part of that cavity; hence, as the weight of the atmosphere will act on the water, already poured into the basin through the orifice O of the ascending pipe N O, the water will flow through the bent pipe Q S P, into the same cavity B G; and this motion, when once established, will continue as long as there is any water in the cavity A G.

SECT. X. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to MAGNETISM.*

34  
Magnetic  
recreations.

THE attracting and repelling power of the opposite poles of a magnet, have furnished the writers on scientific recreations with a great variety of entertaining experiments. In our treatise on MAGNETISM, we have selected a few of these, viz. the communicating piece of money (MAGNETISM, N<sup>o</sup> 39); the magnetic table (N<sup>o</sup> 40); the mysterious watch (N<sup>o</sup> 41); the magnetic dial (N<sup>o</sup> 42); and the divining circles (N<sup>o</sup> 43). We shall here describe a few other interesting experiments, and refer such of our readers as wish for a greater variety of these amusements, to the original work of Ozanam already mentioned in N<sup>o</sup> 3, or the *Rational Recreations* of Dr Hooper, and to the 51st part of the *Encyclopédie Methodique*, containing *Amusemens des Sciences*, with the plates on *Amusemens de Physique*, in the 42d part of the same work.

*The dextrous Painter.*

35  
The dex-  
trous painter.

Fig. 31.

Provide two small boxes, as M and N (fig. 31.) four

inches wide, and four inches and a half long. Let the box M be half an inch deep, and N two thirds of an inch. They must both open with hinges, and shut with a clasp. Have four small pieces of light wood (figs. 32, 33, 34, 35.) of the same size with the inside of the box M, (fig. 31.) and about one third of an inch thick.

Magnetic  
Recrea-  
tions.

In each of these let there be a groove, as, A B, E F, C D, G H; these grooves must be in the middle, and parallel to two of the sides. In each of these grooves place a strong artificial magnet, as fig. 36. The poles of these magnets must be properly disposed with regard to the figures that are to be painted on the boards; as is expressed in the plate. Cover the bars with paper to prevent their being seen; but take care, in pasting it on, not to wet the bars, as they will be rusted, and thus their virtue will be considerably impaired. When you have painted such subjects as you choose, you may cover them with a very thin clear glass. At the centre of the box N, place a pivot, (fig. 37.) on which a small circle of pasteboard O P Q R (fig. 38.) is to turn quite free. Under this must be a touched needle S. Divide this circle into four parts, which are to be disposed with regard to the poles of the needle, as is expressed in the figure. In these four divisions paint the same subjects as are on the four boards, but reduced to a smaller compass. Cover the inside of the top of this box with a paper, M, (see fig. 31.) in which must be an opening D, at about half an inch from the centre of the box, that you may perceive successively, the four small pictures on the pasteboard circle just mentioned. This opening is to serve as the cloth on which the little painter is supposed to draw one of the pictures. Cover the top of the box with a thin glass. Then give the first box to any person, and tell him to place any one of the four pictures in it privately, and when he has closed it, to give it to you, then place the other box over it, when the moveable circle, with the needle, will turn till it comes in the same position with the bar in the first box. It will then appear that the little dextrous painter has already copied the picture that is enclosed in the first box.

*The Cylindric Oracle.*

Provide a hollow cylinder about six inches high, and three wide, as A B (fig. 39.) Its cover C D must be made to fix on in any position. On one side of this box or cylinder, let there be a groove, nearly of the same length with that side; in which place a small steel bar (fig. 40.) that is strongly impregnated, with the north pole next to the bottom of the cylinder. On the upper side of the cylinder describe a circle, and divide it into ten equal parts, in which are to be written the numbers from 1 to 10, as is expressed in fig. 41. Place a pivot at the centre of this circle, and have ready a magnetic needle. Then provide a bag in which there are several divisions. In each of these divisions put a number of papers, on which the same or similar questions are to be written. In the cylinder put several different answers to each question, and seal them up in the manner of small letters. On each of these letters or answers is to be written one of the numbers of the dial or circle at the top of the box. You are supposed to know the number of answers to each question. Then offer one of the divisions of the bag, (observing which division it is) to any person, and desire him to draw one of

36  
Cylindric  
oracle.  
Fig. 39.

Magnetic  
Recrea-  
tions.

of the papers. Next put the top on the cylinder, with that number which is written on the answer directly over the bar. Then desire the person who drew the question to observe the number at which the needle stands, and to search in the box for a paper of the same number, which he will find to contain the answer.—The experiment may be repeated by offering another division of the bag to the same, or another person; and placing the number that corresponds to the answer over the magnetic bar, proceeding as before.

It is easy to conceive several answers to the same question. For example, suppose the question to be, *Is it proper for me to marry?*

Anf. 1. While you are young, not yet; when you are old, not at all.

2. Marry in haste, and repent at leisure.

3. No, if you are apt to be out of humour with yourself; for then you will have two persons to quarrel with.

4. Yes, if you are sure to get a good husband (or wife), for that is the greatest blessing of life. But take care you are sure.

5. No, if the person you would marry is an angel; unless you would be content to live with the devil.

37  
The en-  
chanted  
ewer.  
Fig. 42.

Fig. 43.

Fix a common ewer, as A (fig. 42.) of about 12 inches high, upon a square stand B C; on one side of which there must be a drawer D, of about four inches square, and half an inch deep. In the ewer place a hollow tin cone inverted, as A B (fig. 43.) of about four inches and a half diameter at top, and two inches at bottom; and at the bottom of the ewer there must likewise be a hole of two inches diameter.

Upon the stand, at about an inch distance from the bottom of the ewer, and directly under the hole, place a small convex mirror H, of such convexity that a person's visage, when viewed in it at about 15 inches distance, may not appear above  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long.

Fig. 44.

Upon the stand likewise at the point I, place a pivot of half an inch high, on which must be fixed a touched needle R Q, inclosed in a circle of very thin pasteboard O S (fig. 44.) of five inches diameter. Divide this pasteboard into four parts, in each of which draw a small circle; and in three of these circles paint a head, as x, y, z, the dress of each of which is to be different; one, for example, having a turban, another a wig, and the other a woman's cap. Let that part which contains the face in each picture be cut out, and let the fourth circle be entirely cut out, as it is expressed in the figure. You must observe, that the poles of the needle are to be disposed in the same manner as in the figures.

Next provide four small frames of wood or pasteboard, N<sup>o</sup> 1, 2, 3, 4, each of the same size with the inside of the drawer. On these frames must be painted the same figures as on the circular pasteboard, with this difference, that there must be no part of them cut out. Behind each of these pictures place a magnetic bar, in the same direction as is expressed in the figures; and cover them over with paper, that they may not be visible. Matters being thus prepared, first place in the drawer the frame N<sup>o</sup> 4, on which there is nothing painted. Then pour a small quantity of water into the ewer, and desire the company to look into it, asking them if they see their own figures as they are. Then take out the frame N<sup>o</sup> 4, and give the three others to any one, desiring him to choose in which of those dresses he would appear. Then put the frame with the

dress he has chosen in the drawer, and a moment after, the person looking into the ewer will see his own face surrounded with the dress of that picture. For, the pasteboard circle (divided, as above described, into four parts, in three of which are painted the same figures as on three of the boards, and the fourth left blank) containing a magnetic needle, and the four boards having each a concealed magnet; therefore when one of them is put in the drawer under the ewer, the circle will correspond to the position of that magnet, and consequently the person looking into the top of the ewer will see his own face surrounded with the head dress of the figure in the drawer. This experiment, well performed, is highly entertaining. As the pasteboard circle can contain only three heads, you may have several such circles, but must then have several other frames: and the ewer must be made to take off from the stand.

Provide a wooden box, about 13 inches long and 7 inches wide, as ABCD (fig. 45.). The cover of this box should be as thin as possible. Have six small boxes or tablets, about an inch deep, all of the same size and form, as E, F, G, H, I, K, that they may indiscriminately go into similar holes made in the bottom of the large box. In each of these tablets is to be placed a small magnetic bar, with its poles disposed as expressed in the figure. Cover each of these tablets with a thin plate of one of the six following metals, viz. gold, silver, copper, iron, pewter, and lead. Have also a magnetic perspective, at the end of which are to be two circles, one divided into six equal parts, and the other into four (as in fig. 46.), from the centre of which there must be drawn an index N, whose point is to be placed to the north. Therefore, when you are on the side CD of the box, and hold the perspective over any one of the tablets that are placed on the holes E, F, G, so that the index drawn on the circle is perpendicular to the side AB, the needle in the perspective will have its south pole directed to the letter that denotes the metal contained in that tablet. When you hold the perspective over one of the boxes placed in the holes H, I, K, so that the index drawn on the circle is perpendicular to the side CD, the south pole of the needle will, in like manner, express the name of the metal inclosed. If the under side of any of the tablets be turned upwards, the needle will be slower in its motion, on account of the greater distance of the bar. The gold and silver will still have the same direction; but the four other metals will be expressed by the letters on the interior circle. If any one of the metals be taken away, the needle will not then take any of the above directions, but naturally point to the north; and its motion will be much slower. Therefore, give the box to any one, and leave him at liberty to dispose all the tablets in what manner and with what side upwards he pleases, and even to take any of them away. Then, by the aid of the perspective, you may tell him immediately the name of the metal on each tablet, and of that which he has taken away.

Construct a round box, ILNM (fig. 47.), of eight or nine inches diameter, and half an inch deep. On its bottom fix a circle of pasteboard, on which draw the central circle A, and the seven surrounding circles B, C, D, E, F, G, H. Divide the central circle into seven equal parts by the lines AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, which must pass through the centres of the other

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Recrea-  
tions.

38  
The box of  
metals.  
Fig. 45.

39  
The mag-  
netic pla-  
retarium.  
Fig. 47.

Magnetic  
Recrea-  
tions

Magnetic  
Recrea-  
tions.

Fig. 48.

40  
The faga-  
cious swan,  
Fig. 49.

other circles, and divide each of them into two equal parts. Then divide the circumference of each of these circles into 14 equal parts, as in the figure. Have also another pasteboard of the same figure, and divided in the same manner, which must turn freely in the box by means of an axis placed on a pivot; one end of which is to be in the centre of the circle A (see fig. 48.). On each of the seven smaller circles at the bottom of the box, place a magnetic bar, two inches long, in the same direction with the diameters of those circles, and their poles in the situation expressed in the figure. There must be an index O (fig. 48.), like that of the hour hand of a dial, which is to be fixed on the axis of the central circle, and by which the pasteboard circle in the box may be turned about. There must also be a needle P, which must turn freely on the axis, without moving the circular pasteboard. In each of the seven divisions of the central circle write a different question; and in another circle, divided into 12 parts, write the names of the 12 months. In each of the seven circles write two answers to each question, observing that there must be but seven words in each answer, in the following manner. In the first division of the circle G (fig. 47.), which is opposite to the first question, write the first word of the first answer. In the second division of the next circle, write the second word, and so on to the last word, which will be in the seventh division of the seventh circle.

In the eighth division of the first circle, write the first word of the second answer; in the ninth division of the second circle, write the second word of the same answer, and so on to the 14th division of the seventh circle, which must contain the last word of that answer. The same must be done with all the seven questions, and to each of them must be assigned two answers, the words of which must be dispersed through the seven circles. At the centre of each of these circles place a pivot, and have two magnetized needles, the pointed end of one of which must be north, and the other south, QR (fig. 48.). Now, the index of the central circle being directed to any one of the questions, if you place one of the two magnetic needles on each of the seven lesser circles, they will fix themselves according to the direction of the bars on the correspondent circles at the bottom of the box, and consequently point to the seven words which compose the answer. If you place one of the other needles on each circle, it will point to the words that are diametrically opposite to those of the first answer; the north pole being in the place of the south pole of the other. Therefore, present this planetarium to any person, and desire him to choose one of the questions there written; and then set the index of the central circle to that question, putting one of the needles on each of the seven circles, turn it about; and when they all settle, they will point to the seven words that compose the answer. The two answers may be one favourable and the other unfavourable, and the different needles will serve to diversify the answers when the experiment is repeated.

There may be also a moveable needle to place against the names of the months; and when the party has fixed upon a question, place that needle against the month in which he was born, which will give the business a more mysterious air. On the centre of the large circle may be the figure of the sun; and on each of the seven smal-

ler circles one of the characters of the principal planets. This experiment, well executed, is one of the most entertaining produced by magnetism.

Provide a box XY (fig. 49.), 18 inches long, nine wide, and two deep, the top of which is to slide off and on at the end Y. Towards the end X, describe a circle of six inches diameter, around which are to be fixed six small vases of wood or ivory, of an inch and a half high, and to each of them there must be a cover. At the end Y place an egg B, of ivory or some such material, about three inches and a half high, with a cover that shuts by a hinge, and fastens with a spring. It must be fixed on the stand C, through which, as well as the bottom of the egg, and the part of the box directly underneath, there is a hole of one-third of an inch diameter. In this cavity place an ivory cylinder F, that can move freely, and which rises or falls by means of the spring R. You must have a thin copper basin A, of six inches diameter, which is to be placed on the centre of the circle next X, and consequently in the middle of the six vases. Let a proper workman construct the movement expressed by fig. 50. which is composed of a quadrant G, that has 16 teeth, and is moveable about an axis in the stand H, that has an elbow, by which it is screwed to the bottom of the box at L. To the quadrant there must be joined the straight piece K. The horizontal wheel M has 24 teeth, and is supported by the piece S, which is screwed to the end of the box next Y. On the axis of this wheel place a brass rod OP, five inches long; and at the part O place a large bar or horse shoe, of a semicircular form, and about two inches and a half diameter, strongly impregnated. The steel rod V, takes at one end the teeth of the quadrant G, by the pinion F, and at the other end the wheel M, by the perpendicular wheel N, of 30 teeth; the two ends of this rod are supported by the two stands that hold the other pieces. Under the piece K, that joins to the quadrant, must be placed the spring R, by which it is raised, and pushes up the cylinder that goes through the stand C into the egg. You must also have six small cases as Y, Y, Y, Y, Y, Y. These must be of the same circumference with the cylinder in the stand, and round at their extremities; their length must be different, that when they are placed in the egg, and the lower end enters the hole in which is the cylinder, they may thrust it down more or less, when the top of the egg against which they press, is fastened down; and thereby lower the bar that is fixed to the end of the quadrant, and consequently by means of the pinion Z and wheels NM turn the horse shoe that is placed upon the axis of the last wheel. The exact length of these cases can be determined by trials only; but these trials may be made with round pieces of wood. In each of these cases place a different question, written on a slip of paper and rolled up, and in each of the vases put the answer to one of the questions; as you will know, by trials, where the magnetic bar or horse shoe will stop. Lastly, Provide a small figure of a swan, of cork or enamel, in which fix a touched needle, of the largest size of those commonly used in sewing.

Being thus prepared, offer a person the six cases, and desire him to choose any one of them, and conceal the rest, or give them to different persons. He is then to open his case, read the question to himself, and return the case, after replacing the question. You then put the

the case in the egg, and placing the swan in the basin on the water, you tell the company she will soon discover in which of the vases the answer is contained. The same experiment may be repeated with all the cases.

SECT. XI. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to MECHANICS.*

IN the article MECHANICS, we have described some of the lighter experiments by which the principles of that science are illustrated, and have explained the construction and action of several ingenious and useful machines. In particular, we have described the windmill at N<sup>o</sup> 428.; several carriages that are capable of moving without horses, at Nos. 455, 456, 457, and 458.; a carriage that cannot be overturned, at N<sup>o</sup> 459.; Atwood's machine for illustrating the doctrines of accelerated and retarded motion, at N<sup>o</sup> 460.; a machine for illustrating the theory of the wedge, at 467.; a machine for illustrating the effects of the centrifugal force in flattening the poles of the earth, at 468.; a machine for trying the strength of materials, at 469.; a machine in which all the mechanical powers are united, 470.; Fiddler's balance at 471.; an improvement in the balance, 472.; a machine for shewing the composition of forces, at 473.; Smeaton's machine for experiments on windmill sails, at 474.; Smeaton's machine for experiments on rotatory motion, at 475.; Prony's condenser of forces, at 476.; a portable stone crane for loading and unloading carts, with several other cranes, at 477, 478, 479, 480, and 482; Bramah's jib for cranes, at 481.; the common worm-jack, at 483.; a portable loading and unloading machine at 484.; Vauloué's pile engine at 485. and Bunce's pile engine at 486. We have also, in the articles ANDROIDES and AUTOMATON, described several ingenious contrivances for producing various animal motions by means of machinery, or what is commonly called clock-work, especially M. Vaucanson's flute-player, and M. Kempell's chess-player.

In the present article we shall first present our readers with a few mechanical contrivances that may properly be called amusing; shall give the substance of an ingenious paper on the philosophical uses of a common watch; and shall conclude the section with an account of Edgeworth's *Panorganon*, or universal machine for illustrating the effect of the mechanical powers.

*To support a pail of water by a stick, only one half of which, or less, rests on the edge of a table.*

Let AB (fig. 51.) be the top of the table, and CD the stick that is to support the bucket. Convey the handle of the bucket over this stick, in such a manner, that it may rest on it in an inclined position, as IH, and let the middle of the bucket be a little within the edge of the table. That the whole apparatus may be fixed in this situation, place another stick as GFE, with one end, G, resting against the side of the bucket at the bottom, while its middle F, rests against the opposite edge of the bucket at the top, and its other extremity E, rests against the first stick CD, in which a notch should be cut to retain it. By these means the bucket will remain fixed in that situation, without inclining to either side; and if not already full of water, it may be filled

with safety, for its centre of gravity being in the vertical line passing through the point H, which meets with the table, it is evident that the pail is in the same circumstances as if it were suspended from that point of the table where the vertical line would meet the edge. It is also evident that the stick cannot slide along the table, nor move on its edge, without raising the centre of gravity of the bucket, and of the water which it contains. The heavier it is, therefore, the more stable will be its position.

According to this principle, various other tricks of the same kind, which are generally proposed in books on mechanics, may be performed. For example, provide a bent hook DGF, as seen at the opposite end of the same figure, and insert the part, FD, in the pipe of a key at D, which must be placed on the edge of a table; from the lower part of the hook suspend a weight G, and dispose the whole in such a manner that the vertical line GD may be a little within the edge of the table. When this arrangement has been made, the weight will not fall; and the case will be the same with the key, which, had it been placed alone in that situation, would perhaps have fallen; and this resolves the following mechanical problem, proposed in the form of a paradox: *A body having a tendency to fall by its own weight, how to prevent it from falling, by adding to it a weight on the same side on which it tends to fall.*

*To construct a figure which, without any counterpoise, shall always raise itself upright, and preserve or regain that position, however it may be disturbed.*

Let a figure, resembling a man, ape, &c. be formed of some very light substance, such as the pith of elder, which is soft, and can easily be cut into any required figure. Then provide a hemispherical base of some very heavy substance, such as lead. The half of a leaden bullet made very smooth on the convex part will be very proper for this purpose. If now the figure be cemented to the plain part of this hemisphere; in whatever position it may be placed it will rise upright as soon as it is left to itself; for the centre of gravity of its hemispherical base being in the axis, tends to approach the horizontal plain as much as possible. This it cannot attain till the axis becomes perpendicular to the horizon; but as the small figure, on account of the disproportion between its weight and that of the base, scarcely deranges the latter from its place, the natural perpendicularity of the axis is easily regained in all positions.

According to this principle were constructed the small figures called Prussians, which some years ago constituted one of the amusements of young people. They were formed into battalions, and being made to fall down by drawing a rod over them, immediately started up again as soon as it was removed. On the same principle screens have been constructed, so as to rise of themselves when they happen to be thrown down.

*To make a body ascend along an inclined plane in consequence of its own gravity.*

Let a body be constructed of wood, ivory, or some such material, consisting of two equal right cones united



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tions.

Fig. 52.

by their bases, as EF (fig. 52.); and let two straight, flat, smooth rulers, as AB, CD, be so placed as to join in an angle at the extremities A, C, and diverge towards B, D, where they must be a little elevated, so that their edges may form a gently inclined plane. If now the double cone be placed on the inclining edges, pretty near the angle, it will roll towards the elevated ends of the rulers, and thus appear to ascend; for the parts of the cone that rest on the rulers growing smaller as they go over a larger opening, and thus letting down the larger part of the body, the centre of gravity descends, though the whole body seems to rise along the inclined plane.

To insure the success of this experiment, care must be taken that the height of the elevated ends of the rulers be less than the radius of the circle forming the base of the cones.

44 *Explanation of the upright Position preserved by a Top or Tee-totum while it is revolving.*

This is explained on the principle of centrifugal force, which teaches us that a body cannot move in a circular direction without making an effort to fly off from the centre; so if it be confined by a string made fast in that centre, it will stretch the string in proportion as the circular motion is more rapid. See DYNAMICS. It is this centrifugal force of the parts of the top or tee-totum that preserves it in an upright position. The instrument being in motion, all its parts tend to fly off from the axis, and that with greater force the more rapid the revolution. Hence it follows, that these parts are like so many powers acting in a direction perpendicular to the axis. As, however, they are all equal, and pass rapidly round by the rotation, the instrument must be in *equilibrium* on its point of support, or the extremity of the axis on which it turns. The motion is gradually impeded by the friction of the axis against the surface on which it moves; and we find that the instrument revolves for a longer time, in proportion as this friction is avoided by rendering very smooth the surfaces of the axis, and the plane on which it moves.

45  
Philosophical  
uses of  
a common  
watch.

There are many observations and experiments in different departments of science, the accuracy of which depends greatly, and in some cases entirely, on the accurate measurement of minute portions of time; such, for instance, as the determination of the velocity of sound, the nature of the descent of falling bodies, the measure of the sun's diameter, the distance of two contiguous, or at least apparently contiguous, heavenly bodies taken at their passage over the meridian, and the distance of places from the difference of the velocity of light and sound. A pendulum for swinging seconds has usually been employed for these and similar purposes, and in an observatory is found to be very convenient; but a watch, by being more portable, is calculated to be more general in its application, and will measure smaller portions of time than any other instrument that has been invented. Besides, it possesses this peculiar advantage, that in all situations its beats may be counted by the ear, at the same time that the object of observation is viewed by the eye, so that no loss is incurred, as must inevitably happen, when the eye is used to view both the object and pendulum in succession, should this latter be ever so quick. But it will be objected here, that few

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watches measure time accurately, and that, from the different constructions of watches, the times corresponding to their beats vary in a very considerable degree. We allow these objections to be true, and conceive that to them the reason may be attributed, why the beat of a watch is not generally applied as the measure of the lowest denomination of subdivisions of time. We shall therefore endeavour to obviate these objections, by shewing how any tolerably good watch, whatever be its construction, may be applied with advantage to many philosophical purposes.

We must, in the first place, consider, that the portions of time which we propose to measure by a watch are small, and those to be counted not by a second-hand, as is the custom with medical men, but altogether by the beats; in which case, if the watch be not liable to lose or gain time considerably in a day, the error in the rate of going will be extremely minute in the time corresponding to any number of beats that the memory can retain, or that the purposes to which we propose the application to be made will require; and even if the error in the rate of going be considerable, so as to amount to several minutes in a day, as it is uniform, it may easily be allowed for by a correction. Thus, if the error were five minutes per day, the allowance would be upwards of  $\frac{1}{360}$  part. Hence the first objection, which relates to the error occasioned by the rate of going of any watch, will constitute no real obstacle to its application in the ascertaining of small portions of time, provided a sudden change of temperature be avoided at the time of using it; for it will be necessary that the rate of going be estimated when the temperature is the same, as when the watch is used for philosophical purposes; so that if it is usually worn in the pocket, it may be held in the hand to the ear, but if it be hanging in a room or in the open air where the rate of going is ascertained, it must be hung near the ear, under similar circumstances, where any observation is intended to be made by it.

As to the other objection, which applies to the variation in the lengths of the beats of two different watches, owing to the difference of their constructions, though they indicate hours and minutes alike, it may be very readily removed. All common watches have the same number of wheels and pinions, which are known by the same names, and placed, no matter how variously, so as to act together without interruption; but all watches have not their corresponding wheels and pinions divided into the same number of teeth and spaces; and from this circumstance the beats of different watches differ from each other. As the rate of going of a watch is regulated by the lengthening or shortening of a spring, without any regard being had to the numbers which compose the teeth of the wheels and pinions, a great latitude is allowable in the calculation of those numbers; of which the different makers avail themselves according as the numbers on the engines they use for cutting the teeth require; but whatever the numbers may be of which the wheel-work consists, if we divide double the product of all the wheels, from the centre wheel to the crown wheel inclusively, by the product of all the pinions with which they act, the quotient will invariably be the number of beats of the watch in question in one hour; and again, if we divide this quotient by 3600, the number of seconds in an hour, this latter quotient

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will be the number of beats in every second, which may be carried to any number of places in decimals, and be copied upon the watch-paper for inspection whenever it may be wanted.

When any particular watch is cleaned, the workman may be directed to count, and return in writing, the numbers of the centre wheel, the third wheel, the contrate wheel, and the crown (balance) wheel, and also of the three pinions which they actuate, respectively, from which the calculation of the length of a beat is easily made by the rule just given, and when once made, will apply in all instances where that individual watch is used. It may be remarked here, that no notice is taken of the wheels and pinions which constitute the dial work, or of the great wheel and pinion with which it acts; the use of the former of these is only to make the hour and minute hands revolve in their respective times, and may or may not be the same in all watches; and the use of the latter, the great wheel and its pinion, is to determine, in conjunction with the number of spirals on the fusee, the number of hours that the watch shall continue to go, at one winding up of the chain round the barrel of the mainspring. All these wheels and pinions, therefore, it will be perceived, are unnecessary to be taken into the account in calculating the beats per hour. The reason why double the product of the wheels specified is taken in the calculation is, that one tooth of the crown wheel completely escapes the palats at every two beats or vibrations of the balance.

A few examples of the numbers exhibited in the wheels of some common watches will render the general rule which we have laid down more intelligible. We shall take four examples, the first expressing the numbers of a common watch, as given by Mr Emerson. In this watch the centre wheel contained 54 teeth, its pinion 6 teeth; the third wheel 48 teeth, its pinion 6; the contrate wheel 48 teeth, and its pinion 6; the crown wheel 15 teeth, besides 2 palats. Now, we have  $54 \times 48 \times 48 \times 15 \times 2 = 3732480$  for double the product of the specified wheels, and  $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$  for the product of the specified pinions; also  $\frac{3732480}{216} = 17280$  are the number of beats in an hour: accordingly Mr Emerson says that this watch makes about 4.75 beats in a second. The number of spirals on the fusee is 7; therefore,  $7 \times \frac{48}{12} = 28$ , the number of hours that the watch will go at one winding up: likewise the dial work  $\frac{40}{10} \times \frac{36}{12} = \frac{1440}{120} = 12$  shews that whilst the first driving pinion of 10 goes 12 times round, the last wheel of 36 goes only once; whence the angular velocity of two hands carried by their hollow axles are to each other as 12 to 1.

In a second example the numbers in the calculation of beats per second will be as follows,  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 13 \times 2 = 5616000 =$  double the product of the wheels, and  $8 \times 8 \times 6 = 384$ , the product of the pinions; then  $\frac{5616000}{384} = 14625 =$  the number of beats in an hour, and  $\frac{14625}{3600} = 4.0625$ , the number of beats per second.

In a third watch the numbers require the following calculation  $54 \times 52 \times 52 \times 13 \times 2 = 3796416$ , for dou-

ble the product of the wheels, and  $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$ , the product of the pinions: therefore  $\frac{3796416}{216} = 17576$ ,

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tions.

the beats in an hour, and  $\frac{17576}{3600} = 4.882$ , beats per second.

In a fourth,  $56 \times 51 \times 50 \times 13 \times 2 = 3712800$ , double the product of the wheels, and  $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$ , the product of the pinions, consequently  $\frac{3712800}{216}$  gives 17188 beats in an hour, which, divided by 3600, gives 4.7746 for the beats per second.

It remains now to adduce an example or two of the mode of applying the beats of a watch to philosophical purposes.

For one example let us suppose with Dr Herschel, that the annual parallax of the fixed stars may be ascertained by observing how the angle between two stars, very near to each other, varies in opposite parts of the year. For the purpose of determining an angle of this kind, where an accurate micrometer is wanting, let a telescope that has cross wires be directed to the stars when passing the meridian, in such a manner that the upright wire may be perpendicular to the horizon, and let it remain unmoved as soon as the former of the two stars is just coming into the field of view; then fixing the eye to the telescope and the watch to the ear, repeat the word *one* along with every beat of the watch before the star is arrived at the perpendicular hair, until it is in conjunction with it, from which beat go on *two, three, four, &c.* putting down a finger of either hand at every twenty till the second star is seen in the same situation that the leading one occupied at the commencement of the counting; then, these beats divided by the beats per second, marked on the watch-paper, will give the exact number of uncorrected seconds, by which the following star passes later over the meridian than the leading one. When these seconds and parts of a second are ascertained, we have the following analogy for determining the angle, which includes also the correction, namely,—as  $23^{\text{h}} 56' 4'' 098$  (the length of a sidereal rotation of the earth), plus or minus the daily error in the rate of going, are to  $360^{\circ}$ ; so is the number of observed seconds of time, to the quantity of the horizontal angle required. The watch is here supposed to be regulated to shew solar time; but if it should be regulated exactly for sidereal time, instead of  $23^{\text{h}} 56' 4'' 098$ , we must use exactly 24 hours in the analogy.

As a second instance, let it be required to ascertain the distance of the nearer of two electrified clouds from an observer when there are successive peals of thunder to be heard: a little time before the expected repetition of a flash of lightning place the watch at the ear, and commence the numbering of the beats at the instant the flash is seen, as before directed, and take care to cease with the beginning of the report. Then the beats converted into seconds, with the proportional part of the daily error added or subtracted, will give the difference of time taken up by the motion of the light and sound. If, lastly, we suppose light to be instantaneous at small distances, the distance of the nearer cloud will be had by multiplying the distance that sound is known to pass through in a second by the number of observed seconds obtained from the beats that were counted.

Many

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Recreations.

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Many more instances might be pointed out, in which the beats of a good watch would be extremely serviceable in the practical branches of philosophy; but the occurrence of such instances will always point out the propriety of the application, when it is once known and practised.

We shall therefore mention only one further advantage which seems peculiar to this mode of counting a limited number of seconds by a watch, namely, that it is free from any error which might arise from the graduations of a dial-plate, or unequal divisions in the teeth of wheels and pinions, where the seconds are counted by a hand.

In order to introduce this method of measuring small portions of time accurately, it is desirable that a watch be constructed so as to make an exact number of beats per second without a fraction, for then the reduction of beats into seconds would be more readily made. With the view of promoting this object, Mr William Pearson has calculated numbers for a watch, which will produce the desired effect, and which, as they are equally practicable with those in use, we shall here insert. By the method of arrangement already given, the numbers proper for such a watch, as will indicate hours, minutes, and seconds, by three hands, and also make just four beats per second, will stand thus, viz.

- 50 great wheel
- 10—60 centre wheel
- 8—64 third wheel
- 8—48 contrate wheel
- 6—15 crown wheel
- 2 palats.

Dial work as usual.

Six spirals on the fusee—to go 30 hours.

By the preceding general rule for ascertaining the beats per second in any watch, the calculation of these numbers will be thus:  $60 \times 64 \times 48 \times 15 \times 2 = 5529600$ , and  $8 \times 8 \times 6 = 384$ ; then  $\frac{5529600}{384} = 14400$  the beats

in an hour, and  $\frac{14400}{3600} = 4$  exactly, for the beats per second; which agreement with the rule is a proof of the accuracy of the numbers.

Before we conclude this subject, we may caution medical gentlemen against an imposition which is practised by some watchmakers in the sale of watches with second hands. It is no uncommon thing with some of these workmen to put a second hand with a stop and an appropriate face to a watch, the wheel work of which is not calculated for indicating seconds. The second watch, the numbers of which are set down a little above, was of this kind. In this watch that part of the train which lay between the axle of the centre wheel and that of the contrate wheel on which the hands are

placed, viz.  $\frac{60}{8} \times \frac{60}{8} =$  to only 56.25, instead of 60, so that  $3\frac{1}{2}$  seconds are deficient in every minute, a deficiency which in 16 minutes is equal to a whole revolution of the second hand\*.

\* See Nichol. Jour. 4to, vol. iii.

46  
Edgeworth's panorganon.

For the purpose of bringing to our assistance the sense of feeling, in teaching the use of the mechanic powers, Mr Edgeworth has constructed the following apparatus, to which he gives the name of *panorganon*.

It is composed of two principal parts, a frame for

containing the moving machinery, and a capstan or windlass erected on a *fill* or plank that is sunk a few inches into the ground. By these means, and by braces or props, the frame is rendered steady. The cross rail or *transom* is strengthened by braces, and a *king-post* to make it lighter and cheaper. The capstan consists of an upright shaft, on which are fixed two drums (about either of which a rope may be wound), and two arms or levers, by which the capstan may be turned round. There is also an iron screw fixed round the lower part of the shaft, to shew the properties of the screw as a mechanic power. The rope which goes round the drum, passes over one of the pulleys near the top of the frame, and below another pulley near the bottom. As two drums of different sizes are employed, it is necessary to have an upright roller, for conducting the rope to the pulleys in a proper direction, when either of the drums is used. Near the frame, and in the direction in which the rope runs, is made a platform or road of deal boards, one board in breadth and 20 or 30 feet long, on which a small sledge loaded with different weights may be drawn.

Fig. 53 represents the principal parts of this apparatus. FF, the frame; *b, b*, braces to keep the frame steady; *a, a, a*, angular braces, and a king-post to strengthen the transom; S, a round taper shaft, strengthened above and below the mortices, through which the levers pass, with iron hoops; *L, d*, two arms or levers by which the shaft, &c. are to be moved round; DD, the drums, which are of different circumferences; R, the roller to conduct the rope; P, the pulley, round which the rope passes to the larger drum; P 2, another pulley to answer to the smaller drum; P 3, a pulley through which the rope passes when experiments are made with levers, &c.; P 4, another pulley through which the rope passes when the sledge is used; R o, the road of deal boards for the sledge to move on; S l, the sledge with pieces of hard wood attached to it to guide it on the road.

As this machine is to be moved by the force of men or children, and as this force varies, not only with the strength and weights of each individual, but also according to the different manner in which that strength or weight is applied, we must in the first place establish one determinate mode of applying human force to the machine, as well as a method of determining the relative force of each individual, whose strength is employed in setting it in motion.

1. To estimate the force with which a person can draw horizontally by a rope over his shoulder.

Hang a common long scale-beam (without scales or chains) from the top or *transom* of the frame, so that one end of it may come within an inch of one side or post of the machine. Tie a rope to the hook of the scale-beam, where the chains of the scale are usually hung, and pass it through the pulley P 3, which is about four feet from the ground; let the person pull this rope from 1 towards 2, turning his back to the machine, and pulling the rope over his shoulder (fig. 58.). As the pulley may be either too high or too low to permit the rope to be horizontal, the person who pulls it should be placed 10 or 15 feet from the machine, which will lessen the angular direction of the cord, and thus diminish the inaccuracy of the experiment.

47  
Uses of the  
panorganon.

43

Fig. 58.

ment. Hang weights to the other end of the scale-beam, and the person who pulls can but just walk forward, pulling fairly without knocking his feet against any thing. This weight will estimate the force with which the person can draw horizontally by a rope over his shoulder.

Let a child who tries this, walk on the board with dry shoes; let him afterwards chalk his shoes, and then try it with his shoes soaped. He will find that he can pull with different degrees of force in these different circumstances. When he makes the following experiments, however, let his shoes be always dry, that he may always exert the same degree of force.

49  
Fig. 54, 55. 2. To shew the force of the three different kinds of Levers.

The lever L (fig. 54.) is passed through a socket (fig. 55.) in which it can be shifted from one of its ends towards the other, so that it may be fastened at any place by the screw of the socket. This socket has two gudgeons, upon which both the socket and the lever which it contains can turn. The socket and its gudgeons can be lifted out of the hole in which it plays between the rails RR (fig. 54.), and may be put into other holes at R, R, (fig. 57.)

Hook the cord that comes over the person's shoulder to the end I, of the lever L. Loop another rope to the other end of this lever, and let the person pull as before. Perhaps it should be pointed out that the person must walk in a direction contrary to that in which he walked before, viz. from 1 towards 3. (fig. 53.) The height to which the weight ascends, and the distance to which the person advances, should be carefully marked and measured; and it will be found, that he can raise the weight to the same height, advancing through the same space as in the former experiment. In this case, as both ends of the lever moved through equal spaces, the lever only changed the direction of the motion, and added no mechanical power to the direct strength of the person.

Fig. 56.

3. Shift the lever to its extremity in the socket; the middle of the lever will now be opposite to the pulley (fig. 56.): hook to it the rope that goes through the pulley P 3, and fasten to the other end of the lever the rope by which the person is to pull. This will be a lever of the second kind, as it is called in books of mechanics; in using which, *the resistance is placed between the centre of motion or fulcrum and the moving power*. He will now raise double the weight that he did in experiment 2. and he will advance through double the space.

Fig. 57.

4. Shift the lever, and the socket which forms the axis, (without shifting the lever from the place in which it was in the socket in the last experiment) to the holes that are prepared for it at RR, (fig. 57.). The free end of the lever E will now be opposite to the rope, and to the pulley (over which the rope comes from the scale beam). Hook this rope to it, and hook the rope by which the person pulls to the middle of the lever. The effect will now be different from what it was in the last two experiments; the person will advance only half as far, and will raise only half as much weight as before. This is called *a lever of the third kind*.

The experiments upon levers may be varied at pleasure, increasing or diminishing the mechanical advantage, so as to balance the power and the resistance, to

accustom the learners to calculate the relation between the power and the effect in different circumstances, always pointing out that whatever excess there is in the power, or in the resistance, is always compensated by the difference of space through which the inferior passes.

The experiments which we have mentioned are sufficiently satisfactory to a pupil, as to the immediate relation between the power and the resistance; but the different spaces through which the power and the resistance move when one exceeds the other, cannot be obvious, unless they pass through much larger spaces than levers will permit.

5. To shew the different space through which the power and resistance move in different circumstances. 50

Place the sledge on the farthest end of the wooden road (fig. 53.); fasten a rope to the sledge, and conduct it through the lowest pulley P 4, and through the pulley P 3, so that the person may be enabled to draw it by the rope passed over his shoulder. The sledge must now be loaded, till the person can but just advance with short steps steadily upon the wooden road; this must be done with care, as there will be but just room for him beside the rope. He will meet the sledge exactly on the middle of the road, from which he must step aside to pass the sledge. Let the time of this experiment be noted. It is obvious that the person and the sledge move with equal velocity, there is therefore no mechanical advantage obtained by the pulleys. The weight that he can draw will be about half a hundred, if the weight be about nine stones; but the exact force with which the person draws is to be known by experiment first.

6. To the largest drum (fig. 53.) fasten a cord, and pass it through the pulley P downwards, and then through the pulley P 4, to the sledge placed at the end of the wooden road which is farthest from the machine. Let the person, by a rope fastened to the extremity of one of the arms of the capstan, and passed over his shoulder, draw the capstan round; he will wind the rope round the drum, and draw the sledge upon the road. To make the sledge advance 24 feet upon its road, the person must have walked circularly 144 feet, which is six times as far, and he will be able to draw about three hundred weight, which is six times as much as in the last experiment.

It may now be pointed out, that the difference of space, passed through by the power in this experiment, is exactly equal to the difference of weight which the person could draw without the capstan.

7. Let the rope be now attached to the smaller drum; the person will draw nearly twice as much weight upon the sledge as before; and will go through double the space.

8. Where there is a number of persons, let five or six of them, whose power of drawing (estimated as in experiment 1.) amounts to six times as much as the force of the person at the capstan, pull at the end of the rope which was fastened to the sledge; they will balance the force of the person at the capstan: either they or he, by a sudden pull may advance; but if they pull fairly, there will be no advantage on either side. In this experiment the rope should pass through the pulley P 3, and should be coiled round the larger drum. And it must also

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tions.

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The pulley.

also be observed, that in all experiments upon the motion of bodies, on which there is much friction, as where a sledge is employed, the results are never so uniform as under other circumstances.

9. Upon the pulley we shall say little, as it is in every body's hands, and experiments may be tried upon it without any particular apparatus. It should, however, be distinctly inculcated, that the power is not increased by a fixed pulley. For this purpose, a wheel without a rim, or, to speak with more propriety, a number of spokes fixed in a nave should be employed (fig. 61.) Pieces like the heads of crutches should be fixed at the ends of these spokes, to receive a piece of girthweb, which is used instead of a cord, because a cord would be unsteady; and a strap of iron with a hook to it should play upon the centre, by which it may sometimes be suspended, and from which at other times a weight may be hung.

Let this skeleton of a pulley be hung by the iron strap from the transom of the frame; fasten a piece of web to one of the radii, and another to the end of the opposite radius. If two persons of equal weight pull these pieces of girthweb, they will balance each other; or two equal weights hung to these webs, will be in equilibrio. If a piece of girthweb be put round the aftermost radius, two equal weights hung at the ends of it will remain immoveable; but if either of them be pulled, or if a small additional weight be added to either, it will descend, and the web will apply itself successively to the ascending radii, and will detach itself from those which are descending. If this movement be carefully considered, it will be perceived that the web in unfolding itself, acts in the same manner upon the radii, as two ropes would, if they were hung to the extremities of the opposite radii in succession. The two radii which are opposite, may be considered as a lever of the first kind, when the centre is in the middle of the lever; as each end moves through an equal space, there is no mechanical advantage. But if this skeleton-pulley be employed as a common *block* or *tackle*, its motions and properties will be entirely different.

Fig. 61.

10. Nail a piece of girth-web to a post, at the distance of three or four feet from the ground; fasten the other end of it to one of the radii (see fig. 61.). Fasten another piece of web to the opposite radius, and let a person hold the skeleton-pulley suspended from the web; hook weights to the strap that hangs from the centre. The end of the radius to which the fixed girth-web is fastened will remain immoveable; but if the person pulls the web which he holds in his hand upwards, he will be able to lift nearly double the weight which he can raise from the ground by a simple rope without the machine, and he will perceive that his hand moves through twice as great a space as the weight descends: he has therefore the mechanical advantage, which he would have by a lever of the second kind. Let a piece of web be put round the under radii, let one end of it be nailed to the post, and the other be held by the person, and it will represent the application of a rope to a moveable pulley; if its motion be carefully considered, it will appear that the radii, as they successively apply themselves to the web, represent a series of levers of the second kind.

Upon the wooden road lay down a piece of girth-web; nail one end of it to the road; place the pulley upon the web at the other end of the board, and bring-

ing the web over the radii, let the person taking hold of it, draw the loaded sledge fastened to the hook at the centre of the pulley; he will draw nearly twice as much in this manner as he could without the pulley.

Here the web lying in the road shews more distinctly, that it is quietest where the lowest radius touches it; and if the radii, as they tread upon it, are observed, their points will appear at rest, while the centre of the pulley will proceed as fast as the sledge, and the top of each radius successively will move twice as far as the centre of the pulley and the edge.

If a person holding a stick in his hand, observes the relative motions of the top and the middle, and the bottom of the stick, whilst he inclines it, he will see that the bottom of the stick has only half the motion of the top. This property of the pulley has been considered more at large, because it elucidates the motion of a wheel rolling upon the ground; and it explains a common paradox, which appears at first inexplicable, the bottom of a rolling wheel never moves *upon* the road. This is asserted only of a wheel moving over hard ground, which, in fact, may be considered rather as laying down its circumference upon the road, than as moving upon it.

11. *The inclined Plane and the Wedge.*

53.

The *inclined plane* is to be next considered. When a heavy body is to be raised, it is often convenient to lay a sloping artificial road of planks, upon which it may be pushed or drawn. This mechanical power, however, is but of little service without the assistance of wheels or rollers; we shall therefore speak of it as it is applied in another manner, under the name of the *wedge*, which is in fact a moving inclined plane; but if it be required to explain the properties of the inclined plane by the panorganon, the wooden road may be raised and set to any inclination required, and the sledge may be drawn upon it as in the former experiments.

Let one end of a lever, N (fig. 59.), with a wheel at one end of it, be hinged to the post of the frame, by means of a gudgeon driven or screwed into the post. To prevent this lever from deviating sideways, let a slip of wood be connected with it by a rail, which shall be part in the lever, but which may move freely in a hole in the rail. The other end of this slip must be fastened to a stake driven into the ground at three or four feet from the lever, at one side of it, and towards the end in which the wheel is fixed (fig. 62.), in the same manner as the treadle of a common lathe is managed, and as the treadle of a loom is sometimes guided.

Fig. 59.

12. Under the wheel of this lever place an inclined plane (fig. 59.) on the wooden road, with rollers under it, to prevent friction; fasten a rope to the foremost end of the wedge, and pass it through the pulleys (P 4 and P 3), as in the fifth experiment; let a person draw the sledge by this rope over his shoulder, and he will find, that as it advances it will raise the weight upwards; the wedge is 5 feet long, and elevated 1 foot. Now, if the perpendicular ascent of the weight, and the space through which he advances, be compared, he will find that the space through which he has passed will be 5 times as great as that through which the weight has ascended; and that *this* wedge has enabled him to raise 5 times as much as he could raise without it, if his strength were applied as in experiment 1. without any

mechanical

Mechanic  
Recreations.

mechanical advantage. By making this wedge in two parts hinged together, with a graduated piece to keep them asunder, the wedge may be adjusted to any given obliquity; and it will always be found, that the mechanical advantage of the wedge may be ascertained by comparing its perpendicular elevation with its base. If the base of the wedge be 2, 3, 4, 5, or any other number of times greater than its height, it will enable the person to raise respectively 2, 3, 4, or 5 times more weight than he could do in experiment 1. by which his power is estimated.

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13. *The Screw.*

Fig. 60.

The screw is an inclined plane wound round a cylinder: the height of all its revolutions round the cylinder taken together, compared with the space through which the power that turns it passes, is the measure of its *mechanical advantage*. Let the lever used in the last experiment be turned in such a manner as to reach from its gudgeon to the shaft of the Panorganon, guided by an attendant lever as before (fig. 60.) Let the wheel rest upon the lowest *helix* or thread of the screw; as the arms of the shaft are turned round, the wheel will ascend, and carry up the weight which is fastened to the lever. As the situation of the screw prevents the weight from being suspended exactly from the centre of the screw, proper allowance must be made for this in estimating the force of the screw, or determining the mechanical advantage gained by the lever. This can be done by measuring the perpendicular ascent of the weight, which in all cases is useful, and more expeditious than measuring the parts of a machine, and estimating its force by calculation; because the different diameters of ropes, and other small circumstances, are frequently mistaken in estimates—both methods should be employed and their results compared. The space passed through by the moving power, and by that which it moves, are infallible data for estimating the powers of engines.

Two very material subjects of experiment yet remain for the Panorganon; friction, and wheels of carriages: but perhaps we may be thought to have extended this section beyond its just proportion to the rest of the article, in which it is not intended to write a treatise upon science, but to point out methods of initiating young people in the rudiments of knowledge, and of giving them a distinct view of those principles on which they are founded. No preceptor who has had experience will cavil at the superficial knowledge of a boy of 12 or 13 upon these subjects; he will perceive that the general view which we wish to give, must tend to form a taste for literature and investigation. The *sciolist* has learned only to *talk*—we wish to teach our pupils to *think* upon the various objects connected with the present article.

The Panorganon may be employed in ascertaining the resistance of air and water; the force of different muscles; and in a great variety of amusing and useful experiments. In academies and private families, it may be erected in the place allotted for amusement, where it will furnish entertainment for many a vacant hour. When it has lost its novelty, the shaft may from time to time be taken down, and a swing may be suspended in its place †.

\* *Edgeworth's Practical Education*, vol. II. chap. xvii.

SECT. XII. *Recreations and Contrivances relating to OPTICS.*

Optical  
Recreations.

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Optical recreations.

In the articles CATOPTRICS, DIOPTRICS, MICROSCOPE and PERSPECTIVE, we have described a variety of optical recreations, viz. under CATOPTRICS, Sect. III. CATOPTRICAL ILLUSIONS; the appearance of a *boundless vista*; a *fortification* apparently of immense extent; a surprising multiplication of objects; the *optical paradox*, by which opaque bodies are seemingly rendered transparent; the *magician's mirror*; the *perspective mirror*; the action of concave mirrors in inflaming combustible bodies, and the *real apparition*. Under DIOPTRICS, page 244 of Vol. VII. *optical illusions*; the *optical augmentation*, *optical subtraction*; the *alternate illusion*; the *dioptrical paradox*; the *camera obscura*; the method of shewing the spots on the sun's disk, and magnifying small objects by means of the sun's rays; the *diagonal opera glass*; the construction and uses of the *magic lantern*; the *nebulous magic lantern*; method of producing the appearance of a *phantom* on a pedestal placed on the middle of a table; and the *magic theatre*. Under MICROSCOPE, besides fully explaining the construction of the several kinds of microscopes, and explaining their uses, we have given an account of a great variety of objects which are seen distinctly only by means of these instruments; such as the *microscopic animalcula*; the minute parts of *insects*; the structure of *vegetables*, &c.; and under PERSPECTIVE, we have described and explained the *anamorphosis*, an instrument for drawing in perspective mechanically, and the *camera lucida* of Dr Wollaston. Under OPTICS, Part III. Chap. 1. we have explained the construction of the principal optical instruments, as *multiplying glasses*, *mirrors*, improvements on the *camera obscura*, by Dr Brewster and Mr Thomson; *microscopes*, *telescopes*, and various kinds of apparatus for measuring the intensity of light. Under PYROTECHNY, N<sup>o</sup> 150, we have shown how artificial fireworks may be imitated by certain optical deceptions.

At present we shall only describe one or two additional optical recreations, and explain the nature of the optical deception called *Phantasmagoria*.

*Experiment to show the Blue Colour of Shadows formed in Day-Light.*

Darken a room in daylight, or towards twilight, so that only a small proportion of light may enter by the shutter. Then holding a lighted candle near the opening of the shutter, cast the shadow of an object, such as a small ruler, on a white paper. There will in general be seen two shadows, the one blue, and the other orange; the former of which resembles the blue colour of the sky in clear sunshine, and is of a greater or less intensity according as the object is brought nearer to a focus.

For explanations of the blue colour of the sky, see OPTICS, Part II. Sect. 4.

*The Air-drawn Dagger.*

An improved variety of the experiment described under CATOPTRICS, N<sup>o</sup> 14. by the name of the *real apparition*, is thus described by Montucla. Fig. 62. represents a different position of the mirror and partition from that described under CATOPTRICS, and one better adapted

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The air-drawn dagger.

Fig. 62.

adapted

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adapted for exhibiting the fact by various objects. ABC is a thin partition of a room down to the floor, with an aperture for a good convex lens, turned outwards into the room nearly in a horizontal direction, proper for viewing by the eye of a person standing upright from the floor, or on a stool. D is a large concave mirror, supported at a proper angle, to reflect upwards through the glass in the partition B, images of objects at E, presented towards the mirror below. A strong light from a lamp, &c. being directed on the object E, and nowhere else; then to the eye of a spectator at F, in a darkened room, it is truly surprising and admirable to what effect the images are reflected up into the air at G.

Exhibitions of the appearance of spectres have sometimes been formed on the principles of this experiment; but the most striking deception of this kind is the *phantasmagoria*, which some winters ago formed one of the principal public amusements at Paris and London.

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Phantasmagoria.

This exhibition was contrived by Mr Philipsthal, and was conducted in a small theatre, all the lights of which were removed, except one hanging lamp, and this could be drawn up, so that its flame was perfectly enveloped in a cylindrical chimney, or opaque shade. In this gloomy and wavering light the curtain was drawn up, and presented to the spectators a sort of cave, with skeletons and other figures of terror, painted or moulded in relievo on the sides or walls. After a short interval the lamp was drawn up into its chimney, and the spectators were in total darkness, interrupted only by flashes of lightning succeeded by peals of thunder. These phenomena were followed by the appearance of figures of departed men, ghosts, skeletons, transmutations, &c. Several figures of celebrated men were thus exhibited with various transformations, such as the head of Dr Franklin, suddenly converted into a skull, &c. These were succeeded by phantoms, skeletons, and various terrific figures, which were sometimes seen to contract gradually in all their dimensions, till they became extremely small, and then vanished; while at others, instead of seeming to recede and then vanish, they were, to the surprise and astonishment of the spectators, made suddenly to advance, and then disappear, by seeming to sink into the ground †.

† Nichol.  
four. 8vo,  
vol. i. 143.

The principal part of these phenomena was produced by a modification of the magic lantern, having all its parts on a large scale, and placed on that side of a semi-transparent screen of taffeta which was opposite to the spectators, instead of the same side, as in the ordinary exhibitions of the magic lantern. To favour the deception, the sliders were made perfectly opaque, except in those places that contained the figures to be exhibited, and in these light parts the glass was covered with a more or less transparent tint, according to the effect required. The figures for these purposes have also been drawn with water colours on thin paper, and afterwards varnished. To imitate the natural motions of the objects represented, several pieces of glass placed behind each other were occasionally employed. By removing the lantern to different distances, and at the same time altering more or less the position of the lens, the images were made to increase or diminish, and to become more or less distinct at the pleasure of the exhibitor; so that, to a person unaccustomed to the effect of optical instruments, the figures appeared actually to advance and re-

tire. In reality, however, figures exhibited in this way become much brighter as they are rendered smaller, while in nature the imperfect transparency of the air causes objects to appear fainter when they are remote, than when they are nearer the observer. Sometimes, by throwing a strong light on an object really opaque, or on a living person, its image was formed on the curtain, retaining its natural motions; but in this case the object must have been at a considerable distance, otherwise the images of its nearer and remoter parts could never be sufficiently distinct at once, as the refraction must either be too great for the remoter, or too small for the nearer parts; and there must also be a second lens placed at a sufficient distance from the first, to allow the formation of an inverted image between them, and to throw a second picture of this image on the screen in its natural erect position, unless the object be of such a nature that it can be inverted without inconvenience †.

† Young's  
Lect. on  
Nat. Phil.  
vol. i. 426.  
Fig. 63.

Dr Thomas Young proposes the following apparatus for an exhibition similar to the phantasmagoria. The light of the lamp A (fig. 63.) is to be thrown by the mirror B and the lenses C and D on the painted slider at E, and the magnifier F forms the image of the screen at G. This lens is fixed to a slider, which may be drawn out of the general support or box H; and when the box is drawn back on its wheels, the rod IK lowers the point K, and by means of the rod KL adjusts the slider in such a manner, that the image is always distinctly painted on the screen G. When the box advances towards the screen, in order that the images may be diminished and appear to vanish, the support of the lens F suffers the screen M to fall and intercept a part of the light. The rod KN must be equal to IK, and the point I must be twice the focal length of the lens F, before the object, L being immediately under the focus of the lens. The screen M may have a triangular opening, so as to uncover the middle of the lens only, or the light may be intercepted in any other manner †.

† Ibid.  
pl. xxviii.

Mr Ezekiel Walker has lately constructed a new optical instrument, calculated for affording entertainment to those who derive pleasure from optical illusions. This instrument is called *phantasmagoscope*, and is so contrived, that a person standing before it sees a door opened, and a phantom make its appearance, coming towards him, and increasing in magnitude as it approaches, like those in the phantasmagoria. When it has advanced about 3 feet, it appears of the greatest magnitude, and as it retires, becomes gradually contracted in its dimensions, till it re-enters the machine, when it totally vanishes. This phantom appears in the air like a beautiful painting, and has such a rich brilliancy of colouring, as to render it unnecessary to darken the room. On the contrary, this aerial picture is seen with rather greater perfection when the room is illuminated. Fig. 64. represents a section of this machine, and will explain the principles of its construction.

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Walker's  
phantasmagoscope.

ABCD, a wooden box, 36 inches by 21, and 22 deep. EF, a concave mirror, 15 inches diameter, placed near the end BD. AC, the other end, is divided into two parts at *m* by an horizontal bar, of which *m* is a section. Am a door that opens to the left hand. no a board with a circular opening, 10 inches diameter, covered with plate glass in that side next the mirror. GHI a drawer, opened at the end I, and covered at the top Gm with tin plate. It is represented in the figure.

Fig. 64.

figure.

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Recrea-  
tions.

figure as drawn out 16 inches. *ab* a moveable stage, 15 inches by 6, which slides freely upon the bottom of the drawer by means of a strong brass rod *ca*. *dx* a partition fixed to the stage *ab*, which is 15 inches long, and reaches nearly to the top of the drawer. *x* a circular aperture, 3 or 4 inches in diameter, made near the bottom of the partition, and at equal distances from each end of it. *za*, a screen,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , covered with white paper on that side next the mirror. This screen prevents any light, reflected from the end of the drawer, from passing through the aperture *x*. *np*, part of the cover, fixed as represented in the figure, to prevent the inside of the machine from being seen by the observer.

When this machine is used, take a painting on glass in transparent colours; place it against the aperture *x* in the partition on that side the mirror, and two short candles on the other side, between *za* and *dx*. The glass must be perfectly opaque, except that part upon which the figure is painted; then the light which is transmitted through the painting and falls upon the mirror, is reflected into the air where the phantom is formed; but the phantom is much more beautiful than the painting, as the colouring receives a particular delicacy from the glasses.

When the painting is in the place represented in the figure, the phantom appears without the machine at *y*; but if the stage be drawn out to the end of the drawer *GH*, the phantom will appear within the machine at *r*, and very small. A very pleasing effect is also produced from a small painting on paper, or a coloured print put into the place of the painting on glass, with candles on the other side, near *b*.

Mr Walker has shown how this instrument may be employed to exhibit several phenomena in the heavens; as, for example, the appearance of Jupiter and his satellites, and the colour of Mars and the moon.

To represent Jupiter and his satellites as they appear through a common telescope, take a piece of paper stained very black, about 3 inches square, near the middle of which cut a hole perfectly circular, to represent the planet, and 4 small holes, in a line with the centre of the large one, for the satellites; but these must be cut out with a small punch, as it is difficult to make a circular hole with a sharp-pointed instrument. After this paper has been pasted on a piece of glass, rough-ground on one side, draw 3 or 4 lines across the planet with a black lead pencil to imitate the belts. From this simple contrivance the machine produces a very beautiful effect. The new moon represented in this way is a striking resemblance of the real object in the heavens: comets and fixed stars may also be represented by the same method.

The colour of Mars and of the moon, at rising or setting, may be imitated by covering the screen *za* with paper stained red, which will reflect a ruddy tint upon the object placed at *x*; and this tint may be increased or decreased by only altering the situations of the candles\*.

### SECT. XIII. Recreations and Contrivances relating to PNEUMATICS.

IN our treatise on PNEUMATICS, we have related several entertaining experiments, illustrating the principles of that science, such as experiments proving the fluidity of the air in N<sup>o</sup> 52; that of *Hero's fountain*

in N<sup>o</sup> 54; experiments illustrating the application of hydrostatics to air, N<sup>o</sup> 57, *et seq.*; a great variety of experiments with the *air pump*, N<sup>o</sup> 160; the experiment of the *siphon fountain*, N<sup>o</sup> 178; and experiments on the compressibility and expansibility of the air, N<sup>o</sup> 196, &c. We have also, in that article, explained the construction and operation of the principal pneumatical engines, such as *syringes*, *siphons*, *air pumps*, *bellows*, &c. The construction and uses of *barometers* have been explained under BAROMETER, and under HYDRODYNAMICS, N<sup>o</sup> 72. Those of *thermometers* under CHEMISTRY from N<sup>o</sup> 194. to 203; and those of *common pumps* under the article PUMP.

As the account of the air-gun referred to PNEUMATICS, has been omitted in that article, we must here describe the construction and action of that ingenious instrument.

The common air-gun is made of brass, and has two barrels; the inside barrel *A*, fig. 65. which is of a small bore, from whence the bullets are exploded; and a larger barrel *E C D R* on the outside of it. There is a syringe *S M N P* fixed in the butt of the gun, by which the air is injected into the cavity between the two barrels through the valve *E P*. The ball *K* is put down into its place in the small barrel, with the rammer, as in any other gun. At *SL* is another valve, which being opened by the trigger *O*, permits the air to come behind the bullet, so as to drive it out with great force. If this valve be opened and shut suddenly, one charge of condensed air may be sufficient for several discharges of bullets; but if the whole air be discharged on a single bullet, it will drive it out with a greater force. The discharge is effected by means of a lock, placed here as in other guns: for the trigger being pulled, the cock will go down and drive the lever *O*, fig. 65. which will open the valve, and let in the air upon the bullet *K*.

The air-gun has received very great improvements in its construction. Fig. 66. is a representation of one now made by several instrument-makers in the metropolis. For simplicity and perfection it exceeds any hitherto contrived. *A* is the gun-barrel, with the lock, stock, rammer, and of the size and weight of a common fowling piece. Under the lock, at *b*, is a steel tube having a small moveable pin in the inside, which is pushed out when the trigger *a* is pulled, by the spring-work within the lock; to this tube *b*, is screwed a hollow copper ball *c*, so as to be perfectly air tight. This copper ball is fully charged with condensed air by the syringe *B*, fig. 67. previous to its being applied to the tube *b* of fig. 66. It is evident, that if a bullet be rammed down in the barrel, the copper ball screwed fast at *b*, and the trigger *a* be pulled, that the pin in *b* will, by the action of the spring-work within the lock, forcibly strike out into the copper ball; and thereby pushing in suddenly a *valve* within the copper ball, let out a portion of the condensed air, which will rush up through the aperture of the lock, and forcibly act against the bullet, driving it to the distance of 60 or 70 yards, or farther. If the air be strongly condensed, at every discharge, only a portion of it escapes from the ball; therefore by re-cocking the piece, another discharge may be made; and this repeated 15 or 16 times.

The air in the copper ball is condensed by means of the

\* *Phil. Mag.* vol. xxvii. 97. 58  
Pneumatic recreations.

Pneumatic  
Recreations.

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Air-gun.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.



Fig. 2.

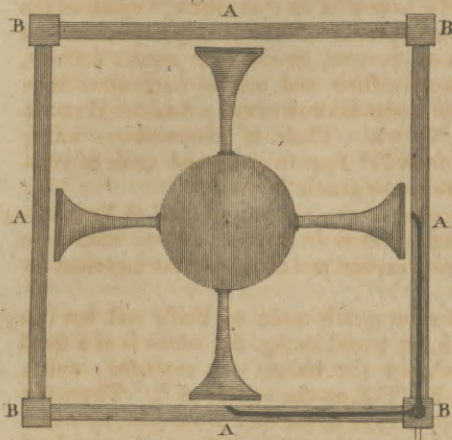


Fig. 1.

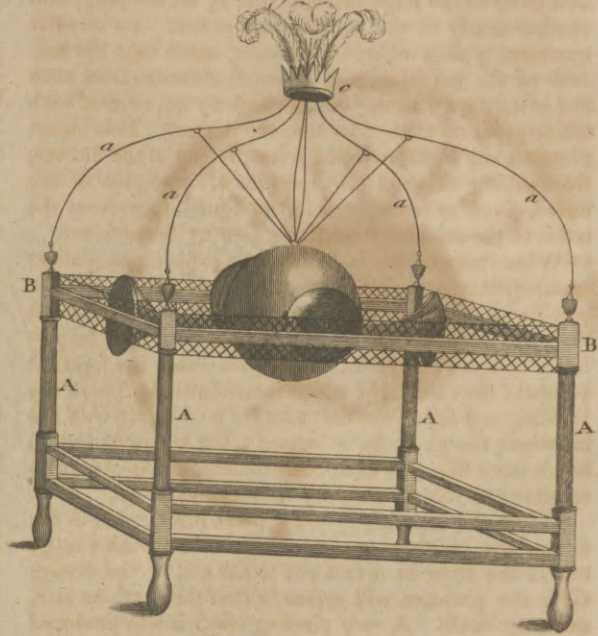


Fig. 3.

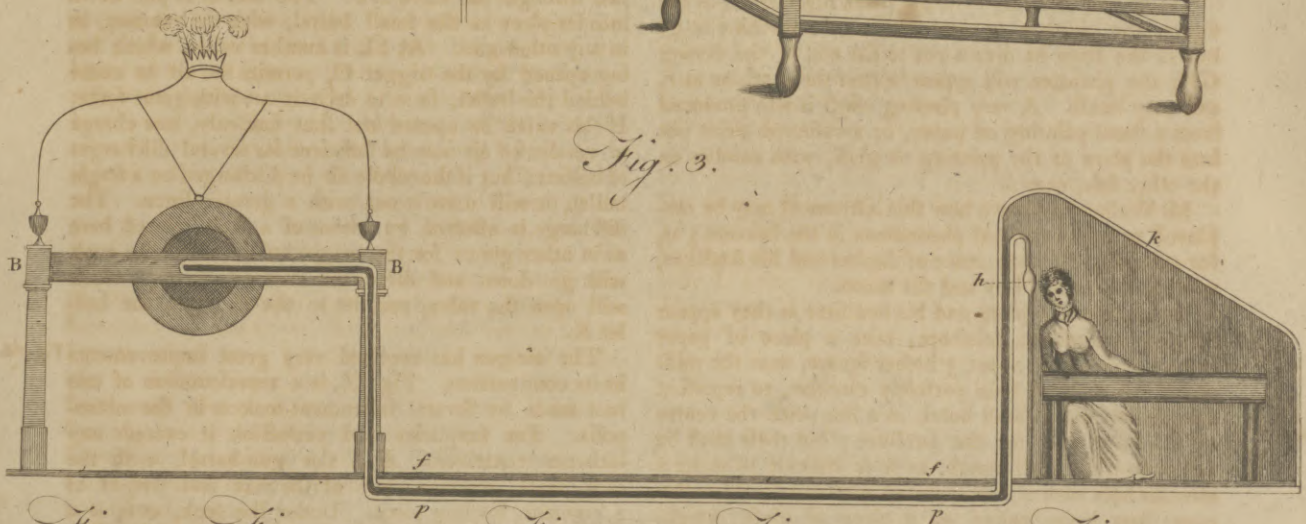


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

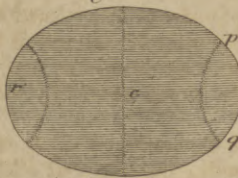
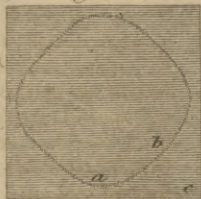
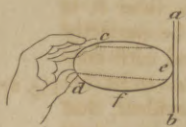


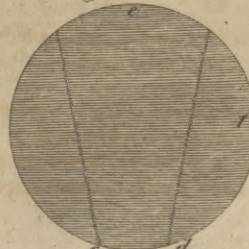
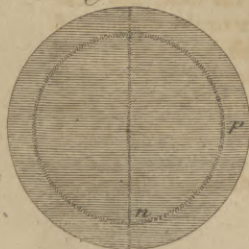
Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.



Abell Pin. Wal. Sculptor fecit.



Fig. 20.

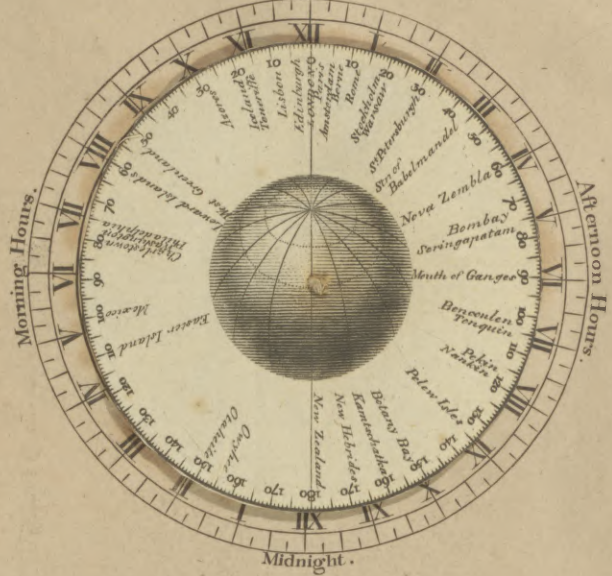


Fig. 17.

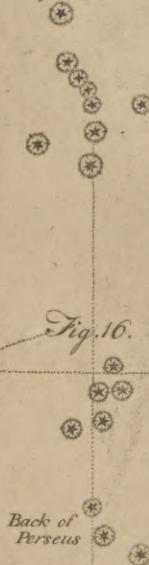


Fig. 15.

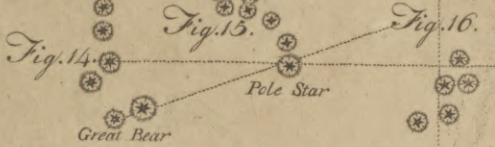


Fig. 18.



Fig. 14.

Capella

Fig. 19.



A Bell, Prin. Mat. Sculptor fecit.



Fig. 21.

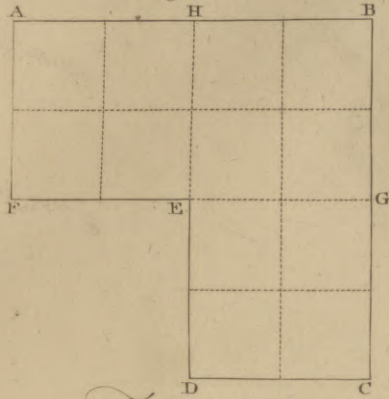


Fig. 22.

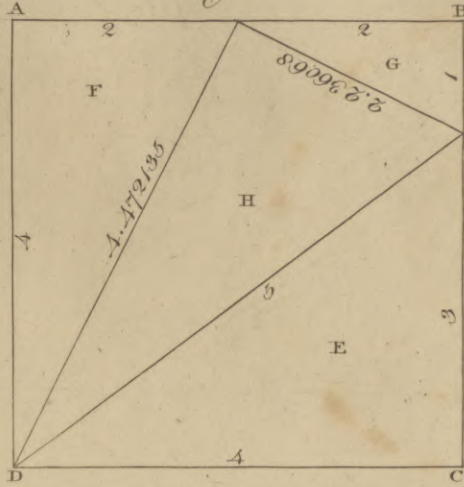


Fig. 23. N<sup>o</sup> 1.

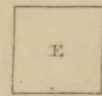
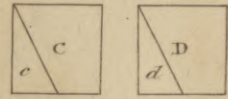
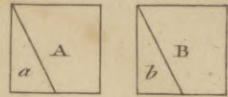


Fig. 23. N<sup>o</sup> 2.



Fig. 24.

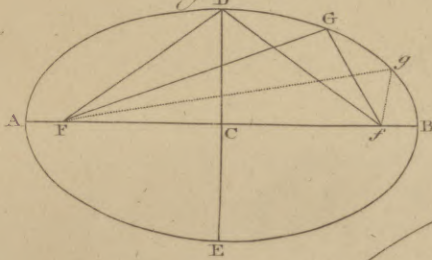


Fig. 25.

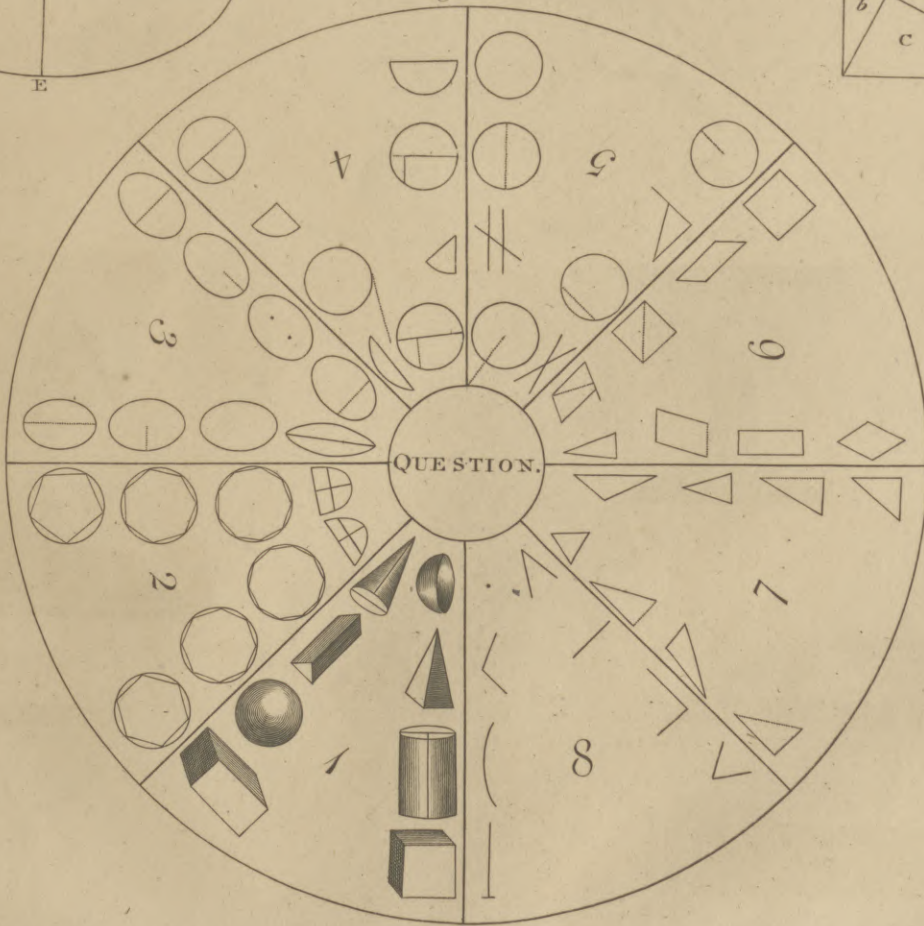




Fig. 26.

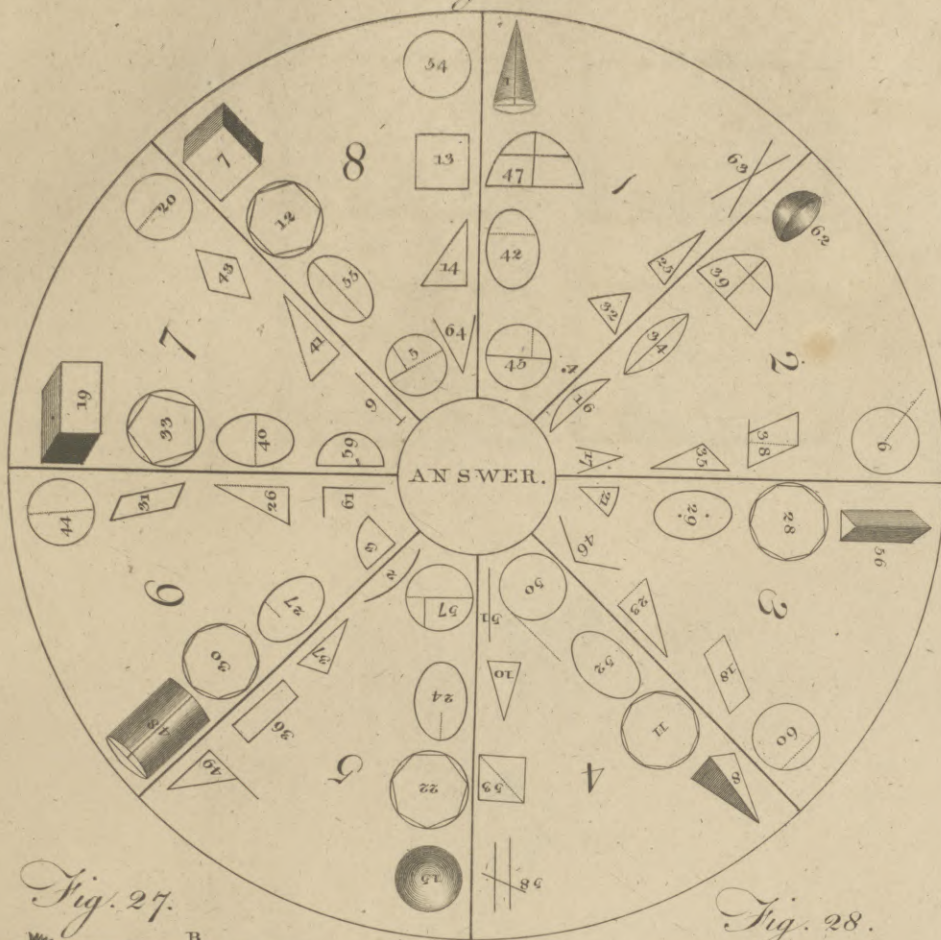


Fig. 27.

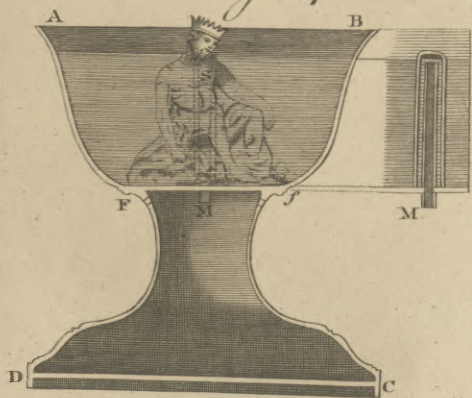


Fig. 28.

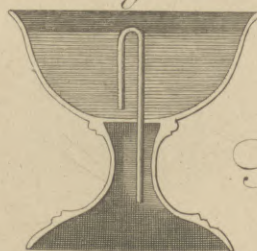


Fig. 30.

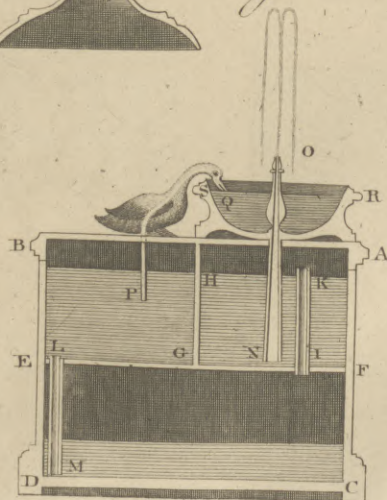


Fig. 29.







Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 36.

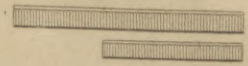


Fig. 33.



Fig. 35.



Fig. 37.

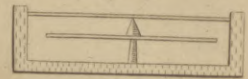


Fig. 38.

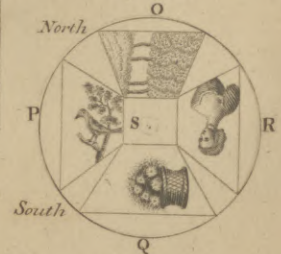


Fig. 39.

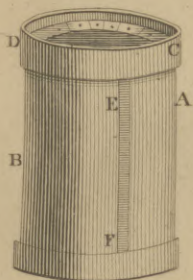


Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 45.

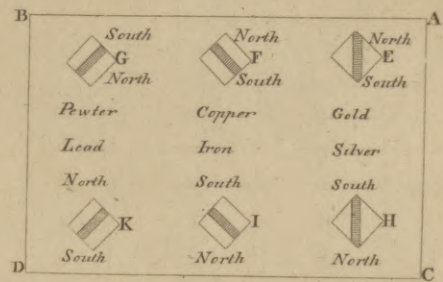


Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.

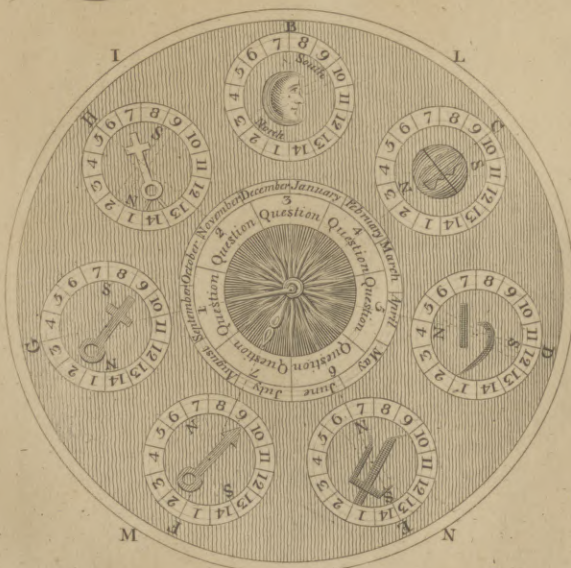


Fig. 44.



Nº 1. North



South

North Nº 2.



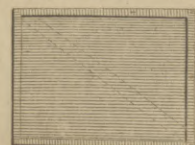
South

Nº 3. North



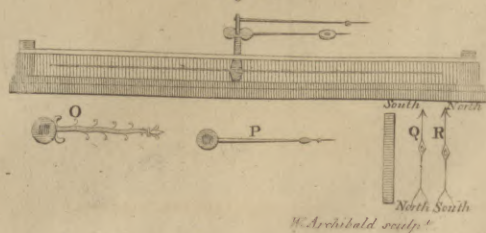
South

North Nº 4.



South

Fig. 48.



W. Archibald sculp.



Fig. 49.

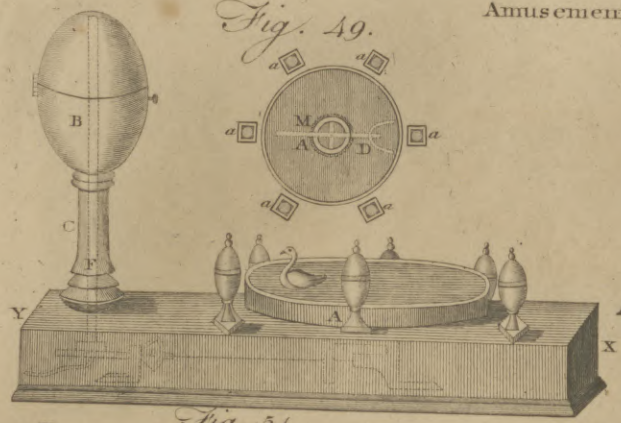


Fig. 50.

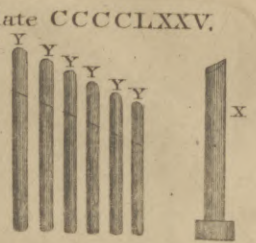
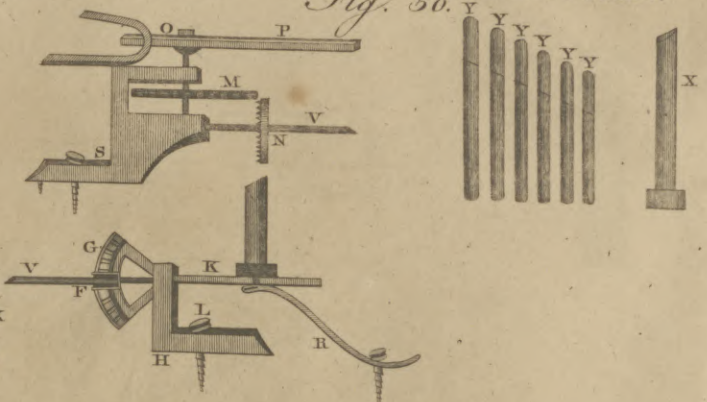


Fig. 51.

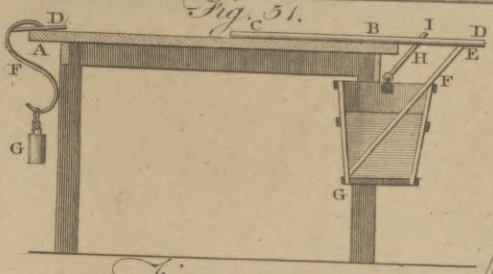


Fig. 53.

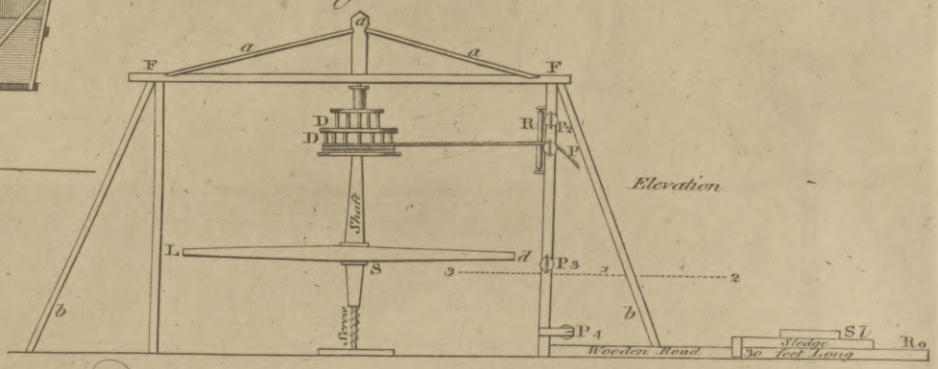


Fig. 52.

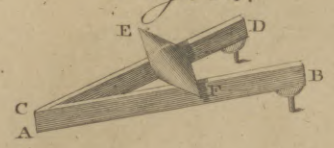


Fig. 54.

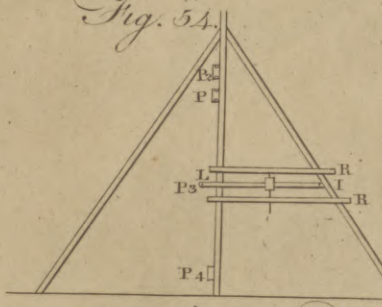


Fig. 56.

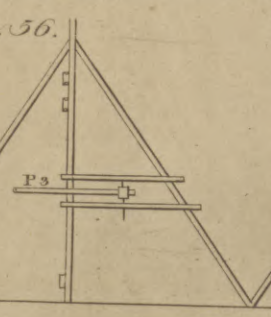


Fig. 57.

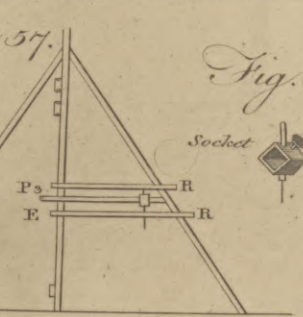


Fig. 55.

Fig. 58.

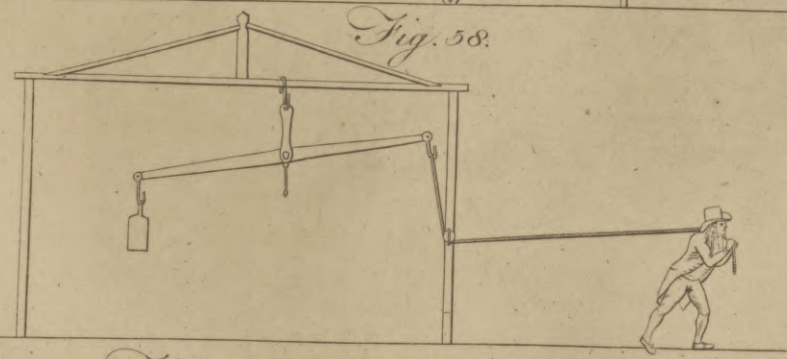


Fig. 61.

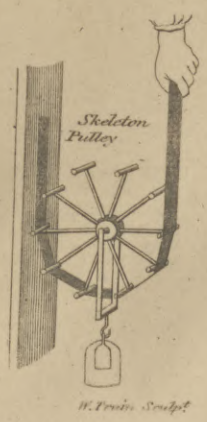


Fig. 59.



Fig. 60.

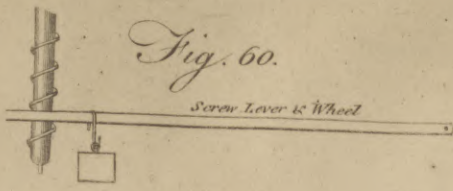




Fig. 62.

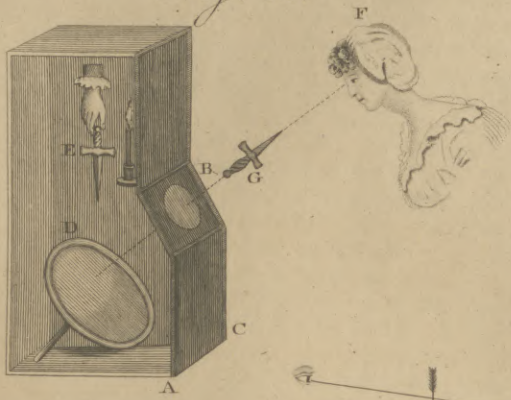


Fig. 63.

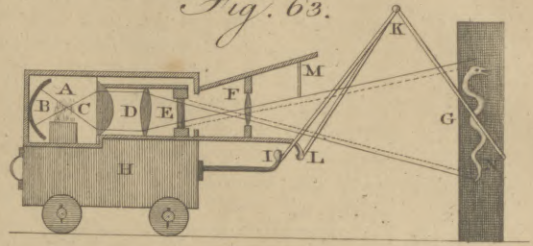


Fig. 64.

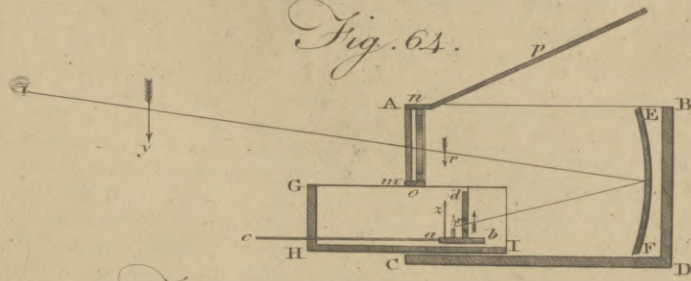


Fig. 65.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

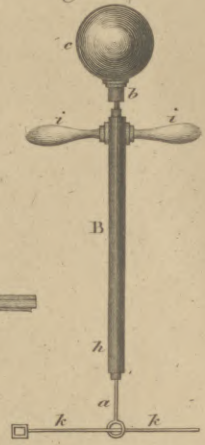


Fig. 68.

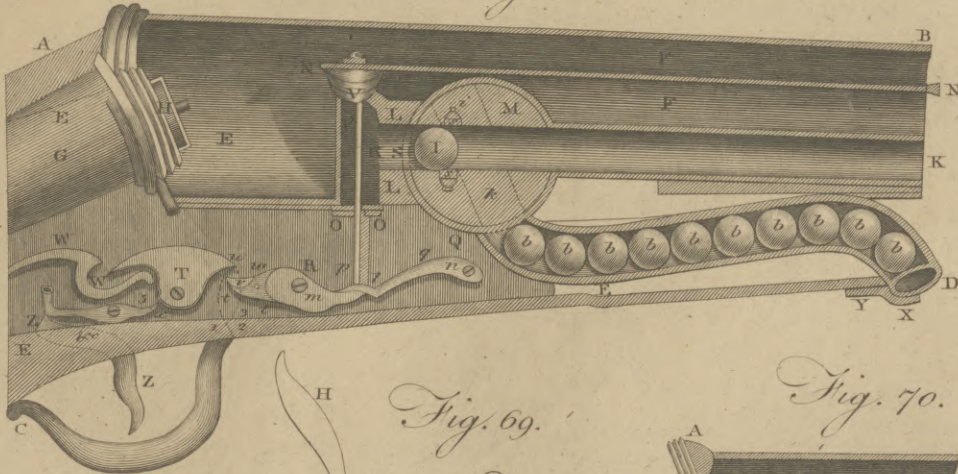


Fig. 69.

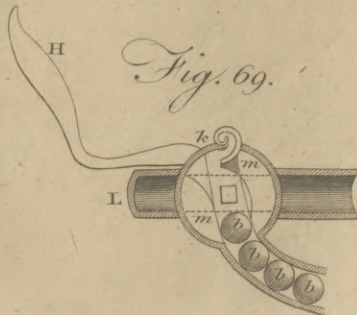
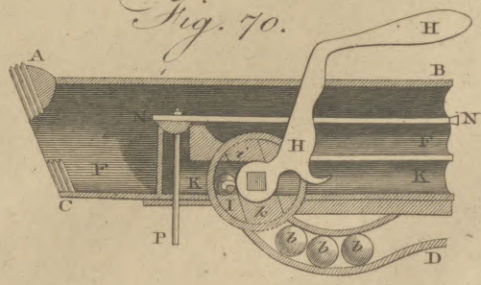


Fig. 70.





Pneumati-  
cal  
Recrea-  
tions.

the syringe B (fig. 67.), in the following manner. The ball *c* is screwed quite close in the top of the syringe at *b*, at the end of the steel pointed rod; *a* is a stout ring through which passes the rod *k*: upon this rod the feet are commonly placed, then the hands are to be applied to the two handles *i i*, fixed on the side of the barrel of the syringe. Now by moving the barrel B steadily up and down on the rod *a*, the ball *c* will become charged with condensed air; and it may be easily known when the ball is as full as possible, by the irresistible action which the air makes against the piston while working the syringe. At the end of the rod *k* is usually a square hole, which with the rod serves as a key to make the ball *c* fast on the screw *b* of the gun and syringe close to the orifice in the ball *c*. In the inside is fixed a valve and spring, which gives way for the admission of air; but upon its emission comes close up to the orifice, shutting up the internal air. The piston rod works air-tight, by a collar of leather on it on the barrel B; it is therefore plain, that when the barrel is drawn up, the air will rush in at the hole *b*. When the barrel is pushed down, the air contained in it will have no other way to pass, from the pressure of the piston, but into the ball *c* at top. The barrel being drawn up, the operation is repeated, until the condensation is so strong as to resist the action of the piston.

The magazine air-gun was invented by that ingenious artist L. Colbe. By this contrivance 10 bullets are so lodged in a cavity, near the place of discharge, that they may be drawn into the shooting barrel, and successively discharged so fast as to be nearly of the same use as so many different guns.

Fig. 68. represents the present form of this machine, where part of the stock is cut off, to the end of the injecting syringe. It has its valve opening into the cavity between the barrels as before. K K is the small shooting barrel, that receives the bullets from the magazine E D, which is of a serpentine form, and closed at the end D when the bullets are lodged in it. The circular part *a b c*, is the key of a cock, having a cylindrical hole through it, *i k*, which is equal to the bore of the same barrel, and makes a part of it in the present situation. When the lock is taken off, the several parts Q, R, T, W, &c. come into view, by which means the discharge is made by pushing up the pin P *p*, which raises and opens a valve V to let in the air against the bullet I, from the cavity F F, which valve is immediately shut down again by means of a long spring of brass N N. This valve V being a conical piece of brass, ground very true in the part which receives it, will of itself be sufficient to confine the air.

To make a discharge, the trigger Z Z is to be pulled, which throws up the seer *y a*, and disengages it from the notch *a*, on which the strong spring W W moves the tumbler F, to which the cock is fixed. This, by its end *u*, bears down the end *v* of the tumbling lever R, which, by the other end *m*, raises at the same time the flat end of the horizontal lever Q; and by this means, of course, the pin P *p*, which stands upon it, is pushed up, and thus opens the valve V, and discharges the bullet. This is all evident, merely from the view of the figure.

To bring another bullet to succeed that marked I, instantaneously turn the cylindrical cavity of the key of the cock, which before made part of the barrel K K,

into the situation *i k*, so that the part *i* may be at K; and hold the gun upon your shoulder, with the barrel downwards and the magazine upwards, by which means that bullet next the cock will fall into it out of the magazine, but go no farther into this cylindrical cavity than the two little springs *f s* which detain it. The two circles represent the cock barrel, wherein the key formerly mentioned turns upon an axis not represented here, but visible in fig. 69. This axis is a square piece of steel, on which comes the square hole of the hammer H, fig. 70. by which the cylindrical cavity mentioned is opened to the magazine. Then opening the hammer, as in that figure, the bullet is brought into its proper place near the discharge valve, and the cylindrical cavity of the key of the cock again makes a part of the inward barrel K K.

It appears how expeditious a method this is of charging and discharging a gun; and were the force of condensed air equal to that of gun-powder, such an air-gun would answer the purpose of several guns.

In the air-gun, and all other cases where the air is required to be condensed to a very great degree, it will be requisite to have the syringe of a small bore, viz. not exceeding half an inch in diameter, because the pressure against every square inch is about 15 pounds, and therefore against every circular inch about 12 pounds. If, therefore, the syringe be one inch in diameter, when one atmosphere is injected, there will be a resistance of 12 pounds against the piston; and when 10 are injected, there will be a force of 120 pounds to be overcome; whereas 10 atmospheres act against the circular half-inch piston with only a force equal to 30 pounds; or 40 atmospheres may be injected with such a syringe, as well as 10 with the other. In short, the facility of working will be inversely as the squares of the diameter of the syringe.

It is not certain when, or by whom the air-gun was invented. Montucla ascribes the invention to Otto Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg, so celebrated about the middle of the 17th century for his pneumatic and electrical experiments; but it is certain that air-guns, or wind-guns, as they were sometimes called, were known long before the time of Guericke. In the *Elemens d'Artilerie* of David Rivant, preceptor to Louis XIII. of France, this instrument is, we believe, first noticed in writing; and here the invention is attributed to one Marin, a burgher of Lisseux, who presented an air-gun to Henry IV. The air-gun is now considered rather as a curious philosophical instrument, than a useful offensive or defensive weapon; and its use in the latter capacity is, we believe, forbidden by law.

The subject of balloons has been fully discussed under the article AEROSTATION. For the sake of experiment, fire balloons, or Mongolfiers, of a moderate size, may be constructed, by pasting together gores of lawn paper meeting at the top, and having their other extremities passed round a light and slender hoop, from which proceed several wires terminating in a kind of basket, capable of supporting a sponge dipped in rectified spirit of wine. If the gores are properly formed and neatly joined, the balloon will be so far air-tight, that the expanded air within it, caused by the inflammation of the spirit, will inflate the cavity, and enable the balloon to rise to a considerable height in the atmosphere. It is obvious that such an experiment can be made only in calm weather.

Pneumati-  
cal  
Recrea-  
tions.

Fig. 69.

Fig. 70.

Fig. 68.

60  
Easy method of constructing small fire-balloons.

Scilla,  
Scilly.

SCILLA, the SQUILL; a genus of plants, belonging to the hexandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 10th order, *Coronariae*. See BOTANY and MATERIA MEDICA *Index*.

SCILLY, or SILEY, a cluster of small islands and rocks, situated in the Atlantic ocean, and about 10 leagues W. of the Land's End in Cornwall, in W. Long. 7°. N. Lat. 50°.

These islands were first called *Cassiterides*, or the *Tin Isles*, from their being rich in that metal. The common opinion is, that this is a Greek appellation; which in the most obvious sense is true: But as the Phœnicians were familiar with the metal, and with the country that produced it, before the Greeks knew any thing of either, it is very likely they introduced the names of both from their own language. Strabo says these islands were ten in number, lying close together, of which only one was uninhabited: the people led an erratic life, lived upon the produce of their cattle, wore an under-garment which reached down to their ankles, and over that another, both of the same colour, which was black, girt round a little below the breast with a girdle, and walked with staves in their hands. The riches of these islands were tin and lead, which, with the skins of their cattle, they exchanged with foreign merchants, that is, the Phœnicians from Cadiz, for earthen ware, salt, and utensils made of brass. An author of as great or greater antiquity, seems to include a part at least of Cornwall amongst these islands; or rather he suggests, that they were not perfect islands except at full sea, but that at ebb the inhabitants passed from one to another upon the sands, and that they even transported their tin in large square blocks upon carriages from one island to another. He farther takes notice, that such as inhabited about Belerium (the Land's End) were in their conversation with strangers remarkably civil and courteous. Other ancient writers style these islands *Hesperides*, from their western situation, and *Oestrymides*, asserting that the land was extremely fertile, as well as full of mines; and that the people, though very brave, were entirely addicted to commerce, and boldly passed the seas in their leather boats.

The Romans were exceedingly desirous of having a share in this commerce, which the Phœnicians as carefully laboured to prevent, by concealing their navigation to these islands as much as it was in their power. At length, however, the Romans prevailed; and Publius Crassus coming thither, was so well pleased with the industry and manners of the people, that he taught them various improvements, as well in working their mines, which till that time were but shallow, as in carrying their own merchandise to different markets. There is no room to doubt that they followed the fate of the rest of Britain, and particularly of Cornwall, in becoming subject to the Roman empire. We find them called in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *Sigdeles*; by Sulpitius, *Sillena*; and by Solinus they are termed *Silures*. All we know of them during this period is, that their tin trade continued, and that sometimes state-prisoners were exiled, or, to use the Roman phrase, relegated hither as well as to other islands.

When the legions were withdrawn, and Britain with its dependencies left in the power of the natives, there is no reason to question that these islands shared the

same lot with the rest. As to the appellation which from this period prevailed, the ordinary way of writing it is *Scilly*: in records we commonly find it spelt *Silly*, *Silley*, or *Sulley*; but we are told the old British appellation was *Sulleh*, or *Sylleh*, which signifies rocks consecrated to the sun. We have not the least notice of any thing that regards them from the fifth to the tenth century. It is, however, with much appearance of truth conjectured, that some time within this space they were in a great measure destroyed by an earthquake, attended with a sinking of the earth, by which most of their lowlands, and of course the greatest part of their improvements, were covered by the sea, and those rich mines of tin which had rendered them so famous swallowed up in the deep. They have a tradition in Cornwall, that a very extensive tract of country called the *Lioness*, in the old Cornish *Lehosow*, supposed to lie between that country and Scilly, was lost in that manner; and there are many concurrent circumstances which render this probable. In reference to these islands, the case is still stronger; for at low ebbs their stone inclosures are still visible from almost all the isles, and thereby afford an ocular demonstration that they were formerly of far greater extent, and that in remoter ages their inhabitants must have been very numerous, and at the same time very industrious. This sufficiently proves the fact, that by such an earthquake they were destroyed; and that it happened at some period of time within those limits that have been assigned, appears from our hearing nothing more of their tin trade, and from our having no notice of it at all in any of our ancient chronicles, which, if it had fallen out later, from their known attention to extraordinary events, must certainly have happened.

It is generally supposed, and with great appearance of truth, that King Athelstan, after having overcome a very powerful confederacy formed against him, and having reduced Exeter, and driven the Britons beyond the river Tamar, which he made the boundary of their Cornish dominions, passed over into these islands, (then surely in a better state than now, or they would not have been objects of his vengeance), and reduced them likewise. History does not inform us, that the Danes ever fixed themselves in these islands; but as their method of fortifying is very well known, it has been conjectured that the Giant's Castle in the isle of St Mary was erected by them; and indeed, if we consider the convenient situation of these islands, and the trade of piracy which that nation carried on, there seems to be nothing improbable in that conjecture. It is more certain that there were churches erected in these isles, and that there were in them also many monks and hermits, before the conquest.

The fertility of the islands is much insisted upon in all the accounts; and it is expressly said of St Mary's, that it bears exceeding good corn, inasmuch that if men did but cast corn where swine had rooted, it would come up. There is mention made of a breed of wild swine, and the inhabitants had great plenty of fowl and fish. But notwithstanding the fertility of the country, and the many commodities that men had or might have there, it was nevertheless but thinly peopled; and the reason assigned is, because they were liable to be frequently spoiled by French or Spanish pirates.

Scilly.



Scilly. pirates. In Leland's time, one Mr Davers of Wiltshire, and Mr Whittington of Gloucestershire, were proprietors of Scilly, and drew from thence, in rents and commodities, about 40 merks a-year.

The inhabitants at that juncture, and long before, appear to have carried on a small trade in dried skate and other fish to Bretagne, with which they purchased salt, canvas, and other necessaries. This seems to be the remains of a very old kind of commerce, since, for many ages, the people of that country, those of the Scilly isles, and the people of Cornwall, looked upon themselves as countrymen, being in truth no other than remnants of the ancient Britons, who, when driven out by the Saxons, took refuge in those islands, and in that part of France which had before been called *Armorica*, and from hence styled *Bretagne*, *Brittany*, or *Little Britain*, and the people *Bretons*. This, in all probability, was a great relief to those who dwelt in those isles; who, during the long civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, had their intercourse with England so much interrupted, that if it had not been for this commerce with their neighbours on the French coast, they might have been driven to the last distress.

The Scilly or Silley islands, lie due west from the Lizard about 17 leagues; west and by south from the old Land's End, next Mount's Bay, at the distance of 10 leagues; and from the western Land's End, they lie west-south-west, at the distance of something more than nine leagues. There are five of them inhabited; and that called *Samson* has one family in it. The largest of these is St Mary's, which lies in the north latitude of 49 degrees 55 minutes, and in the longitude of 6 degrees 40 minutes west from Greenwich. It is two miles and a half in length, about one and a half in breadth, and between nine and ten miles in compass. On the west side there projects an isthmus. Beyond this there is a peninsula, which is very high; and upon which stands Star Castle, built in 1593, with some outworks and batteries. On these there are upwards of threescore pieces of cannon mounted; and for the defence of which there is a garrison of an entire company, with a master-gunner and six other gunners. In the magazine there are arms for 300 islanders, who, when summoned, are bound to march into the fortrefs. Underneath the castle barracks and lines stands Hugh Town, very improperly built, as lying so low as to be subject to inundations. A mile within land stands Church Town, so denominated from their place of worship; it consists of a few houses only, with a court house. About two furlongs east of this lies the Old Town, where there are more houses, and some of them very convenient dwellings. The number of inhabitants in this island is about 600 or 700; and it produces to the lord proprietor 300l. per annum.

*Trefcaw* lies directly north from St Mary's, at the distance of two miles. It was formerly styled *St Nicholas's island*; and was at least as large as St Mary's, though at present about half the size. The remains of the abbey are yet visible, the situation well chosen, with a fine basin of fresh water before it, half a mile long and a furlong wide, with an ever-green bank high enough to keep out the sea, and serving at once to preserve the pond, and shelter the abbey. In this pond there are most excellent eels, and the lands lying

round it are by far the best in those islands. There are about half a score stone houses, with a church, which are called *Dolphin Town*; an old castle built in the reign of Henry VIII. called *Oliver's Castle*; and a new block-house, raised out of the ruins of that castle, which is of far greater use. This island is particularly noted for producing plenty of the finest samphire, and the only tin works that are now visible are found here. There are upon it at present about 40 families, who are very industrious, and spin more wool than in St Mary's. Its annual value is computed at 80l. a year.

A mile to the east of Trefcaw, and about two miles from the most northern part of St Mary's, lies the isle of *St Martin's*, not much inferior in size to that of Trefcaw. It very plainly appears to have been formerly extremely well cultivated; notwithstanding which it was entirely deserted, till within somewhat less than a century ago, that Mr Thomas Ekines, a considerable merchant, engaged some people to settle there. He likewise caused to be erected a hollow tower twenty feet in height, with a spire of as many feet more; which being neatly covered with lime, serves as a day-mark for directing ships crossing the channel or coming into Scilly. St Martin's produces some corn, affords the best pasture in these islands, nourishes a great number of sheep, and has upon it 17 families, who pretend to have the secret of burning the best kelp, and are extremely attached to their own island. As a proof of this, it is observable, that though some of the inhabitants rent lands in St Mary's, yet they continue to reside here, going thither only occasionally.

*St Agnes*, which is also called the *Light-house Island*, lies near three miles south-west of St Mary's; and is, though a very little, a very well cultivated island, fruitful in corn and grafs. The only inconvenience to which the people who live in it are subject, is the want of good water, as their capital advantage consists in having several good coves or small ports, where boats may lie with safety; which, however, are not much used. The light-house is the principal ornament and great support of the island; it stands on the most elevated ground, and is built with stone from the foundation to the lantern, which is fifty-one feet high, the gallery four, the sash-lights eleven feet and a half high, three feet two inches wide, and sixteen in number. The floor of the lantern is of brick, upon which stands a substantial iron grate, square, barred on every side, with one great chimney in the canopy-roof, and several lesser ones to let out the smoke, and a large pair of smith's bellows are so fixed as to be easily used whenever there is occasion. Upon the whole, it is a noble and commodious structure; and being plastered white, is a useful day-mark to all ships coming from the southward. The keeper of this light-house has a salary from the Trinity-house at Deptford of 40l. a-year, with a dwelling-house and ground for a garden. His assistant has 20l. a-year. It is supplied with coals by an annual ship; and the carriage of these coals from the sea-side to the light-house is looked on as a considerable benefit to the poor inhabitants. They have a neat little church, built by the Godolphin family. There are at present 50 households in the island, which yield the proprietor 40l. a-year.

*Brehar*, or, as pronounced, *Bryer island*, lies north-west of St Mary's, and to the west of Trefcaw, to

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which, when the sea is very low, they sometimes pass over the sand. It is very mountainous, abounds with sea and land fowls, excellent samphire, and a great variety of medicinal herbs. There are at present thirteen families, who have a pretty church, and pay 30l. a-year to the proprietor.

South from hence, and west from Trefcaw, stands the island of *Samfon*, in which there is not above one family, who subsist chiefly by the making of kelp. To the westward of these there lie four islands, which contain in the whole 360 acres of meadow and arable land. The *eastern isles*, so denominated from their position in respect to St Mary's, contain 123 acres; and there are also seven other rocky and scattered islands, that have each a little land of some use; and besides these, innumerable rocks on every side, among which we must reckon *Scilly*, now nothing more than a large, ill-shaped, craggy, inaccessible island, lying the farthest north-west of any of them, and consequently the nearest to the continent.

The air of these islands is equally mild and pure; their winters are seldom subject to frost or snow. When the former happens, it lasts not long; and the latter never lies upon the ground. The heat of their summers is much abated by sea-breezes. They are indeed frequently incommoded by sea fogs, but these are not unwholesome. Agues are rare, and fevers more so. The most fatal distemper is the smallpox; yet those who live temperately survive commonly to a great age, and are remarkably free from diseases. The soil is very good, and produces grain of all sorts (except wheat, of which they had anciently plenty) in large quantities. They still grow a little wheat, but the bread made of it is unpleasant. They eat, for this reason, chiefly what is made of barley; and of this they have such abundance, that though they use it both for bread and beer, they have more than suffices for their own consumption. The introduction of potatoes was an essential improvement; the cultivation of this plant succeeded so well, as to yield every season the most luxuriant crops. Roots of all sorts, pulse, and salads, grow well; dwarf fruit-trees, gooseberries, currants, raspberries, and every thing of that kind, under proper shelter, thrive exceedingly; but they have no trees, though formerly they had elder; and Porthelik, i. e. the harbour of willows, proves they had these likewise; and with a little care, no doubt, great improvements might be made. The ranunculus, anemone, and most kinds of flowers, are successfully cultivated in their gardens. They have wild fowl of all sorts, from the swan to the snipe; and a particular kind called the *hedge chicken*, which is not inferior to the ortolan: also tame fowl, puffins, and rabbits, in great numbers. Their black cattle are generally small, but very well tasted, though they feed upon ore-weed. Their horses are little, but strong and lively. They have also large flocks of fine sheep, whose fleeces are tolerably good and their flesh excellent. There are no venomous creatures in these islands.

We must now pass to the sea, which is of more consequence to these isles than that small portion of land which is distributed amongst them. St Mary's harbour is very safe and capacious, having that island on the south; the eastern islands, with that of St Martin, on the east; Trefcaw, Brehar, and Samfon, to the

north; St Agnes and several small islands to the west. Ships ride here in three to five fathom water, with good anchorage. Into this harbour there are four inlets, viz. Broad Sound, Smith's Sound, St Mary's Sound, and Crow Sound: so that hardly any wind can blow with which a ship of 150 tons cannot safely sail through one or other of them, Crow Sound only excepted, where they cannot pass at low water, but at high there is from 16 to 24 feet in this passage. Besides these there are two other harbours; one called *New Grynsey*, which lies between Brehar and Trefcaw, where ships of 300 tons may ride securely. The other is called *Old Grynsey*, and lies between Trefcaw, St Helen's, and Theon, for smaller ships. The former is guarded by the batteries at Oliver's Castle; the latter by the Blockhouse, on the eastern side of Trefcaw, called *Dover*. Small coasters bound to the northward have more convenient outlets from these little harbours than from St Mary's, where, at the west end of Hugh Town, there is a fine pier built by the earl of Godolphin, 430 feet long, 20 feet wide in the narrowest part, and 23 feet in height, with 16 feet of water at a spring, and 10 at a neap tide; so that under the shelter of this pier, vessels of 150 tons may lie securely, not only close to the quay, but all along the strand of the town.

In this harbour, and in all the little coves of the several isles, prodigious quantities of mackerel may be caught in their season; also soal, turbot, and plaice, remarkably good in their kind; and ling, which from its being a thicker fish, mellow, and better fed, is very justly preferred to any caught nearer our own coasts. Salmon, cod, pollock, are in great plenty, and pilchards in vast abundance. To these we may add the alga marina, fucus, or ore-weed, which serves to feed both their small and great cattle, manures their lands, is burned into kelp, is of use in physic, is sometimes preserved, sometimes pickled, and is in many other respects very beneficial to the inhabitants, of whom we are next to speak.

The people of Scilly in general are robust, handsome, active, hardy, industrious, generous, and good-natured; speak the English language with great propriety; have strong natural parts (though for want of a good school they have little education), as appears by their dexterity in the several employments to which they are bred. They cultivate most of their lands as well as can be expected under their present circumstances. They are bred from their infancy to the management of their boats, in which they excel; are good fishermen, and excellent pilots. Their women are admirable housewives, spin their own wool, weave it into coarse cloth, and knit stockings. They have no timber of their own growth, and not much from England; yet they have many joiners and cabinet-makers, who, out of the fine woods which they obtain from captains of ships who put in here, make all kinds of domestic furniture in a very neat manner. They are free from the land-tax, malt-tax, and excise; and being furnished with plenty of liquors from the vessels which are driven into their roads for refreshment, for necessary repairs, or to wait for a fair wind, in return for provisions and other conveniences; this, with what little fish they can cure, makes the best part of their trade, if we except their

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Scilly. their kelp, which has been a growing manufacture for these fourscore years, and produces at present about 500l. per annum.

The right honourable the earl of Godolphin is styled proprietor of Scilly, in virtue of letters-patent granted to the late earl, then Lord Godolphin, dated the 25th of July 1698, for the term of 89 years, to be computed from the end and expiration of a term of 50 years, granted to Francis Godolphin, Esq. by King Charles I. that is, from the year 1709 to 1798, when his lease determines. In virtue of this royal grant, his lordship is the sole owner of all lands, houses, and tenements; claims all the tithes, not only of the fruits of the earth, but of fish taken at sea and landed upon those premises; harbour-duties paid by ships, and one moiety of the wrecks, the other belonging to the admiralty. There is only one ecclesiastical person upon the islands, who resides at St Mary's, and visits the other inhabited islands once a-year. But divine service is performed, and sermons read, every Sunday in the churches of those islands, by an honest layman appointed for that purpose; and there are likewise church-wardens and overseers, regularly chosen in every parish. As to the civil government, it is administered by what is called the *Court of Twelve*; in which the commander in chief, the proprietor's agent, and the chaplain, have their seats in virtue of their offices: the other nine are chosen by the people. These decide, or rather compromise, all differences; and punish small offences by fines, whippings, and the ducking-stool: as to greater enormities, we may conclude they have not been hitherto known; since, except for the soldiers, there is no prison in the islands. But in case of capital offences, the criminals may be transported to the county of Cornwall, and there brought to justice.

The great importance of these islands arises from their advantageous situation, as looking equally into St George's channel, which divides Great Britain from Ireland, and the English channel, which separates Britain from France. For this reason, most ships bound from the southward strive to make the Scilly islands, in order to steer their course with greater certainty. It is very convenient also for vessels to take shelter amongst them; which prevents their being driven to Milford Haven, nay sometimes into some port in Ireland, if the wind is strong at east; or, if it blow hard at north-west, from being forced back into some of the Cornish harbours, or even on the French coasts. If the wind should not be very high, yet if unfavourable or unsteady, as between the channels often happens, it is better to put into Scilly, than to beat about at sea in bad weather. The intercourse between these two channels is another motive why ships come in here, as choosing rather to wait in safety for a wind, than to run the hazard of being blown out of their course; and therefore a strong gale at east seldom fails of bringing thirty or forty vessels, and frequently a larger number, into Scilly; not more to their own satisfaction than to that of the inhabitants. Ships homeward-bound from America often touch there, from the desire of making the first land in their power, and for the sake of refreshment. These reasons have an influence on foreign ships, as well as our own; and afford the natives an opportunity of showing their wonderful dexterity in conducting them safely into St Mary's harbour, and, when the wind

scill: serves, through their sounds. Upon firing a gun and making a waft, a boat immediately puts off from the nearest island, with several pilots on board; and having with amazing activity dropped one of them into every ship, till only two men are left in the boat, these return again to land, as the wind and other circumstances direct, in one of their little coves.

Respecting a current which often prevails to the westward of Scilly, Mr Rennel has published some observations of much importance. "It is a circumstance (says he) well known to seamen, that ships, in coming from the Atlantic, and steering a course for the British channel, in a parallel somewhat to the south of the Scilly islands, do notwithstanding often find themselves to the north of those islands; or, in other words, in the mouth of St George's or of the Bristol channel. This extraordinary error has passed for the effects either of bad steering, bad observations of latitude, or the indraught of the Bristol channel: but none of these account for it satisfactorily; because, admitting that at times there may be an indraught, it cannot be supposed to extend to Scilly; and the case has happened in weather the most favourable for navigating and for taking observations. The consequences of this deviation from the intended tract have very often been fatal; particularly in the loss of the Nancy packet in our own times, and that of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and others of his fleet at the beginning of the present century. Numbers of cases, equally melancholy, but of less celebrity, have occurred; and many others, in which the danger has been imminent, but not fatal, have scarcely reached the public ear. All of these have been referred to accident; and therefore no attempt seems to have been made to investigate the cause of them.

"I am, however, of opinion, that they may be imputed to a specific cause; namely, a current; and I shall therefore endeavour to investigate both that and its effects, that seamen may be apprized of the times when they are particularly to expect it in any considerable degree of strength; for then only it is likely to occasion mischief, the current that prevails at ordinary times being probably too weak to produce an error in the reckoning, equal to the difference of parallel between the south part of Scilly and the tract in which a commander, prudent in his measures, but unsuspecting of a current, would choose to sail."

The original cause of this current is the prevalence of westerly winds in the Atlantic, which impel the waters along the north coast of Spain, and accumulate them in the bay of Biscay; whence they are projected along the coast of France, in a direction north-west by west to the west of Scilly and Ireland. The major assigns strong reasons for the existence of this current between Ushant and Ireland, in a chart of the tracks of the Hector and Atlas, East India ships, in 1778 and 1787. The following remarks on the effect of this current are abridged from the author's work, which is well worthy the perusal of all sailors and shipmasters.

1st. If a ship crosses it obliquely, that is in an east by south or more southerly direction, she will continue much longer in it, and of course be more affected by it, than if she crossed it more directly. The same consequence will happen if she crosses it with light winds. 2dly, A good observation of latitude at noon would be thought a sufficient warrant for running eastward during

Scilly,  
Scio.

ring a long night; yet, as it may be possible to remain in the current long enough to be carried from a parallel, which may be deemed a very safe one, to that of the rocks of Scilly, it would appear prudent, after experiencing a continuance of strong westerly winds in the Atlantic, and approaching the Channel with light southerly winds, either to make Ushant in time of peace, or at all events to keep in the parallel of  $48^{\circ} 45'$  at the highest. 3dly, Ships, bound to the westward, from the mouth of the Channel, with the wind in the south-west quarter, should prefer the larboard tack. 4thly, Major Rennel approves the design of removing the light-house of Scilly (if it be not already removed) to the south-west part of the high rocks. 5thly, He recommends the sending a vessel, with time-keepers on board, to examine the soundings between the parallels of Scilly and Ushant; from the meridian of the Lizard Point as far west as the moderate depths extend. A set of time-keepers, he observes, will effect more in one summer, in skilful hands, than all the science of Dr Halley could do in the course of a long life.

In time of war, the importance of these islands is still more conspicuous; and it is highly probable, that they afforded the allies a place for assembling their fleet, when the Britons, Danes, Scots, and Irish, sailed under the command of Anlaf, to attack King Athelstan; which convinced him of the necessity of adding them to his dominions. Upon the like principle, Henry VIII. when upon bad terms with his neighbours, caused an old fortress to be repaired, and Queen Elizabeth, who had more to fear, directed the construction of a castle, which, in part at least, still remains. But the most singular instance of the detriment that might arise from these islands falling into other hands than our own happened in 1651, when Sir John Grenville took shelter in them with the remains of the Cornish cavaliers. For the depredations committed by his frigates soon made it evident that Scilly was the key of the English commerce; and the clamours of the merchants thereupon rose so high, that the parliament were forced to send a fleet of fifty sail, with a great body of land forces on board, under Sir George Ayscue and Admiral Blake, who with great difficulty, and no inconsiderable loss, made themselves masters of Trescow and Brehar; where they erected those lines and fortifications near the remains of the old fortress that are called *Oliver's Castle*. But at length, finding that little was to be done in that way, they chose to grant Sir John Grenville a most honourable capitulation, as the surest means to recover places of such consequence; with which the parliament were very little satisfied, till Mr Blake gave them his reason; which appeared to be so well founded, that they directed the articles he had concluded to be punctually carried into execution.

SCIO, or CHIO, a celebrated island of the Archipelago (see CHIO). It is 32 miles long and 15 broad, and is a mountainous but very pleasant country. The principal mountain, called anciently *Pelineus*, presents to view a long lofty range of bare rock, reflecting the sun; but the recesses at its feet are diligently cultivated, and reward the husbandman by their rich produce. The slopes are clothed with vines. The groves of lemon, orange, and citron trees, regularly planted, at once perfume the air with the odour of their blossoms, and

delight the eye with their golden fruit. Myrtles and jasmine are interperfed, with olive and palm trees, and cypresses. Amid these the tall minarets rise, and white houses glitter, dazzling the beholder. The inhabitants export a large quantity of pleasant wine to the neighbouring islands, but their principal trade is in silks. They have also a small commerce in wool, cheese, figs, and mastich. The women are better bred than in other parts of the Levant; and though the dress is odd, yet it is very neat. The partridges are tame, being sent every day into the fields to get their living, and in the evening are called back with a whistle. The town called *Scio* is large, pleasant, and the best built of any in the Levant, the houses being beautiful and commodious, some of which are terraced, and others covered with tiles. The streets are paved with flint-stones; and the Venetians, while they had it in their possession, made a great many alterations for the better. The castle is an old citadel built by the Genoese, in which the Turks have a garrison of 1400 men. The harbour of Scio is the rendezvous of all shipping that goes to or comes from Constantinople, and will hold a fleet of fourcore vessels. They reckon there are 10,000 Turks, 100,000 Greeks, and 10,000 Latins, on this island. The Turks took it from the Venetians in 1695. Scio is a bishop's see, and is seated on the sea-side, 47 miles west of Smyrna, and 210 south-west of Constantinople.

There are but few remains of antiquity in this place. "The most curious of them (says Dr Chandler) is that which has been named without reason the *School of Homer*. It is on the coast at some distance from the city northward, and appears to have been an open temple of Cybele, formed on the top of a rock. The shape is oval, and in the centre is the image of the goddess, the head and an arm wanting. She is represented, as usual, sitting. The chair has a lion carved on each side, and on the back. The area is bounded by a low rim or seat, and about five yards over. The whole is hewn out of the mountain, is rude, indistinct, and probably of the most remote antiquity. From the slope higher up is a fine view of the rich vale of Scio, and of the channel, with its shining islands, beyond which are the mountains on the mainland of Asia."

SCIOPIIUS, GASPAR, a learned German writer of the 17th century, was born at Neumark in the Upper Palatinate on the 27th of May 1576. He studied at the university with so much success, that at the age of 16 he became an author; and published books, says Ferrar, which deserve to be admired by old men. His dispositions did not correspond with his genius. Naturally passionate and malevolent, he assaulted without mercy the characters of eminent men. He abjured the system of the Protestants, and became a Roman catholic about the year 1599; but his character remained the same. He possessed all those qualities which fitted him for making a distinguished figure in the literary world; imagination, memory, profound learning, and invincible impudence. He was familiar with the terms of reproach in most of the languages. He was entirely ignorant of the manners of the world. He neither showed respect to his superiors, nor did he behave with decency to his equals. He was possessed with a frenzy of an uncommon kind: he was indeed a perfect fire-brand, scattering around him, as if for his amusement, the most atrocious calumnies. - Joseph Scaliger, above

Scio,  
Scioppius.

Scioppius.

all others, was the object of his satire. That learned man, having drawn up the history of his own family, and deduced its genealogy from princes, was severely attacked by Scioppius, who ridiculed his high pretensions. Scaliger in his turn wrote a book entitled *The Life and Parentage of Gaspar Scioppius*, in which he informs us, that the father of Scioppius had been successively a grave-digger, a journeyman stationer, a hawker, a soldier, a miller, and a brewer of beer. We are told that his wife was long kept as a mistress, and at length forsaken by a debauched man whom she followed to Hungary, and obliged to return to her husband; that then he treated her harshly, and condemned her to the lowest offices of servitude. His daughter, too, it is said, was as disorderly as her mother: that after the flight of her husband, who was going to be burned for some infamous crimes, she became a common prostitute; and at length grew so scandalous, that she was committed to prison. These severe accusations against the family of Scioppius inflamed him with more eagerness to attack his antagonist anew. He collected all the calumnies that had been thrown out against Scaliger, and formed them into a huge volume, as if he had intended to crush him at once. He treated with great contempt the king of England, James I. in his *Ecclesiasticus*, &c. and in his *Collyrium Regium Britannie Regi graviter ex oculis laboranti munere missum*; that is, "An Eye-salve for his Britannic Majesty." In one of his works he had the audacity to abuse Henry IV. of France in a most scurrilous manner, on which account his book was burned at Paris. He was hung in effigy in a farce which was represented before the king of England, but he gloried in his dishonour. Provoked with his insolence to their sovereign, the servants of the English ambassador assaulted him at Madrid, and corrected him severely: but he boasted of the wounds he had received. He published more than thirty defamatory libels against the Jesuits; and, what is very surprising, in the very place where he declaims with most virulence against that society, he subscribes his own name with expressions of piety. *I Gaspar Scioppius, already on the brink of the grave, and ready to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ to give an account of my works.* Towards the end of his life he employed himself in studying the Apocalypse, and affirmed that he had found the key to that mysterious book. He sent some of his expositions to Cardinal Mazarine, but the cardinal did not find it convenient to read them.

Ferrari tells us, that during the last fourteen years of his life he shut himself up in a small apartment, where he devoted himself solely to study. The same writer acquaints us, that he could repeat the Scriptures almost entirely by heart; but his good qualities were eclipsed by his vices. For his love of slander, and the furious assaults which he made upon the most eminent men, he was called the *Cerberus of literature*. He accuses even Cicero of barbarisms and improprieties. He died on the 19th November 1649, at the age of 74, at Padua, the only retreat which remained to him from the multitude of enemies whom he had created. Four hundred books are ascribed to him, which are said to discover great genius and learning. The chief of these are, 1. *Veresimilium Libri* iv. 1596, in 8vo. 2. *Commentarius de arte critica*, 1661, in 8vo. 3. *De sua ad Catholicos migratione*, 1660, in 8vo. 4. *Notationes Criticæ in*

*Phedrum, in Priapeia, Patavii*, 1664, in 8vo. 5. *Suspectarum lectionum Libri* v. 1664, in 8vo. 6. *Classicum belli sacri*, 1619, in 4to. 7. *Collyrium regium*, 1611, in 8vo. 8. *Grammatica Philosophica*, 1644, in 8vo. 9. *Relatio ad Reges et Principes de Stratagematibus Societatis Jesu*, 1641, in 12mo. This last mentioned was published under the name of *Aphonso de Vargas*. He was at first well disposed to the Jesuits; but these fathers on one occasion opposed him. He presented a petition to the diet of Ratisbon in 1630, in order to obtain a pension; but the Jesuits, who were the confessors both of the emperor and the electors, had influence to prevent the petition from being granted. From that moment Scioppius turned his whole artillery against the Jesuits.

SCIOPTIC, or SCIOPTIC BALL, a sphere or globe of wood, with a circular perforation, where a lens is placed. It is so fitted, that, like the eye of an animal, it may be turned round every way, to be used in making experiments of the darkened room.

SCIPIO, PUBLIUS CORNELIUS, a renowned Roman general, surnamed *Africanus*, for his conquests in that country. His other signal military exploits were, his taking the city of New Carthage in a single day; his complete victory over Hannibal, the famous Carthaginian general; the defeat of Syphax king of Numidia, and of Antiochus in Asia. He was as eminent for his chastity, and his generous behaviour to his prisoners, as for his valour. He died 180 B. C. aged about 51.

SCIPIO, *Lucius Cornelius*, his brother, surnamed *Asiaticus*, for his complete victory over Antiochus at the battle of Magnesia, in which Antiochus lost 50,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. A triumph, and the surname of *Asiaticus*, were the rewards of his valour. Yet his ungrateful countrymen accused him, as well as his brother, of peculation; for which he was fined: but the public sale of his effects proved the falsehood of the charge; for they did not produce the amount of the fine. He flourished about 190 B. C.

SCIPIO, *Publius Emilianus*, was the son of Paulus Emilius; but being adopted by Scipio Africanus, he was called *Scipio Africanus junior*. He showed himself worthy of adoption, following the footsteps of Scipio Africanus, whom he equalled in military fame and public virtues. His chief victories were the conquest of Carthage and Numantia; yet these signal services to his country could not protect him from an untimely fate. He was strangled in his bed by order of the Decemviri, who dreaded his popularity, 129 B. C. aged 56.

SIRO, an island of the Archipelago, to the west of Mytilene, to the north east of Negropont, and to the south-east of Sciati. It is 15 miles in length, and eight in breadth. It is a mountainous country, but has no mines. The vines make the beauty of the island, and wine is excellent; nor do the natives want wood. There is but one village; and that is built on a rock, which runs up like a sugar-loaf, and is 10 miles from the harbour of St George. The inhabitants are all Greeks, the *cadi* being the only Turk among them.

SIROCHO, or SIROCCO, a name generally given in Italy to every unfavourable wind. In the south-west it is applied to the hot suffocating blasts from Africa, and in the north-east it means the cold bleak winds from the Alps.

SCIRPUS,

Scioppius  
||  
Scirocho.

Scirpus  
||  
Scone.

SCIRPUS, a genus of plants belonging to the triandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the third order, *Calamariæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCIRRHUS, in *Surgery* and *Medicine*, a hard tumor of any part of the body, void of pain, arising, as is supposed, from the inspissation and induration of the fluids contained in a gland, though it may also appear in any other part of the body, especially in the fat; being one of the ways in which an inflammation terminates. These tumors are exceedingly apt to degenerate into cancers.

SCITAMINEÆ, one of the natural orders of plants. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCIURUS, the *SQUIRREL*; a genus of quadrupeds belonging to the order of glires. See *MAMMALIA Index*.

SCIURUS, a genus of plants belonging to the diandria class; and in the natural method ranking with those that are doubtful. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCLAVONIA, a country of Europe, between the rivers Save, the Drave, and the Danube. It is divided into six counties, viz. Pofegra, Zabrab, Creis, Warafden, Zreim, and Walpon, and belongs to the house of Austria. It was formerly called a *kingdom*; and is very narrow, not being above 75 miles in breadth; but it is 300 in length, from the frontiers of Austria to Belgrade. The eastern part is called *Ratzia*, and the inhabitants *Ratzians*. These from a particular notion, are of the Greek church. The language of Slavonia is the mother of four others, namely, those of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Russia.

SCLERANTHUS, a genus of plants belonging to the dodecandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 22d order, *Caryophyllææ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCLERIA, a genus of plants belonging to the monocia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 4th order, *Gramina*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCLEROTICS, medicines which are supposed to have the property of hardening and consolidating the flesh of the parts to which they are applied; as purslain, house-leek, flea-wort, garden nightshade, &c.

SCOLOPAX, a genus of birds belonging to the order of grallæ. See *ORNITHOLOGY Index*.

SCOLOPENDRA, a genus of insects belonging to the order of aptera. See *ENTOMOLOGY Index*.

SCOLYMUS, a genus of plants belonging to the syngenesia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 49th order, *Compositæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCOMBER, the *MACKEREL*, a genus of fishes belonging to the order of thoracici. See *ICHTHYOLOGY Index*.

SCONCES, small forts, built for the defence of some pass, river, or other place. Some sconces are made regular, of four, five, or six bastions; others are of smaller dimensions, fit for passes or rivers; and others for the field.

SCONE, a village of Scotland, now chiefly remarkable for being the place where the kings were anciently crowned. W. Long. 3. 10. N. Lat. 56. 28. Here was once an abbey of great antiquity, which was burnt by the reformers at Dundee. Kenneth II. upon his conquest of the Picts in the ninth century, having made Scone his principal residence, delivered his laws, called the *Macalpine laws*, from a tumulus, named the *Mote*

*Hill of Scone*. The old palace was begun by the earl of Gowrie; but was completed by Sir David Murray of Gospatric, the favourite of King James VI. to whom that monarch had granted it; and the new possessor in gratitude to his benefactor put up the king's arms in several parts of the house. It was built around two courts. The dining room was large and handsome; and had an ancient and magnificent chimney-piece, and the king's arms, with this motto:

*Nobis hæc invicta miserunt centum sex proavi.*

Beneath were the Murray arms. In the drawing room was some good old tapestry, with an excellent figure of Mercury. In a small bed-chamber was a medley scripture-piece in needle-work, with a border of animals, said to be the work of Queen Mary during her confinement in Loch Leven castle. The gallery was about 155 feet long, the top arched, divided into compartments filled with paintings in water-colours. The pieces represented were various kinds of huntings; that of Nimrod, and King James and his train, appear in every piece. But the whole of this building we believe has been demolished, and a most magnificent pile erected in its place by the earl of Mansfield, who is hereditary keeper. Till the destruction of the abbey, the kings of Scotland were crowned here, sitting in the famous wooden chair which Edward I. transported to Westminster abbey, to the great mortification of the Scots, who looked upon it as a kind of palladium. Charles II. before the battle of Worcester, was crowned in the chapel at Scone. The old pretender resided for some time at Scone in 1715; and his son paid it a visit in 1745.

SCOPARIA, a genus of plants belonging to the tetrandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 40th order, *Personatæ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCOPER or SCUPPER HOLES, in a ship, are holes made through the sides, close to the deck, to carry off the water that comes from the pumps.

SCOPOLIA, a genus of plants belonging to the gynandria class; and in the natural method ranking under the 11th class, *Sarmentacææ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCORBUTUS, the *SCURVY*. See *MEDICINE*, N<sup>o</sup> 8.

SCORDIUM, or *WATER-GERMANDER*. See *TEUCRIUM*, *BOTANY Index*.

SCORIA, or *DROSS*, among metallurgists, is the remainder of metals in fusion; or, more determinately speaking, is that mass which is produced by melting metals and ores: when cold, it is brittle, and not dissoluble in water, being properly a kind of glass.

SCORIFICATION, in *Metallurgy*, is the art of reducing a body, either entirely or in part, into scoria.

SCORPÆNA, a genus of fishes belonging to the order thoracici. See *ICHTHYOLOGY Index*.

SCORPIO, a genus of insects belonging to the order of aptera. See *ENTOMOLOGY Index*.

SCORPIO, *Scorpion*, in *Astronomy*, the eighth sign of the zodiac denoted by the character  $\text{♏}$ . See *ASTRONOMY*.

SCORPION Fly. See *PANORPA*, *ENTOMOLOGY Index*.

SCORPIURUS, *CATERPILLARS*, a genus of plants belonging to the diadelphia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 32d order, *Papilionacææ*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCORZONERA,

Scone  
||  
Scorpiurus.

Scorzonera ||  
 Scotales. } SCORZONERA, VIPER-GRASS, a genus of plants belonging to the syngenesia class; and in the natural method ranking under the 49th order, *Compositae*. See *BOTANY Index*.

SCOT, a customary contribution laid upon all subjects, according to their abilities. Whoever were assessed in any sum, though not in equal proportions, were said to pay scot and lot.

SCOT, *Michael*, of Balwirie, a learned Scottish author of the 13th century. This singular man made the tour of France and Germany; and was received with some distinction at the court of the emperor Frederic II. Having travelled enough to gratify his curiosity or his vanity, he returned to Scotland, and gave himself up to study and contemplation. He was skilled in languages; and, considering the age in which he lived, was no mean proficient in philosophy, mathematics, and medicine. He translated into Latin, from the Arabic, the history of animals by the celebrated physician Avicenna. He published the whole works of Aristotle, with notes, and affected much to reason on the principles of that great philosopher. He wrote a book concerning *The Secrets of Nature*, in which he treats of generation, physiognomy, and the signs by which we judge of the temperaments of men and women. We have also a tract of his *On the Nature of the Sun and Moon*. He there speaks of the *grand operation*, as it is termed by alchymists, and is exceedingly solicitous about the *projected powder*, or the *philosopher's stone*. He likewise published what he calls *Mensa Philosophica*, a treatise replete with astrology and chiromancy. He was much admired in his day, and was even suspected of magic; and had Roger Bacon and Cornelius Agrippa for his panegyrist.

SCOT, *Reginald*, a judicious writer in the 16th century, was the younger son of Sir John Scot of Scot's-hall, near Smeethe in Kent. He studied at Hart-hall in the university of Oxford; after which he retired to Smeethe, where he lived a studious life, and died in 1599. He published, *The perfect Platform of a Hop-Garden*; and a book intitled, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*; in which he showed that all the relations concerning magicians and witches are chimerical. This work was not only censured by King James I. in his *Dæmonology*, but by several eminent divines; and all the copies of it that could be found were burnt.

SCOTAL, or SCOTAL, is where any officer of a forest keeps an ale-house within the forest, by colour of his office, making people come to his house, and there spend their money for fear of his displeasure. We find it mentioned in the charter of the forest, cap. 8. "Nullus forrestarius faciat *Scotallas*, vel garbas colligat, vel aliquam collectam faciat," &c. *Manwood*, 216.—The word is compounded of *scot* and *ale*, and by transposition of the words is otherwise called *aleshot*.

SCOTALS, were meetings formerly held in England for the purpose of drinking ale, of which the expence was paid by joint contribution. Thus the tenants of South Malling in Suffex, which belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury, were, at the keeping of a court, to entertain the lord or his bailiff with a drinking, or an *ale*; and the stated quotas towards the charge were, that a man should pay threepence halfpenny for himself and his wife, and a widow and cottager a penny halfpenny. In the manor of Ferring, in the same county, and under the same jurisdiction, it was the custom for

the tenants named to make a *scotale* of sixteenpence halfpenny, and to allow out of each sixpence a penny halfpenny for the bailiff.

Common scotales in taverns, at which the clergy were not to be present, are noticed in several ecclesiastical canons. They were not to be published in the church by the clergy or the laity; and a meeting of more than ten persons of the same parish or vicinage was a scotale that was generally prohibited. There were also common drinkings, which were denominated *leet-ale*, *bride-ale*, *clerk-ale*, *church-ale*. To a *leet-ale* probably all the residents in a manorial district were contributors; and the expence of a *bride-ale* was defrayed by the relations and friends of a happy pair, who were not in circumstances to bear the charges of a wedding dinner. This custom prevails occasionally in some districts of Scotland even at this day, under the denomination of a *penny bride-ale*, and was very common about half a century ago. The *clerk's-ale* was in the Easter holidays, and was the method taken to enable clerks of parishes to collect their dues more readily.

Mr Warton, in his history of English Poetry, has inserted the following extract from an old indenture, which clearly shews the design of a *church-ale*. "The parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derby-shire, agree jointly to brew four ales, and every ale of one quarter of malt, betwixt this and the feast of St John the Baptist next coming; and that every inhabitant of the said town of Okebrook shall be at the several ales. Every husband and his wife shall pay twopence, every cottager one penny; and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the said ales, to the use and behoof of the said church of Elveston."

The *give-ales* were the legacies of individuals, and from that circumstance entirely gratuitous. They seem to have been very numerous, and were generally left to the poor; though, from the largeness of the quantity of ale enjoined to be brewed, it must have been sometimes intended that others were to partake of them. These bequests were likewise made to the altar of a saint, with directions for singing masses at the obit, or anniversary of the testator. The *give-ales* were sometimes dispensed in the church, and frequently in the church-yard, by which means Godde's house was made a tavern of gluttons. Such certainly would be Chalk-church, if in it was kept the *give-ale* of William May of that parish; for he ordered his wife "to make in bread six bushels of wheat, and in drink 10 bushels of mault, and in cheese 20d. to give to poor people, for the health of his soul; and he ordered that, after the decease of his wife, his executors and feoffees, should continue the custom for evermore."

SCOTER. See ANAS, ORNITHOLOGY *Index*.

NOVA SCOTIA, or *New SCOTLAND*, one of the British settlements in North America, situated between 43° and 49° north latitude, and between 60° and 67° west longitude, is bounded by the river St Laurence on the north; by the gulf of St Laurence and the Atlantic ocean on the east; by the same ocean on the south; and by Canada and New England on the west.—In the year 1784, this province was divided into two governments. The province and government now styled *New Brunswick*, is bounded on the westward of the mouth of the river St Croix, by the said river to its source, and

Scotales ||  
 Nova Scotia. }

Nova Scotia.

by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of the province of Quebec; to the northward by the said boundary as far as the western extremity of the bay de Chaleurs; to the eastward by the said bay to the gulf of St Laurence to the bay called *Bay Verte*, to the south by a line in the centre of the bay of Fundy, from the river St Croix aforesaid, to the mouth of the Musquat river, by the said river to its source, and from thence by a due east line across the isthmus into the Bay Verte, to join the eastern lot above described, including all islands within six leagues of the coast.

The chief rivers are, the river of St Laurence, which forms the northern boundary. The rivers *Risgouche* and *Nipisquit* run from west to east, and fall into the bay of St Laurence. The rivers of St John, *Passamagandi*, *Penobscot*, and St Croix, which run from north to south, fall into Fundy bay, or the sea a little to the eastward of it.

The seas adjoining to it are, the Atlantic ocean, Fundy bay, and the gulf of St Laurence. The lesser bays are, *Chenigto* and *Green Bay* upon the isthmus which joins the north part of Nova Scotia to the south; and the bay of *Chaleurs* on the north-east; the bay of *Chedibucto* on the south-east; the Bay of the Islands, the ports of *Bart*, *Chebueto*, *Prosper*, *St Margaret*, *La Heve*, *Port Maltois*, *Port Ryfignal*, *Port Vert*, and *Port Joly*, on the south; *Port La Tour* on the south-east; *Port St Mary*, *Annapolis*, and *Minas* on the south side of Fundy bay, and *Port Roseway*, now the most populous of all.—The chief capes are, *Cape Portage*, *Ecoumenac*, *Tourmentin*, *Cape Port*, and *Epis*, on the east; *Cape Fogerie* and *Cape Canceau* on the south-east; *Cape Blanco*, *Cape Vert*, *Cape Theodore*, *Cape Dore*, *Cape La Heve*, and *Cape Negro*, on the south; *Cape Sable* and *Cape Fourche* on the south-west.—The lakes are very numerous, but have not yet received particular names.

The face of the country, when viewed at a distance, presents a pleasingly variegated appearance of hills and valleys, with scarcely any thing like mountains to interrupt the prospect, especially near the sea. A nearer approach discovers those sublime and beautiful scenes which are so far superior to the gaudy embellishments of art. Immense forests, formed of the tallest trees, the growth of ages, and reaching almost to the clouds, everywhere cover and adorn the land: their leaves falling in autumn, add continually to that crust of moss, vegetables, and decaying wood, that has for many centuries been accumulating; whilst the rays of the sun, unable to pierce the thick shade which everywhere covers the ground, leaves it in a perpetual state of damp and rottenness; a circumstance which contributes, in no small degree, to increase the sharpness of the air in winter.

The clouds, flying over the higher grounds, which are covered in every direction with one vast forest, and arrested by the attraction of the woods, fill the country with water. Every rock has a spring, and every spring causes a swamp or morass, of greater or less extent in proportion to its cause: hence it is, that travelling becomes almost impracticable in summer, and is seldom attempted, but in the fall of the year, when winter begins to set in, and the ground is already frozen.

The land throughout the peninsula is in no part mountainous, but frequently rises into hills of gradual ascent, everywhere clothed with wood. From these

arise innumerable springs and rivulets, which not only fertilize and adorn the country, but have formed, in the midst of it, a large lake or piece of fresh water, which is of various depths, and of which, however, little more is known, than that it has upon its borders very large tracts of meadow-land highly improveable. That part of the province which is beyond the bay of Fundy, and extends to the river St Laurence, rises also gradually as we advance from the sea quite to Canada; but is, however, hardly anywhere mountainous. Its lands are for the most part very rich, particularly at a distance from the sea; and its woods abound with the hardest and loftiest trees.

Though this country, like Canada, is subject to long and severe winters, succeeded by sudden and violent heats, often much greater than what are felt in the same latitudes in Europe, yet it cannot be accounted an unhealthy climate. The air in general in winter is very sharp, frosty, and dry; the sky serene and unclouded, by which every kind of exercise adapted to the season is rendered pleasant and agreeable. The fogs are frequent near the sea, but seldom spread themselves to any distance in land.

The winter commonly breaks up with heavy rains, and the inhabitants experience hardly any of the delights of the spring, which in England is accounted the most agreeable season of the year. From a lifeless and dreary appearance, and the gloomy scenes of winter wrapped around the vegetable world, the country throws off its forbidding attire, and in a few days exhibits a grand and pleasant prospect; the vegetation being inconceivably rapid, nature passes suddenly from one extreme to another, in a manner utterly unknown to countries accustomed to a gradual progression of seasons. And, strange as it appears, it is an acknowledged fact, a fact which furnishes a certain proof of the purity of the air, that these sudden changes seldom, if ever, affect the health of strangers or Europeans.

In this country agriculture has yet made but small progress. Nova Scotia is almost a continued forest, producing every kind of wood which grows in the neighbouring provinces of New England. Four fifths of all the lands in the province are covered with pines, which are valuable not only for furnishing masts, spars, lumber for the sugar plantations, and timber for building, but for yielding tar, pitch, and turpentine, commodities which are all procured from this useful tree, and with which the mother-country may in a few years easily be supplied.

The various species of birch, beech, and maple, and several sorts of spruce, are found in all parts in great abundance; as also numerous herbs and plants, either not common to, or not known in, England. Amongst these none is more plentiful than *sarsaparilla*, and a plant whose root resembles *rhubarb* in colour, taste, and effects; likewise the Indian or mountain tea, and *maiden-hair*, an herb much in repute for the same purpose, with shrubs producing *strawberries*, *raspberries*, and many other pleasant fruits, with which the woods in summer are well stored: Of these wild productions the cherries are best, though smaller than ours, and growing in bunches somewhat resembling grapes. The *sassafras* tree grows plentifully in common with others; but amongst them none is more useful to the inhabitants than a species of maple, distinguished by the name of

the

Nova Scotia.



Nova Scotia. the *sugar tree*, as affording a considerable quantity of that valuable ingredient. See SUGAR.

Amongst the natural productions of Nova Scotia, it is necessary to enumerate their iron-ore, which is supposed equally good with that found in any part of America.

Limestone is likewise found in many places; it is extremely good, and is now much used for building: independent of which, it gives the farmers and landholders a great advantage for improving the ground, as it is found by experience to be one of the most approved things in the world for that purpose.

Several of the useful and most common European fruits have been planted in many places; so that the province now produces great quantities of apples, some pears, and a few plums, which are all good of their kind, especially the former. The smaller fruits, such as currants, gooseberries, &c. grow to as great perfection as in Europe; and the same may be said of all the common and useful kinds of garden plants. Among these their potatoes have the preference, as being the most serviceable in a country abounding with fish; and indeed they are not to be exceeded in goodness by any in the world. The maize, or Indian corn, is a native of much warmer climates; and, though planted here, never arrives at more than two-thirds of its natural bigness; a defect which arises as well from the shortness of the summer as the gravelly nature of the soil. Tobacco may likewise be cultivated with ease in Nova Scotia, as it is already everywhere in Canada, from Lake Champlain to the isle of Orleans, for the purpose of internal consumption.

This country is not deficient in the animal productions of the neighbouring provinces, particularly deer, beavers, and otters. Wild fowl, and all manner of game, and many kinds of European fowls and quadrupeds, have from time to time been brought into it and thrive well. At the close of March the fish begin to spawn, when they enter the rivers in such shoals as are incredible. Herrings come up in April, and the sturgeon and salmon in May. But the most valuable appendage of New Scotland is the Cape Sable coast, along which is one continued range of cod-fishing banks and excellent harbours. This fishery employs a great number of men, in some seasons not less than 10,000, when 120,000 quintals are caught, of which 40,000 may be exported. These, at the lowest price, must bring into the colony 26,000l. sterling, either in cash or in commodities necessary to the inhabitants. But this estimation, it must be observed, refers to a distant period, as that trade has now greatly increased.

Notwithstanding the comparatively uninviting appearance of this country, it was here that some of the first European settlements were made. The first grant of lands in it was given by James I. to his secretary Sir William Alexander, from whom it had the name of *Nova Scotia* or *New Scotland*. Since that period it has frequently changed proprietors, sometimes in the possession of the French, and sometimes in that of the English.

In 1604, the French first settled in Nova Scotia, to which they gave the name of *Acadia*. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of food, they chose a small bay, afterwards called French

Bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathoms of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to choose this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: that both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unsettled disposition, or necessity, brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fishing, and every kind of culture: choosing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting or in trading with the savages.

This colony was yet in its infancy when the settlement, which has since become so famous under the name of *New England*, was first established in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations, who went under the general name of *Abenakies*. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves among them, had so far inculcated their tenets as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war, they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any kind of exchange with the English, but also frequently disturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation.

This produced perpetual hostilities between the New Englanders and the French settlers in Acadia, till that province was, at the peace of Utrecht, for ever ceded to the English, who seemed not for a long time to discover the value of their new acquisition. They restored to it its ancient name of *Nova Scotia*; and having built a slight fortification at Port-Royal, which they called *Annapolis* in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison into it. In process of time, however, the importance of Nova Scotia to the commerce of Great Britain began to be perceived; and at the peace of 1749, the ministry offered particular advantages to all persons who chose to go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have 50 acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed 80 for themselves, and 15 for their wives and children;

Nova Scotia  
||  
Scotists.  
\* About 1s.  
Sterling.

ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 400; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with 30 for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre two sols six deniers\* for fifty acres. Beside this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined 3740 persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, in hopes of bettering their fortune.

† About  
30,41cl.  
8s. 10d.  
Sterling.

Thus encouraged, the province of Nova Scotia began to flourish, though in 1769 it sent out only 14 vessels and 148 boats, which together amounted to 7324 tons, and received 22 vessels and 120 boats, which together made up 7006 tons. They constructed three floops, which did not exceed 110 tons burden. Their exportation for Great Britain and for the other parts of the globe did not amount to more than 729,850 livres 12 sols 9 deniers †. Continuing, however, true to its allegiance when the other colonies threw off the dominion of Great Britain, it has now become a place of great consequence both to the mother-country and the West Indies. Its shipping and seamen have rapidly increased, as well as its produce, which affords the pleasing prospect of being able to supply itself with all the necessaries of life. It now supplies Britain with timber and fish to the amount of 50,000l. yearly; and receives from hence linen and woollen cloths to the value of about 30,000l. The number of persons who have abandoned their habitations in the more southern provinces, and settled either there or in Canada, cannot be estimated, by the most moderate calculation, at less than 80,000; and it is without doubt the most convenient in point of situation of any province in America for a maritime power of Europe to be possessed of.

SCOTIA, in *Architectura*, a semicircular cavity or channel between the tops in the bases of columns.

SCOTISTS, a sect of school-divines and philosophers, thus called from their founder *J. Duns Scotus*, a Scottish cordelier, who maintained the immaculate conception of the virgin, or that she was born without original sin, in opposition to Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists.

As to philosophy, the Scotists were, like the Thomists, Peripatetics (see PERIPATETICS); only distinguished by this, that in each being, as many different qualities as it had, so many different formalities did they distinguish; all distinct from the body itself, and making as it were so many different entities; only these were metaphysical, and as it were superadded to the being.

Scotists  
||  
Scotland  
I  
Extent and  
boundaries.

The Scotists and Thomists likewise disagreed about the nature of the divine co-operation with the human will, the measure of divine grace that is necessary to salvation, and other abstruse and minute questions, which it is needless to enumerate.

SCOTLAND, the modern name of that part of the island of Britain which lies to the north of the Solway frith and the river Tweed. It is bounded on the north by that part of the Atlantic called the Northern ocean; on the east by the German ocean or North sea; on the west by the Atlantic ocean, and partly by the Irish sea; and on the south by England, the boundary on this side being formed by the river Tweed, the Cheviot hills, and an ideal line drawn south-west down to the Solway frith. Excluding the islands, the continental part of Scotland extends from the Mull of Galloway in the 55th to Cape Wrath in the 58½ degree of north latitude, and from 1° 35' to 6° 20' west from the meridian of Greenwich, counting from Buchanness on the east to Ardnamurchan on the west. If we include the islands of Shetland and the Hebrides, we shall find this part of the British empire extending northward to 63°, and westward to the isle of St Kilda to 8° 18' west longitude. The continental part of Scotland is generally estimated at 260 miles in length, and about 160 at its greatest breadth, and its superficial contents have been computed at 27,793 square miles.

Scotland has been divided into Highlands and Lowlands; but the boundaries of these are arbitrary and undetermined. A more natural division appears to be that into northern, middle, and southern parts. The northern part is bounded to the south by a range of lakes, extending from the Murray frith to the island of Mull, in a south-west direction, and comprehends the counties of Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, and Inverness. The southern division extends northward to the friths of Forth and Clyde, and the canal by which they are united, and comprehends the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Berwick, Renfrew, Ayr, Wigton, Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Kircudbright. In the midland division are included the counties of Argyle, Bute, Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, Mearns, Angus or Forfar, Perth, Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, Stirling, and Dumbarton.

In the following table we have brought together some of the most important circumstances respecting the topography and statistics of these counties, viz. the *county town*, their *extent in square acres*, their *population*, according to the latest accounts, and the *number of militia* which each county is obliged to raise, according to last militia act.

# Scotland



Longitude 30 West from G. Greenwich 30

W. Dawson Sculp



Scotland.

3  
Table of the  
counties.

| Counties.           | County Towns. | Square Acres. | Population. | Militia. |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|----------|
| Orkney and Shetland | Kirkwall      |               | 46,824      |          |
| Caithness           | Wick          | 492,800 E.    | 22,609      | 121      |
| Sutherland          | Dornoch       | 2,148,000 E.  | 23,117      | 100      |
| Ross                | Dingwall      | 561,200 E.    | 53,525      | 270      |
| Cromarty            | Cromarty      | 61,440 E.     | 3,052       | 16       |
| Inverness           | Inverness     | 2,944,000 E.  | 74,292      | 384      |
| Argyle              | Inverary      | 2,432,000 E.  | 75,700      | 364      |
| Bute                | Rothfay       | 238,080 E.    | 11,791      | 61       |
| Nairn               | Nairn         | 153,600 E.    | 8,257       | 43       |
| Murray              | Elgin         | 537,600 E.    | 26,705      | 138      |
| Banff               | Banff         | 649,600 E.    | 35,807      | 179      |
| Aberdeen            | Aberdeen      | 718,816 E.    | 123,071     | 640      |
| Mearns              | Bervie        | 243,444 E.    | 26,349      | 136      |
| Angus               | Forfar        | 593,920 E.    | 99,127      | 511      |
| Perth               | Perth         | 4,068,640 E.  | 126,366     | 653      |
| Fife                | Cupar         | 322,560 E.    | 93,743      | 484      |
| Kinross             | Kinross       | 43,920 E.     | 6,725       | 35       |
| Clackmannan         | Culross       | 25,600 E.     | 10,858      | 56       |
| Stirling            | Stirling.     | 450,560 E.    | 50,825      | 163      |
| Dumbarton           | Dumbarton     | 159,356 E.    | 20,710      | 107      |
| Linlithgow          | Linlithgow    | 57,008 S.     | 17,844      | 94       |
| Edinburgh           | Edinburgh     | 230,400 E.    | 122,954     | 645      |
| Haddington          | Haddington    | 224,000 E.    | 29,986      | 154      |
| Berwick             | Dunfermline   | 326,400 E.    | 30,206      | 155      |
| Renfrew             | Renfrew       | 322,560 E.    | 78,056      | 404      |
| Ayr                 | Ayr           | 1,152,000 E.  | 84,306      | 436      |
| Wigton              | Wigton        | 238,721 S.    | 22,918      | 119      |
| Lanark              | Lanark        | 556,800 E.    | 147,796     | 751      |
| Peebles             | Peebles       | 153,600 E.    | 8,717       | 45       |
| Selkirk             | Selkirk       | 128,000 E.    | 5,070       | 25       |
| Roxburgh            | Jedburgh      | 472,320 E.    | 33,712      | 178      |
| Dumfries            | Dumfries      | 1,088,000 E.  | 54,597      | 284      |
| Kircudbright        | Kircudbright  | 440,081 S.    | 29,211      | 151      |
|                     |               |               | 1,604,826   | 8902     |

Scotland.

For a topographical account of the several counties, the reader is referred to their names in the order of the alphabet.

4  
Face of the  
country.

Scotland is in general extremely mountainous, especially on the northern and western sides, whence these parts have been denominated the *Highlands*. Even the eastern and southern parts of the country have very little of that uniform flatness which distinguishes some parts of England, but are agreeably diversified with hill and dale. Numerous rivers intersect the country; and several romantic lakes are found at the foot of the most remarkable mountains. There is in general little wood, except in the northern parts, where there are still immense forests. Nothing can appear more wild and savage to the eye of a stranger than the Highlands of Scotland. Here the whole country seems composed of blue rocks and dusky mountains heaped upon each other,

with their sides embrowned with heath, and their summits covered with snow, which lies unthawed for the greater part of the year, or pours down their jagged sides in a thousand torrents and roaring cataracts, falling into gloomy vales or glens, some of which are so deep and narrow, as to be altogether impenetrable by the rays of the sun. Yet even these mountains are in some places sloped into agreeable green hills fit for pasture, and interspersed with pleasant straths or valleys, capable of cultivation; and there are several extensive districts of low fertile ground, though in other parts the interstices of the mountains are rendered nearly impassable by bogs and morasses. The entrance into the Highlands from the south-east near Dunkeld, is peculiarly impressive, there being here a considerable tract of plain, extending to what may be called the *gates* of the mountains.

The

*Note.*—The writers on Scottish topography have noted the extent of the several counties, sometimes in English, and sometimes in Scotch acres. We have therefore affixed to the numbers expressing the acres of each county, E or S, according as they are English or Scotch. The reader may reduce them to either standard by recollecting that the Scotch acre exceeds the English nearly in the proportion of five to four.

Scotland.

Soil.<sup>5</sup>

The soil of Scotland, which, considering the little variety of the country, is extremely various, will be best understood by examining that of the several counties, as described under their respective heads. In some parts, as the carse of Gowrie in Perthshire, and most of the counties of Haddington and Berwick, the soil vies in fertility with the richest parts of England, or even Ireland, while in the more mountainous tracts of Ross-shire, Sutherland, and Argyle, the country is very little adapted to tillage, and is therefore almost wholly devoted to pasturing large flocks of sheep and herds of black cattle.

Mountains.<sup>6</sup>

The principal mountains of Scotland are those of the Grampians, extending from Loch Lomond to Stonehaven, and forming the southern boundary of the Highlands; the Leadhills, partly in Dumfries-shire and partly in Lanarkshire; the Cheviot hills, forming the principal part of the southern boundary, and the Ochil hills, north of the river Forth. The highest individual mountains are those of Ben Nevis, Cairngorum, Ben Lawers, Ben More, Ben Lomond, Schhallien, Mount Battock, and Cruachan. The situation and direction of the mountainous chains, and the minerals which they contain, have been described under GEOLOGY, N<sup>o</sup> 140.

Bays and gulfs.<sup>7</sup>

The most remarkable inlets of the sea on the Scottish coast are, the friths of Forth, Tay, Solway, Murray, Cromarty, Dornoch, and Clyde, and the bays of Wigton and Glenluce. Many of what are called lochs, are properly large gulfs or inlets of the sea, especially Loch Fine, Loch Shin, Loch Broom, and Loch Linnhe.

Rivers.<sup>8</sup>

The chief rivers of Scotland are the Forth, that divides Stirling and Fife from the Lothians; the Tay, dividing Perth-shire and Angus-shire from Fife-shire; the Tweed, forming the boundary between Scotland and England to the east; the Clyde, passing through great part of Lanark-shire, and separating this county from those of Renfrew and Dumbarton; the Dee and the Don, passing through Aberdeen-shire; the Spey, separating the counties of Banff and Murray; the Nith, passing through Dumfries-shire, and the Eden in the county of Fife. See each under their respective names.

Lakes.<sup>9</sup>

The lakes or lochs of Scotland, are chiefly those of Lomond in Dumbarton-shire, Awe, in Argyle-shire, Tay, Katrine, and Erne, in Perth-shire; Loch Ness in Inverness-shire; and the classical lake of Leven in Kinross-shire. See LEVEN, LOMOND, TAY, &c.

Forests.<sup>10</sup>

We have said that Scotland is in general bare of wood, though there are numerous traces of its having formerly abounded in forests. The most remarkable of these was Ettrick forest in the county of Selkirk; the forest of Mar in the west of Aberdeen-shire, where still remains a considerable tract of woodland, called Abernethy forest; the forest of Sletadale to the north of Dun-Robin in the county of Sutherland; those of Dirrymore and Dirrymena, to the north and south of Loch Shin, and the forest of Athol in the county of Perth.

Climate and seasons.<sup>11</sup>

The climate of Scotland is, if possible, still more inconstant than that of England, and though in general extremely healthy to the robust mountaineer, it is by no means genial to the valetudinarian. The eastern coast is exposed to the keenness of the east wind during the greater part of the year, while the western shores, from their vicinity to the Atlantic, are deluged with almost

perpetual rain. The winter in this country is remarkable, rather for the abundance of snow which falls at that season, than for the intensity of frost; while in summer the heat of the sun is reflected with great violence in the narrow vales between the mountains, so as sometimes to occasion the appearance of glittering particles that seem to swim before the eye. The bareness of wood adds to the effects of sudden alternations of the weather, though it contributes to diminish the natural humidity of the air. The spring is in general very late and inclement, so as not unfrequently to destroy the fairest prospects of the farmer and the gardener. The harvests are also late, and we have seen corn either uncut, or standing in sheaves on the field, in the latter end of November.

Scotland.

The zoology of Scotland, as distinguished from that of England, offers little remarkable to the eye of the naturalist. In the northern counties, and in Galloway to the south, there is a breed of small horses, like the Welsh ponies, called *shelties*, which are extremely hardy, but obstinate and skittish. The cattle in Galloway are often without horns; a circumstance which is said to add to the quantity and quality of the milk which they produce. One of the chief primitive breeds of cattle in this country are the kylics, so called from the province of Kyle. These are of a middle size, and have short sharp horns pointing upwards. The Scotch sheep are smaller and shorter than those of England, but their flesh is much more delicate; and the fleeces of the Shetland sheep are remarkable for the fineness of their wool. Goats are not nearly so common in the Highlands of Scotland as in most other mountainous tracts, and swine are very little cultivated, pork not being a favourite food among the inhabitants of North Britain. There seems to be no breed of dogs peculiar to this country; but the colies or shepherd dogs are remarkable for their sagacity, and are often entrusted with the guardianship of flocks and herds during their master's absence. There are scarcely any wild quadrupeds peculiar to Scotland. The wolf, indeed, continued here to a much later period than in England, and the wild cat is occasionally observed. Small herds of roes also are still found in some of the northern districts, and seals and porpoises frequent the sea coasts.

Animals.<sup>12</sup>

Of the native birds the black cock and the grouse are the most remarkable. Eagles are often seen on the rocky cliffs, and elegant falcons in the remaining forests. The shores and islands present numerous sea fowl, and the isle of Bass is proverbially the haunt of the solan goose. The golden-crested wren is sometimes seen in the most northern parts of the country, but the nightingale has never yet been seen north of the Tweed.

The shores of Scotland are abundantly supplied with fish, especially herrings, haddocks, turbot, and lobsters; and the mouths of the great rivers, especially the Tweed and the Tay, furnish an inexhaustible supply of the finest salmon. Oysters are plentiful, but they are not so delicate as those on the coast of Essex. Mackerel, whiting, and smelts, are uncommon, and sprats are scarcely known. The lakes and streams abound in trout, perch, and other fresh-water fish. The whale sometimes appears on the northern coast, and the basking shark on the western inlets.

The vegetable productions of Scotland considered in general,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>Scotland.</sup> general, differ little from those of England; and those of the whole island may be seen by referring to the article BOTANY, where each British species is marked with an asterisk. We may remark, that the warm moist regions of Cornwall, Devonshire, and Dorset; the range of chalk hills that forms the greater part of the banks of the Thames; the dry sandy tracts of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge; and the fens of Lincolnshire, contain many plants that are either unknown, or very rarely met with in North Britain; while on the other hand, the snowy summits of the Grampians, the extensive forests of Badenoch and Braemar, and the bleak unsheltered rocks of the Hebrides, possess many hardy vegetables not to be found in the southern parts of the island. South Britain contains a greater number of species peculiar to itself; but those that are similarly circumstanced in this northern division, are of more frequent occurrence. To the English botanist, Scotland will have more the air of a foreign country, than England to a Scottish botanist. The researches of the former will be continually solicited and repaid amid the grand romantic scenery of the Highlands, by the appearance of plants either altogether new to him, or which he has been accustomed to consider as the rare reward of minute investigation. In traversing the natural forests of birch and pine, though his attention will be first attracted by the trees themselves in every stage of growth, from the limber sapling to the bare and weather-beaten trunks that have endured the storms of 500 or 600 winters; the new forms of the humbler vegetables will soon divide his attention, and will each attract a share of his regard. It would be an uninteresting task both to us and our readers, to enumerate the plants more peculiar to Scotland. These may be found in Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica*, and many of them in Mr Pinkerton's *G.ography*.

Scotland is by no means remarkable for abundance of fruit. Gooseberries, strawberries, and raspberries, do indeed ripen nearly as well as in England; and apples, pears, and some species of wall-fruit, as Orleans plums and apricots, are not uncommon; but peaches, nectarines, and grapes, are scarcely seen in the open air; and in the best gardens we have not observed the walnut, the mulberry, or the fig. Even the currants, which are very abundant, scarcely ever attain that degree of ripeness which can fit them for use as a dessert, but are employed almost entirely for jellies and wines. The chief fruit districts are those on the banks of the Clyde.

<sup>14</sup> Minerals. Few countries possess a greater store of subterraneous riches than Scotland; most of the metals, and some of the most valuable minerals, being very common. Even gold itself has been found in the Leadhills, in the sands of Elvan, a rivulet which joins the Clyde, and in the Ochill hills; and a considerable quantity of silver is annually obtained from the lead mines of Leadhills and Wanlockhead. Copper is rare; but has been met with near Alva in the Ochills; at Colvend in Galloway, and some other places. The most remarkable lead-mines are those of Leadhills and Wanlockhead, Strontian and Islay; but traces of this metal have been found in other parts. Iron is a most abundant mineral production, but that called the Carron ore is best known. Cobalt is found at Alva; calamine (an impure oxide of zinc) at Wanlockhead; plumbago or graphite in Ayrshire; and antimony in Dumfriesshire.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> Among the other minerals, coal is to be regarded as the most abundant and most valuable. We have already remarked, under GEOLOGY, that one of the two chief beds of coal found in this island, is that which runs from the valley traversed by the Tay and the Forth, westward to the coast of Ayrshire. The Lothians and Fife-shire particularly abound with coal; and it is not less abundant in the vicinity of Glasgow, and in several places of the counties of Ayr and Renfrew.

Scotland may be called the quarry of Britain, as hence is derived most of the stone that is carried to the south for building and paving. Abundance of freestone and limestone is found in most parts of the country; and the beauty and durability of the houses in the New Town of Edinburgh bear ample testimony to the value of the quarries in that neighbourhood. Beautiful granite is found in Ben Nevis, and fine statuary marble in Aysyn, and in Blairgowrie in Perthshire. A black marble speckled with white occurs at Fort William; jasper is found in various parts; fullers earth occurs near Campbeltown, and considerable quantities of talc in the mountains of Findhorn. The beautiful quartz of Cairngorum is well known, and numerous pebbles of agates and onyxes are frequently collected on the eastern coast.

The mineral waters of Scotland are numerous; but <sup>15</sup> Mineral waters. the principal are those of Moffat, Peterhead, St Bernard's well near Edinburgh, and Pitcaithly. At Moffat are two springs, one a sulphureous, and the other from Hartfell a chalybeate water. The water at St Bernard's well is strongly impregnated with sulphur.

Many singular natural curiosities are to be found in <sup>16</sup> Natural curiosities. Scotland. Among these the beautiful falls of the Clyde, the insulated rock of the Bas; the scenery about Loch Lomond, and the isles of Staffa, Eigg, and Cannay, are chiefly deserving of notice. In the isle of Arran is an immense vaulted cavern, hollowed in the solid rock; and near Colvend in Dumfriesshire, and on the eastern coast of Fife, are several remarkable caves. Noss head presents a singular quarry of slate, marked with metallic figures; and at Glamna in the heights of Glenelchraig, is a cascade, which, viewed amidst the constant darkness of hills and woods, is truly sublime.

In the parish of Gaurie in Banffshire are three remarkable natural curiosities; a perpendicular rock of very great extent full of shells, which are possessed by myriads of birds; a cave, or rather den, called *Hell's lum* or *chimney*, 50 feet deep, 60 long, and 40 broad, having a subterraneous passage to the sea, about 240 feet long, through which the waves are driven with great violence in stormy weather, so as to occasion smoke to rise from the den; and another subterraneous passage through a peninsula from sea to sea, nearly 450 feet long, and so narrow that a man can with difficulty creep through it. At one end of this passage is a cave about 20 feet high, 30 broad, and 150 long, supported by immense columns of rock.

<sup>17</sup> Scottish islands. There are three principal groups of Scottish islands; those of Shetland and Orkney, to the north of the Pentland frith, and that of the Hebrides, Hebrides, or Western Isles, in the western Atlantic. An ample account of these will be found under the articles **HEBRIDES**, **ORKNEY**, and **SHETLAND**; and under the names of the principal individual islands. The isles

Scotland. of Bute and Arran, which are distinct from the Hebrides, have also been described under their respective names.

18  
Names of  
North Bri-  
tain.

The name Scotland, as applied to North Britain, is comparatively of recent date. By the later Roman writers, *Scotia* was applied to Ireland, as the country which had been colonized by the *Scoti*, and the names of *Hiberni* and *Scoti* are, after the 4th century of the Christian era, indiscriminately applied to the inhabitants of Ireland. When North Britain first became known to the Romans under Agricola, it was by them denominated *Caledonia*, from its abounding in forests, and the natives were called *Caledonii*. These names continued in use till the expiration of the Roman power in Britain, when this part of the island was generally known by the name of *Provincia Pictorum*, and the inhabitants were divided into *Picti-Caledonii*, and *Picti*. It is not till the 11th century that we find *Scotia* or *Scotland* appropriated to North Britain.

With respect to the origin of this name there is much dispute, but it is generally agreed that the term *Scots* was applied to the inhabitants of North Britain by their neighbours, by way of reproach.

19  
Aborigines  
of Scotland.

Few points have been disputed with more keenness and more asperity than the original population of Scotland. The Irish and the Scotch have strenuously contested the claim of their country to be the stock from which the other was colonized. There seems no doubt that both Britain and Ireland were originally peopled by the Celtic tribes, who had long before occupied the west of Europe, and advanced from the shores of Gaul, probably across the straits of Dover, to take possession of the southern part of Britain. Thence it appears they extended themselves northwards, till they had peopled the whole island, when, from a spirit of enterprise, or to find more room and better pasture for their herds, they crossed the channel to the west of Britain, and planted a colony in Ireland. This seems to be their most natural route, and numerous authorities have been lately adduced to prove, not only that the whole of Britain and Ireland were peopled by Celtic tribes, but that the colonization of Ireland was subsequent to that of Scotland. "This region (North Britain) during the first century," says Mr Chalmers "is a small but genuine mirror of Gaul during the same age. North Britain was inhabited by one and twenty clans of Gaelic people, whose polity, like that of their Gaelic progenitors, did not admit of very strong ties of political union. They professed the same religious tenets as the Gauls, and performed the same sacred rites; their stone monuments were the same, as we know from remains. Their principles of action, their modes of life, their usages of burial, were equally Gaelic; and above all, their expressive language, which still exists for the examination of those who delight in such lore, was the purest Celtic \*."

\* *Caledonia*, vol. i.  
p. 33.

20  
Names and  
situations  
of the Ab-  
original  
tribes.

The names and position of the 21 tribes which occupied North Britain in the first century, have been minutely investigated by Mr Chalmers, and we shall here briefly state the result of his investigations. The first tribe which he mentions is that of the *Outadini*, who possessed the country which stretches from the river Tyne northward along the coast of the German sea and the frith of Forth. On the west of these lay the *Ga-*

*deni*, occupying the western part of Northumberland, that small portion of Cumberland which lies to the north of the river Irthing; the west of Roxburghshire, the whole of Selkirk and Tweeddale, part of Mid Lothian, and nearly the whole of West Lothian, or Linlithgow. To the south-west of the *Gadeni* lay the *Selgovæ*, inhabiting Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale in Dumfries-shire; the eastern part of Galloway as far as the river Dee, which formed their western boundary; while to the south they extended to the Solway frith. The *Novantes* inhabited the western and middle parts of Galloway, from the Dee on the east to the Irish sea on the west. The *Damnii* occupied the whole extent of country from the ridge of hills lying between Galloway and Ayrshire on the south, to the river Earn on the north, comprehending all Strathclyd, the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a small part of Dumbarton and Perth. The *Horestii* inhabited the country lying between the Forth and Tay, including the shires of Fife, Clackmannan, and Kinross, with the eastern part of Strathern, and the country lying westward of the Tay, as far as the river Brand. The *Venricones* possessed the country between the Tay and the Carron, comprehending a great part of Perth-shire, the whole of Angus, and part of Kincardine-shire. The *Taivali* inhabited the northern part of the Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeen-shire, to the Doveran; a district which included the promontory of Kinnaird's-head, to which the Romans gave the name of *Taivalorum promontorium*. The *Vacanagi* occupied the country on the south side of the Murray frith, from the Doveran on the east, to the Nefs on the west; an extent comprehending the shires of Banff, Elgin, Nairn, the east part of Inverness, with Braemar in Aberdeen-shire. The *Albani*, afterwards called *Damnii Albani*, inhabited the interior districts, between the lower ridge of the Grampians on the south, and the chain of mountains forming the southern limit of Inverness-shire on the north, including Braidalban, Athol, a small part of Lochaber, with Appin and Glenorchy in Upper-Lorn. The *Attacotti* inhabited the whole country from Loch Fine on the west, to the eastward of the river Leven and Loch Lomond, comprehending the whole of Cowal in Argyle-shire, and the greater part of Dumbarton-shire. The proper *Caledonii* possessed the whole of the interior country, from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness from Perth on the south, to the range of hills that forms the forest of Balnagavan on the north, comprehending all the middle parts of Inverness and of Ross. The *Cantæ* inhabited the east of Ross-shire from the æstuary of Varrar on the south, to the frith of Dornoch on the north, having the frith of Cromarty in the centre, and a ridge of hills on the west. The south-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the *Logi*, whose country extended from the frith of Dornoch on the south-west to the river Ila on the east. The *Carnabii* inhabited the south of Caithness from the Ila river; the small tribe of the *Cateni* inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness, and the *Mertæ* occupied the interior of Sutherland. The *Carnonacæ* inhabited the north and west coast of Sutherland, while the *Creones* occupied the west coast of Ross-shire, the *Cerones* the western coast of Inverness, and the *Epidii* the south-west of Argyle-shire, from Loch Linnhe to the frith of Clyde.

Scotland.



Scotland.  
21  
Druidical  
antiquities  
in Scotland.

All these Celtic tribes, in their laws, religion, manners, and customs, appear to have resembled the Britons of the south. Their life was equally simple, their manners were equally savage, and their religion, like that of the South Britons, was certainly Druidical. See ENGLAND, N<sup>o</sup> 4, and the article DRUIDS. The fact of Druids having existed in North Britain, so strenuously denied by some writers, is, in the opinion of Mr Chalmers, completely ascertained by numerous remains of places of Druidical worship. These he has been at much pains to investigate, and has described several remarkable circles of stones and rocking stones, resembling in almost every particular those in South Britain, which are on all hands allowed to be Druidical. Some remarkable remains of this kind occur in the parish of Kirkmichael in Perthshire, where there is an immense rocking stone standing on a flat-topped eminence in the vicinity of a large body of Druidical remains. Opposite to the manse of Dron, in the same county, there is another large rocking stone, ten feet long and seven broad; and in the parish of Abernethy, near Balvaird, there is a third which attracted the notice of Buchanan. In the stewartry of Kircudbright is a stone of a similar description, called *Logan stone*, which from its size appears to be eight or ten tons in weight, and is so nicely balanced on two or three protuberances, that the pressure of the finger produces a rocking motion from the one side to the other\*.

\* *Caledonia*, vol. i.  
p. 76.

22  
Robertson's  
division of  
the Scot-  
tish history.

It has been remarked by Dr Robertson, that the history of Scotland may properly be divided into four periods. The first reaches from the origin of the monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II.; the second, from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts to the death of Alexander III.; the third extends to the death of James V. the last, from thence to the accession of James VI. to the crown of England. In the opinion of the same historian, the first period, extending from the earliest accounts to the year 843 of the Christian era, is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected, or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries; that in the second period from 843 to 1286, truth begins to dawn with a light feeble at first, but gradually increasing, and that the events which then happened may be slightly touched, but merit no particular or laborious enquiry; that in the third period, from 1286 to 1542, the history of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preserved in England, becomes more authentic, as not only events are related, but their causes and effects are explained; and here every Scotchman should begin, not only to read, but to study the history of his country.

23  
No authen-  
tic traces  
of Scottish  
history pre-  
vious to the  
Christian  
era.

It must be allowed that most of the transactions recorded by Buchanan and Bœce, as having taken place in Scotland before the Christian era, are either purely fabulous, or are substantiated by no authentic documents; and we cannot but contemplate with the smile of incredulity, the long and minute list of Scottish monarchs from Fergus I. to Fergus II. so pompously displayed by these historians. That the names of 39 princes should be handed down with correctness by uncertain tradition, for a period of 690 years; that the duration of their reigns and the date of their accession should be so exactly ascertained, is surely a circumstance of the highest improbability; and we are compelled to believe that the earlier writers of Scottish history, like the Chinese annalists, have described the transactions of the same monarch under dif-

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ferent names, or under the same names with the designation of I, II, III, &c. This is rendered the more probable by considering that both Fergus I. and Fergus II. are said to have been of Irish extraction, and to have come over from Ireland to assist the inhabitants of North Britain against their more powerful neighbours. Under the persuasion that nothing authentic can be recorded in the Scottish history before the arrival of the Romans in Britain, we shall commence the historical part of this article from the period when Agricola first penetrated north of the Tweed.

It is to the luminous pages of Tacitus that we must look for the first rational and authentic documents of Scottish history.

The invasion of Agricola happened during the domination of a chief, called by the Roman historians *Galgacus*. Agricola having completed the conquest of the southern part, and in a great measure civilized the inhabitants, formed a similar plan with regard to Scotland. It is probable, that at this time the Caledonians had become formidable by the accession of numbers from the south; for though the Romans had civilized the greatest part, it cannot be doubted that many of those savage warriors, disdaining the pleasures of a peaceable life, would retire to the northward, where the martial disposition of the Caledonians would better suit their inclination. The utmost efforts of valour, however, were not proof against the discipline of the Roman troops, and the experience of their commander. In the third year Agricola had penetrated as far as the river *Tau*, (probably the *Solway Firth*, and not the *Tay*); but the particulars of his progress are not recorded. The following year he built a line of forts between the friths of Forth and Clyde, to exclude the Caledonians from the southern parts of the island; and the year after, he subdued those parts which lay to the south and west of his forts, namely, the districts of Galloway, Cantyre, and Argyle.

Agricola still pursued the same prudent measures by which he had already secured the possession of such a large tract of country, that is, advancing but slowly, and building forts as he advanced, in order to keep the people in obedience. The Caledonians, though commanded by their king *Galgacus*, who is said to have been well acquainted with the manner of fighting and discipline of the Romans, were yet obliged to retreat; but at last, finding that the enemy made such progress as endangered the subjugation of the whole country, he resolved to cut off their communication with the southern parts, and likewise to prevent all possibility of a retreat by sea. Agricola, though solicited by some of his officers, refused to retreat; but divided his troops into three bodies, having a communication with each other. Upon this, *Galgacus* resolved to attack the weakest of the three, which consisted only of the ninth legion, and lay at that time, as is said, at a place called *Lochore*, about two miles from Loch-Leven in Fife. The attack was made in the night: and as the Romans were both unprepared and inferior in number, the Caledonians penetrated into the heart of their camp, and were making a great slaughter, when Agricola detached some light-armed troops to their assistance; by whom the Caledonians in their turn were routed, and forced to fly to the marshes and inaccessible places, where the enemy could not follow them.

This engagement has been magnified by the Roman historians into a victory, though it can scarcely be admitted

Scotland.

24  
Invasion of  
Scotland  
by Agri-  
cola.  
An. 80.

Scotland.

<sup>25</sup>  
Great vic-  
tory gained  
by the Ro-  
mans.

mitted as such from the testimonies of other historians. The Romans, however, certainly advanced very considerably, and the Caledonians as constantly retreated, till they came to the foot of the Grampian mountains, where the latter resolved to make their last stand. In the eighth year of the war, Agricola advanced to the foot of the mountains, where he found the enemy ready to receive him. Tacitus has given us a speech of Galgacus, undoubtedly fabricated for him, in which he sets forth the aspiring disposition of the Romans, and encourages his countrymen to defend themselves vigorously, as knowing that every thing valuable was at stake. A desperate engagement accordingly ensued. In the beginning, the Britons had the advantage, by the dexterous management of their bucklers: but Agricola having ordered three Tungrian and two Batavian cohorts, armed with short swords, and embossed bucklers terminating in a point, to attack the Caledonians, who were armed with long swords, the latter soon found these weapons useless in a close encounter; and as their bucklers covered only a small part of their bodies, they were easily cut in pieces by their adversaries. The most forward of their cavalry and charioteers fell back upon their infantry, and disordered the centre: but, the Britons endeavouring to out-flank their enemies, the Roman general opposed them with his horse; and the Caledonians were at last routed with great slaughter, and forced to fly into the woods, whither the Romans pursued with so little caution, that numbers of them were cut off. Agricola, however, having ordered his troops to proceed more regularly, prevented the Caledonians from attacking and cutting off his men in separate parties, as they had expected; so that this victory proved the greatest stroke to the Caledonians that they had hitherto received. This battle is supposed by some to have been fought in Strathern, half a mile south from the kirk of Comrie; but others imagine the place to have been near Fortingal-Camp, a place somewhat farther on the other side of the Tay.

Great as this victory was, it seems not to have been productive of any solid or lasting advantage to the Romans; since we find that Agricola, instead of putting an end to the war by the immediate conquest of all Caledonia, retreated into the country of the Horekii. Here he received hostages from part of the Caledonians; and ordered part of his fleet to sail round Britain, that they might discover whether it was an island or a continent. The Romans had no sooner left that part of the country, than the Caledonians demolished all the forts they had raised: and Agricola being soon after recalled by Domitian, the further progress of the Roman arms was stopped; Galgacus proving superior to any of the successors of that general.

<sup>26</sup>  
Wall built  
by Adrian.  
An. 120.

From the time of Agricola to that of Adrian, we know little of the affairs of Scotland, excepting that during this interval the Caledonians must have entirely driven the Romans out of their country, and reconquered all that tract which lay between Agricola's chain of forts and Carlisle on the west, and Newcastle or Tintmouth-Bar on the east; which Adrian, on visiting Britain, thought proper to fix as the northern boundary of the Roman dominions. Here he built a wall of turf between the mouth of the Tyne and the Solway frith, with a view to shut out the barbarians; which, however, did not answer the purpose, nor indeed could it be

thought to do so, as it was only built of turf, and guarded by not more than 18,000 men, who could not be supposed a sufficient force to defend such an extent of fortification.

Scotland.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the prætor Lollius Urbicus drove the Caledonians far to the northward, and repaired the chain of forts built by Agricola, which lay between the Carron on the frith of Forth and Dunglass on the Clyde. These were joined together by turf walls, and formed a much better defence than the wall of Adrian. After the death of Antoninus, however, Commodus having recalled Calpurnius Agricola, an able commander, who had kept the Caledonians in awe, a more dangerous war broke out than had ever been experienced by the Romans in that quarter. The Caledonians having passed the wall, put all the Romans they could meet with to the sword: but they were soon repulsed by Ulpus Marcellus, a general of consummate abilities, whom Commodus sent into the island.—In a short time the tyrant also recalled this able commander. After his departure, the Roman discipline in Britain suffered a total relaxation; the soldiery grew mutinous, and great disorders ensued: but these were happily removed by the arrival of Clodius Albinus, a person of great skill and experience in military affairs. His presence for some time restrained the Caledonians within proper bounds: but a civil war breaking out between him and Severus, Albinus crossed over to the continent with the greatest part of the Roman forces in Britain; and meeting his antagonist at Lyons, a dreadful battle ensued, in which Albinus was utterly defeated, and his army cut in pieces. See ROME, N<sup>o</sup> 375.

<sup>27</sup>  
Govern-  
ment of  
Lollius Ur-  
bicus.  
An. 139.

The absence of the Roman forces gave encourage-  
ment to the Caledonians to renew their depredations, Wars of Se-  
which they did with such success, that the emperor be-  
came apprehensive of losing the whole island; on which-  
he determined to go in person and quell these trouble-  
some enemies. The army collected by him on this-  
occasion was far more numerous than any the Romans  
had ever sent into Britain; and being commanded by  
such an able general as Severus, it may easily be sup-  
posed that the Caledonians must have been reduced to  
great difficulties. The particulars of this important  
expedition are very imperfectly related; but we are  
assured that Severus lost a vast number of men, it is said  
not fewer than 50,000, in his march through Scotland.  
Notwithstanding this, however, he is said to have pene-  
trated to the most northern extremity of the island, and  
obliged the enemy to yield up their arms. On his re-  
turn, he built a much stronger fortification to secure  
the frontiers against the enemy than had ever been done  
before, and which in some places coincided with Adrian's  
wall, but extended farther at each end. But in the  
mean time, the Caledonians, provoked by the brutality  
of the emperor's son Caracalla, whom he had left regent  
in his absence, again took up arms; on which Severus  
himself took the field, with a design, as appears, to ex-  
tirpate the whole nation; for he gave orders to his sol-  
diers "not to spare even the child in the mother's bel-  
ly." The event of the furious order is unknown: but  
in all probability the death of the emperor, which  
happened soon after, put a stop to the execution of this  
revenge; and it is certain that his son Caracalla, who suc-  
ceeded Severus, ratified the peace with the Caledonians.

<sup>28</sup>  
Wars of Se-  
verus with  
the Caledo-  
nians.  
An. 208.

After the treaty of Caracalla in 211, perpetual hos-  
tilities

Scotland. lities occurred between the Romans and Caledonians, assisted by the Picts. The inroads of these northern tribes were repelled by the Roman legions under Constantius, and after his death in 306, they appear to have remained quiet till 343, when a fresh inroad of the Picts is said to have been repelled by Constantine. In the year 360, the Scotch are first mentioned by Roman writers. They were, as we have said, an Irish people of Caledonian extraction, and at this time invaded Scotland, and joined with the Picts against the Romans and their tributaries. In 364 they made a very formidable attack on the Roman provincials, and in 367 had advanced as far as Augusta, or London, where they were met by Theodosius, and were compelled to retire. From this time to 446, when the Romans finally quitted the British island, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of Scotland.

29 Transactions from 211 to 446.

30 Picts. Of the Picts, who now begin to make a figure in Scottish history, we have given an account under the article PICTS, and shall here remark only that the name Picti does not properly belong to a new or distinct tribe of the inhabitants of North Britain, but was applied about this time to a part of the Caledonians, who inhabited a considerable tract of country north of the friths of Forth and Clyde; and that the dominion of their kings, of whom a long list is given by Mr Chalmers, extended from the year 451 to 842, when it finally terminated.

31 Appearance of a colony from Ireland. An. 503. In the middle of the second century, one of those turbulent tribes which long involved Ireland in contest and dissension, possessed themselves of the north-east corner of Ireland, under the conduct of Cairbre-Riada; and from the name of their leader gave to this district the denomination of Dal-Riada, or the portion of Riada. The sixth century had scarcely commenced, when the progress of population and the spirit of enterprise induced a number of the inhabitants of Dal-Riada to emigrate to the opposite coast of North Britain, led by three chiefs Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erc, the descendant of Cairbre-Riada, who then ruled over the Dalriadan tribe. They landed in the country of the Epidii, in the south-west of Argyle-shire, about the year 503. These colonies, who to the time of Bede, were denominated Dalriadini, brought with them their language, religion, manners and customs, which differed in some respects from those of the Celtic tribes which had long occupied the north of Britain.

In the records of time there scarcely occurs a period of history so perplexed and confused as that afforded by the annals of the Scoto-Irish tribes, from their settlement in 503 to their ultimate ascendancy in 843. The want of cotemporaneous writings left an ample field for the conflicts of national emulation. Ignorance and ingenuity, sophistry and system, contributed by various efforts to darken what was already sufficiently obscure. There remain, however, in the sister islands, various documents of subsequent compilation, which throw considerable light on the obscure transactions of the Scoto-Irish tribes, and enable us to unravel the entangled genealogies of their kings. These consist chiefly of the Irish annals of Tigernoch and of Ulster, with the useful observations on them of O'Flaherty and O'Connor; of several brief chronicles and historical documents first brought to light by Innes; and of a Gaelic poem, containing a genealo-

gical account of the Scoto-Irish kings. From these documents Mr Chalmers has constructed an elaborate genealogical and chronological table of those kings, from Fergus to Kenneth Macalpin, from which we shall extract the two most important columns, shewing the date of accession, and the duration of the reigns of the several monarchs.

|   | Accession. | Reign.        |
|---|------------|---------------|
| 1. Fergus the son of Erc,   | 503        | 3             |
| 2. Domangart the son of Fergus,   | 506        | 5             |
| 3. Comgal, son of Domangart,  | 511        | 24            |
| 4. Gauran, son of Domangart,  | 535        | 22            |
| 5. Conal, son of Comgal,  | 557        | 14            |
| 6. Aidan, son of Gauran,  | 571        | 34            |
| 7. Eocha-bui, the son of Aidan,   | 605        | 16            |
| 8. Kenneth-tear, son of Eocha-bui,  | 621        | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 9. Ferchar, son of Eogan, first of Loarn's race,  | 621        | 16            |
| 10. Donal-breac, son of Eocha-bui,  | 637        | 5             |
| 11. Conal II. grandson of Conal I.  | 642        | 10            |
| 12. Dungal reigned some years with Conal,   |            |               |
| 13. Donal-Duin, son of Conal,   | 652        | 13            |
| 14. Maolduin, son of Conal,   | 665        | 16            |
| 15. Ferchar-Fada, grandson of Ferchar I.  | 681        | 21            |
| 16. Eocha-Rineval, son of Domangart,  | 702        | 3             |
| 17. Ainbhealach, son of Ferchar-Fada,   | 705        | 1             |
| 18. Selvach, son of Ferchar-Fada, reigned over Loarn from 706 to 729,                                       | 706        | 27            |
| 19. Duncha-beg over Kintyre till 720,   |            |               |
| 20. Eocha III. son of Eocha-rinwal over Kintyre and Argail from 720 to 729, and over Loarn from 729 to 733, |            |               |
| 21. Muredach, son of Ainbhealach,   | 733        | 3             |
| 22. Eogan, son of Muredach,   | 736        | 3             |
| 23. Aodh-Fin, son of Eocha III.   | 739        | 30            |
| 24. Fergus, son of Aodh-Fin,  | 769        | 3             |
| 25. Selvach II. son of Eogan,   | 772        | 24            |
| 26. Eocha-Anneune IV. son of Aodh-Fin,  | 796        | 30            |
| 27. Dungal, son of Selvach II.  | 826        | 7             |
| 28. Alpin, son of Eocha-annuine IV.   | 833        | 3             |
| 29. Kenneth, son of Alpin,  | 836        | 7             |

We shall not attempt to follow Mr Chalmers through the detail of events which he has narrated as taking place during the reigns of the Scoto-Irish kings. Whatever light he may have thrown on this obscure part of Scottish history, it must still remain uninteresting, except to the antiquary, and the minute historian. It is of more importance to the general reader, to be informed of the manners and customs, the polity and the laws of the tribes that occupied the chief part of North Britain at the accession of Kenneth II. from whose reign, as we have already remarked, the Scottish history begins to dawn.

We have said that the Dalriadinian colonists brought with them from Ireland, and established in their new settlements, their peculiar laws and customs. According to these laws, the succession both of the kings and chief-

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tains was so regulated, that the person in the family who seemed best qualified, from abilities or experience, to exercise the chief authority, whether a son or a brother, was fixed on by the tribe for the succession to the vacant throne or chieftainship. Much of the dignity of the monarch was supported by the voluntary contributions of his vassal princes and chiefs, paid in cattle, clothes, and utensils; and the monarch was compelled to purchase the service and assistance of these chiefs by similar presents; in consideration of which they entertained the sovereign in his journeys, and served him in his wars during a limited period. A similar polity appears to have pervaded all ranks among the Scoto-Irish people, from the king to the prince, and from the prince to the chieftain. The toparch governed his district as the monarch governed his kingdom; and the chieftains ruled their territories and their fortified villages, on the same principles of mutual dependence, of the higher on the lower, and of the subordinate on the superior ranks. Such brittle ties were easily broken; and during these rude times, when the voice of law was but faintly heard, the performance of those reciprocal duties could be enforced only by the dread of assassination, and the breach of them punished only by the sword.

The Scoto-Irish women, of whatever rank, seem not to have been entitled to the slightest possession of land, under the Brehon law. To them were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle as their marriage-portion. The herds of the Scoto-Irish were so frequently within their contemplation, and during a rude state of society supplied so many comforts to their possessors, that the native terms which signify possession, or a field, also convey the idea of a herd or drove. Yet such is the copiousness of the Irish language, that it has a great variety of terms which convey the notion of a law; but we may infer from these law-terms, with their several modifications, that the people of whom we are speaking had little of positive statute, or written law; their whole body of jurisprudence consisting almost entirely of traditional customs, and local usages. According to Cox, it was no written law, but only the will of the brehon or lord. And it is observable that these brehons held their offices by descent and inheritance, and of course were not qualified for the posts to which he succeeded. The brehon or judge, when he administered justice, used to sit on a turf or heap of stones, or on the top of a hillock, without covering, and without clerks, or any of the usual formalities of a court of judicature. Some remains of this state of laws and manners may be traced in some parts of Scotland to the present period. Every baron had his mote-hill, whence he distributed justice to his vassals, either in person, or by his baron-bailie. Under the brehon system all crimes were commutable; theft, rape, and even murder, were punished by a fine.

It was an ancient custom of these tribes, that every head of every *sept*, and the chief of every clan, should be answerable for each of their sept or kindred, when charged with any crime; and it is remarkable that both in Ireland and Scotland this ancient custom was adopted into the statute book. The protection of bees was a great head of the brehon law. The Scoto-Irish territories were fully peopled by this industrious race, and their honey supplied abundance of *mead*, the favourite beverage of the ancient Britons. In vain do the Irish anti-

quaries give us splendid pictures of the learning, opulence, and refinement, of the ancient Irish; the laws of every people are the truest histories of their domestic affairs. While we see that the wealth of these tribes consisted of their bees and their cattle, we may certainly infer, that they had only advanced from the first to the second stage of society, from hunters to feeders of flocks. In this unrefined state the Scoto-Irish long continued, as is evident from their rent-rolls.

It is apparent that more of wretchedness than of comfort prevailed among the Dalriadian districts in every rank of society. Their best houses were built of wattles; and buildings of lime and stone were late works of more intelligent times. The cloathing even of the monks was the skins of beasts, though there is no doubt that they obtained from abroad, by means of traffic, both woollen and linen stuffs. Venison and fish, the flesh of seals, and milk, constituted the food of the people; but the monks of Iona, who lived by their labour, and perhaps the chiefs, had some provision of corn. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law, as well as by manners, as a capital virtue. Manufactures and trades exercised as a profession were unknown. Every family had its own carpenter, weaver, and shoemaker, however unskilful and inadequate to the uses of civilization these homely workmen might appear.

The Scoto-Irish tribes were not destitute of shipping, which consisted partly of canoes, and partly of a more skilfully constructed kind of vessels called *currachs*. These were formed by covering a keel of wood and a frame of wicker-work, with skins of cattle and of deer, and by experience these rude boats were improved into roomy vessels, that served either for transports or for war.

Of the various customs of the Scoto-Irish, that of *fosterage* has been regarded as a subject for particular speculation. By this singular custom, children were mutually given from different families to be nursed by strangers. The lower orders considered this trust as an honour, rather than a service, for which an adequate reward was either given or accepted. The attachment of those who were thus educated is said to have been indissoluble; for, according to Camden, there is no love in the world comparable to that of foster-brethren in Ireland. From this practice arose a connection of family, and a union of tribes, which often prompted and sometimes prevented evil feuds\*.

The Dalriadian tribe which colonized the south-west of Scotland, in the beginning of the sixth century, professed the Christian religion, which had been introduced into Ireland in the middle of the preceding century. They did not, however, introduce into Scotland a new religion, for there is reason to believe that the benign influence of Christianity had been felt in those parts of North Britain which were inaccessible to the Roman power so early as the beginning of the third century; and the Romanized Britons of Valencia, called by Bede the southern Picts, had been converted from the superstitions of Druidism at the commencement of the fifth century. This reformation is attributed to St Ninian, a native of the country of the Novantes, born of noble parentage, about the year 360. (See NINIA). St Ninian died on the 16th September 432; on which day a festival in honour of his name was celebrated in Britain for many ages. About the middle of the sixth century,

Scotlan<sup>d</sup>.

\* Chalmer's *Caledonia*, vol. i.

33  
State of religion in the 6th century.

Scotland. century, appeared Kentigern, a Christian bishop, who fixed his residence at Alcluyd, in the kingdom of Cumbria. He contributed much towards improving the state of religion in North Britain, where he continued his instructions with little interruption till the year 601. Cotemporary with Kentigern was the celebrated Columba, who converted the northern Picts, and has always been held in the highest veneration as one of the principal saints in the North British calendar. He established the seat of his ecclesiastical academy in the small island of Hy, or Iona, which had been conferred on him either by Connal, king of the Scoto-Irish, or Bridei, the Pictish sovereign. Here he settled with his 12 disciples, and laboured for two years with their own hands in erecting huts, and building a church. In the course of a few years Columba had converted Bridei, king of the Picts, and most of his subjects, and had established monasteries in several parts of the Caledonian territories. (See COLUMBA).

34  
Wars between the Scots and Picts.

Before entering on the reign of Kenneth, it may be proper to take a short view of that of his father and predecessor, Alpin, as in his reign commenced those bloody conflicts between the Scots and Picts which finally terminated in the subjugation or expulsion of the latter.

At the accession of Alpin, the dominion of the Scots comprehended the Western islands, together with the districts of Argyle, Knapdale, Kyle, Kintyre, Lochaber, and a part of Breadalbane; while the Picts possessed all the rest of Scotland, and part of Northumberland; so that the Picts seem to have been by much the more powerful people of the two. The Scots, however, appear to have been superior in military skill; for Alpin, the successor of Dongal, having engaged the Pictish army near Forfar, after an obstinate engagement defeated them, and killed their king, though not without the loss of a great number of his own men. The Picts chose Brudus, the son of their former king, to succeed him; but soon after deposed and put him to death, on account of his stupidity and indolence. His brother Kenneth shared the same fate on account of his cowardice; till at last another Brudus, a brave and spirited prince, ascended the throne. Having raised a powerful army, he began with offering terms of peace to the Scots; which, however, Alpin rejected, and insisted on a total surrender of his crown. Brudus on this endeavoured to procure the assistance of Edwin king of Northumberland. Edwin accepted the money offered by Brudus; but pretending to be engaged in other wars, refused the assistance which he at first promised. Brudus, not dismayed by this disappointment, marched resolutely against his enemies; and the two armies came to an engagement near Dundee. The superior skill of the Scots in military affairs was about to have decided the victory in their favour, when Brudus thought of the following stratagem to preserve his army from destruction. He caused all the attendants, and even the women who attended his army, to assemble and show themselves at a distance as a powerful reinforcement coming to the Picts. This struck the Scots with such a panic, that all the efforts of Alpin could not recover them, and they were defeated with great slaughter. Alpin himself was taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded by order of the conqueror. This execution happened at a place now called *Pu-alpy*, but in former

35  
The Scots defeated, and their king killed.

times *Bas-alpin*, which in the Gaelic language signifies the death of *Alpin*. His head was afterwards stuck upon a pole, and exposed on a wall. Scotland.

Alpin was succeeded by his son Kenneth II. who being a brave and enterprising prince, resolved to take a most severe revenge for his father's death. The Scots, however, were so dispirited by their late defeat, that they were exceedingly averse to any renewal of the war; while, on the other hand, the Picts were so much elated, that they made a law by which it became death for any man to propose peace with the Scots, whom they resolved to exterminate; and some of the nobility were expelled the council on account of their opposition to this law. The consequence of this was, that civil dissensions took place among them, and a bloody battle was fought between the opposite parties, before the Scots had thought of making any farther resistance. 36  
Reign of Kenneth II.

By these distractions Brudus, who had in vain endeavoured to appease them, was so much affected, that he died of grief, and was succeeded by his brother Drusken.—The new prince also failed in his endeavours to accommodate the civil differences; so that the Scots, by gaining respite, at last began to recover from their consternation; and some of them having ventured into the Pictish territories, carried off Alpin's head from the capital of their dominions, supposed to have been Abernethy. In the mean time, Kenneth found means to gain over the nobility to his side by the following stratagem; which, however ridiculous, is not incredible, if we consider the barbarism and superstition of that age. Having invited them to an entertainment, the king introduced into the hall where they slept a person clothed in a robe made of the skins of fishes, which made such a luminous appearance in the dark, that he was mistaken for an angel or some supernatural messenger. To add to the terror of those who saw him, he denounced, through a speaking trumpet, the most terrible judgements, if war was not immediately declared against the Picts, the murderers of the late king. In consequence of this celestial admonition, war was immediately renewed with great vigour. The Picts were not deficient in their preparations, and had now procured some assistance from England. The first battle was fought near Stirling; where the Picts, being deserted by their English auxiliaries, were utterly defeated. Drusken escaped by the swiftness of his horse, and a few days after made application to Kenneth for a cessation of hostilities; but as the Scottish monarch demanded a surrender of all the Pictish dominions, the treaty was instantly broken off. Kenneth pursued his good fortune, and conquered the counties of Merns, Angus, and Fife; but as he marched against Stirling, he received intelligence that these counties had again revolted, and cut off all the garrisons which he had left, and that Drusken was at the head of a considerable army in these parts. On this Kenneth hastened to oppose him, and a negotiation again took place. The result was equally unfavourable with the rest. Kenneth insisted on an absolute surrender of the counties of Fife, Mearns, and Angus; and as this was refused, both parties prepared for a decisive battle. The engagement was very bloody and desperate, the Picts fighting like men in despair. Drusken renewed the battle seven times; but at last was entirely

37  
Stratagem of Kenneth to renew the war.

Scotland. tirely defeated and killed, and the counties in dispute became the immediate property of the conqueror.

Kenneth did not fail to improve his victory, by reducing the rest of the Pictish territories; in which he is said to have behaved with the greatest cruelty, and even to have totally exterminated the inhabitants. The capital, called *Camelon*, (supposed to have been Abernethy), held out four months; but was at last taken by surprise, and every living creature destroyed. This was followed by the reduction of the Maiden Castle, now that of Edinburgh; which was abandoned by the garrison, who fled to Northumberland.

After the reduction of these important places, the rest of the country made no great resistance, and Kenneth became master of all the kingdom of Scotland in the present extent of the word; so that he is justly to be esteemed the true founder of the Scottish monarchy. Besides this war with the Picts, Kenneth is said to have been successful against the Saxons, though of these wars we have very little account. Having reigned 16 years in peace after his subjugation of the Picts, and composed a code of laws for the good of his people, Kenneth died of a fitula, at Fort Teviot, near Duplin in Perthshire. Before his time the seat of the Scots government had been in Argyleshire; but he removed it to Scone, by transferring thither the famous black stone, supposed to be the palladium of Scotland, and which was afterwards carried off by Edward I. of England, and lodged in Westminster abbey.

33  
Donald II.  
An. 859.

Kenneth was succeeded by his brother Donald, who is represented as a man of the worst character; so that the remaining Picts who had fled out of Scotland were encouraged to apply to the Saxons for assistance, promising to make Scotland tributary to the Saxon power after it should be conquered. This proposal was accepted; and the confederates invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and took the town of Berwick; however, they were soon after defeated by Donald, who took their ships and provisions. This capture proved their ruin; for some of the ships being laden with wine, the Scots indulged themselves so much with that liquor, that they became incapable of defending themselves; in consequence of which the confederates, rallying their troops, attacked them in that state of intoxication. The Scots were defeated with excessive slaughter. Twenty thousand of the common soldiers lay dead on the spot; the king and his principal nobility were taken prisoners, and all the country from the Tweed to the Forth became the property of the conquerors. Still, however, the confederates found themselves unable to pursue their victory farther; and a peace was concluded, on condition that the Saxons should become masters of all the conquered country. Thus the Forth and Clyde became the southern boundaries of the Scottish dominions. It was agreed that the Forth should from that time forward be called the *Scots sea*; and it was made capital for any Scot to set his foot on English ground. They were to erect no forts near the English confines; to pay an annual tribute of a thousand pounds, and to give up 60 of the sons of their chief nobility as hostages. A mint was erected by the Saxon prince name *Osbreth*, at Stirling; and a cross raised on the bridge at that place, with the following inscription, implying that this place was the boundary between Scotland and England:

39  
The Scots  
defeated by  
the Saxons.

Scotland. *Anglos à Scotis separat crux ista remotis:  
Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti sub hac cruce tuti.*

After the conclusion of this treaty, so humiliating to the Scots, the Picts, finding that their interest had been entirely neglected, fled to Norway, while those who remained in England were massacred. Donald shared the common fate of unfortunate princes, being dethroned and shut up in prison, where he at last put an end to his own life in the year 858.—In justice to this unhappy monarch, however, it must be observed, that the character of Donald, and indeed the whole account of these transactions, rests on the credit of a single author, namely Boece; and that other writers represent Donald as a hero, and successful in his wars: but the obscurity in which the whole of this period of Scottish history is involved, renders it impossible to determine any thing satisfactory concerning these matters.

Donald was succeeded by his nephew Constantine, 40  
Reign of  
Constantine.  
An. 863.  
the son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in whose reign Scotland was first invaded by the Danes, who proved such formidable enemies to the English. This invasion is said to have been occasioned by some exiled Picts who fled to Denmark, where they prevailed upon the king of that country to send his two brothers, Hungar and Hubba, to recover the Pictish dominions from Constantine. 41  
Scots de-  
feated by  
the Danes.  
These princes landed on the coast of Fife, where they committed the most horrid barbarities, not sparing even the ecclesiastics who had taken refuge in the isle of May at the mouth of the Forth. Constantine defeated one of the Danish armies commanded by Hubba, near the water of Leven; but was himself defeated and taken prisoner by Hungar, who caused him to be beheaded at a place since called the *Devil's Cave*, in the year 874.

This unfortunate action cost the Scots 10,000 men: but the Danes seem not to have purchased their victory very easily, as they were obliged immediately afterwards to abandon their conquest, and retire to their own country. However, the many Danish monuments that are still to be seen in Fife, leave no room to doubt that many bloody scenes have been acted here between the Scots and Danes besides that above mentioned.

Constantine was succeeded by his brother Eth, 42  
E. h.  
named the *Swift-footed*, from his agility. Concerning An. 881.  
him we find nothing memorable; indeed the accounts are so confused and contradictory, that it is impossible to form any decisive opinion concerning the transactions of this reign. All agree, however, that it was but short; and that he was succeeded by Gregory the son of Dongal, contemporary with Alfred of England, and that both princes deservedly acquired the name of *Great*. The Danes at their departure had left the Picts in possession of Fife. Against them Gregory immediately 43  
Exploits of  
Gregory  
the Great.  
An. 882.  
marched, and quickly drove them into the north of England, where their confederates were already masters of Northumberland and York. In their way thither they threw a garrison into the town of Berwick; but this was presently reduced by Gregory, who put to the sword all the Danes, but spared the lives of the Picts. From Berwick, Gregory pursued the Danes into Northumberland, where he defeated them; and passed the winter in Berwick. He then marched against the Cumbrians, who being mostly Picts were in alliance with the Danes. He easily overcame them, and obli-

Scotland.

ged them to yield up all the lands they had formerly possessed belonging to the Scots, at the same time that he agreed to protect them from the power of the Danes. In a short time, however, Constantine the king of the Cumbrians violated the convention he had made, and invaded Annandale; but was defeated and killed by Gregory near Lockmaben. After this victory Gregory entirely reduced the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which, it is said, were ceded to him by Alfred the Great; and indeed the situation of Alfred's affairs at this time renders such a cession by no means improbable.

We next find Gregory engaged in a war with the Irish, to support Donach, an Irish prince, against two rebellious noblemen. The Irish were the first aggressors, and invaded Galloway; but being repulsed with great loss, Gregory went over to Ireland in person, where the two chieftains, who had been enemies to each other before, now joined their forces in order to oppose the common enemy. The first engagement proved fatal to one of their chiefs named *Brian*, who was killed with a great number of his followers. After this victory Gregory reduced Dandalk and Drogheda. On his way to Dublin he was opposed by a chieftain named *Cornell*, who shared the fate of his confederate, being also killed, and his army entirely defeated. Gregory then became guardian to the young prince whom he came to assist, appointed a regency, and obliged them to swear that they would never admit into the country either a Dane or an Englishman without his consent. Having then placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses, he returned to Scotland, where he built the city of Aberdeen; and died in the year 892, at his castle of Dandore in the Garioch.

44  
Donald III.  
An. 893.

Gregory was succeeded by Donald III. the son of Constantine, who imitated the virtues of his predecessor. The Scots historians unanimously agree that Northumberland was at that time in the hands of their countrymen; while the English as unanimously affirm that it was subject to the Danes, who paid homage to Alfred. Be this as it will, however, Donald continued to live on good terms with the English monarch, and sent him a body of forces, who proved of considerable advantage to him in his wars with the Danes. The reign of Donald was but short; for having marched against some robbers (probably Danes) who had invaded and ravaged the counties of Murray and Ross, he died at Forres soon after, having defeated and subdued them in the year 903. He was succeeded by Constantine III. the son of Eth the Swift-footed, concerning whom the most remarkable particular which we find related is his entering into an alliance with the Danes against the English. The occasion of this confederacy is said to have been, that the English monarch, Edward the Elder, finding the Scots in possession of the northern counties of England, made such extravagant demands on Constantine as obliged him to form an alliance with the Danes in order to preserve his dominions in security. However, the league subsisted only for two years, after which the Danes found it more for their advantage to resume their ancient friendship with the English.

As soon as Constantine had concluded the treaty with the Danes, he appointed the presumptive heir to the Scottish crown, Malcolm, or, according to some,

Eugene the son of the late king Donald, prince of the southern counties, on condition of his defending them against the attacks of the English. The young prince had soon an opportunity of exerting his valour: but not behaving with the requisite caution, he had the misfortune to be defeated, with the loss of almost all his army, he himself being carried wounded out of the field; and in consequence of this disaster, Constantine was obliged to do homage to Edward for the possessions he had to the southward of the Scots boundary.

In the beginning of the reign of Athelstan the son of Edward the Elder, the northern Danes were encouraged by some conspiracies formed against that monarch to throw off the yoke: and their success was such, that Athelstan thought proper to enter into a treaty with Sithric the Danish chief, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Sithric, however, did not long survive his nuptials; and his son Guthred, endeavouring to throw off the English yoke, was defeated, and obliged to fly into Scotland. This produced a series of hostilities between the Scots and English, which in the year 938 brought on a general engagement. At this time the Scots, Irish, Cumbrians, and Danes, were confederated against the English. The Scots were commanded by their king Constantine, the Irish by Anlaf the brother of Guthred the Danish prince, the Cumbrians by their own sovereign, and the Danes by Froda. The generals of Athelstan were Edmund his brother, and Turketil his favourite. The English attacked the entrenchments of the confederates, where the chief resistance which they encountered was from the Scots. Constantine was in the utmost danger of being killed or taken prisoner, but was rescued by the bravery of his soldiers: however, after a most obstinate engagement, the confederates were defeated with such slaughter, that the slain are said to have been *innumerable*. The consequence of this victory was, that the Scots were deprived of all their possessions to the southward of the Forth; and Constantine, quite dispirited with his misfortune, resigned the crown to Malcolm, and retired to the monastery of the Culdees at St Andrew's, where he died five years after, in 943.

The distresses which the English sustained in their subsequent wars with the Danes gave the Scots an opportunity of retrieving their affairs; and in the year 944, we find Malcolm, the successor of Constantine, invested with the sovereignty of Northumberland, on condition of his holding it as fief of the crown of England, and assisting in defence of the northern border. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty Malcolm died, and was succeeded by his son Indulfus. In his reign the Danes became extremely formidable by their invasions, which they now renewed with greater fury than ever, being exasperated by the friendship subsisting between the Scots and English monarchs. Their first descent was upon East Lothian, where they were soon expelled, but crossed over to Fife. Here they were a second time defeated, and driven out; and so well had Indulfus taken care to guard the coasts, that they could not find an opportunity of landing; till having seemed to steer towards their own country, the Scots were thrown off their guard, and the Danes on a sudden made good their landing at Cullen, in Banffshire. Here Indulfus soon came up with them, attacked their camp, and drove them towards their ships, but was killed in an ambu-

cade.

Scotland.

45  
Is utterly  
defeated by  
the English.

47  
Malcolm  
Macdonald,  
An. 944.

48  
New inva-  
sions of the  
Danes un-  
der Indul-  
fus.

Scotland. cade, into which he fell during the pursuit. He was succeeded by Duffus, to whom historians give an excellent character; but, after a reign of five years, he was murdered, in the year 965. He was succeeded by Culen the son of Indulfus, who had been nominated prince of Cumberland in his father's lifetime, as heir-apparent to the throne. He is represented as a very degenerate prince; and is said to have given himself up to the grossest sensuality. The people in the mean time were fleeced, in order to support the extravagance and luxury of their prince. In consequence of this, an assembly of the states was convened at Scone for the settling of the government; but on his way thither Culen was assassinated, near the village of Methven, by Rochard, thane or sheriff of Fife, whose daughter the king had debauched.

49  
Kenneth  
III. a wife  
and valiant  
prince.  
An. 970.

The provocations which Culen had given to his nobility seem to have rendered them totally untractable and licentious; and gave occasion to a remarkable revolution in the reign of Kenneth III. who succeeded Culen. This prince, being a man of great resolution, began with relieving the common people from the oppressions of the nobility, which were now intolerable; and this plan he pursued with so much success, that, having nothing to fear from the great barons, he ordered them to appear before him at Lanark; but the greatest part, conscious of their demerits, did not attend. The king so well displeas'd his displeasure, that those who came were quite charmed with his affability, and the noble entertainment he gave them; in consequence of which, when an assembly was called next year, the guilty were encouraged to appear as well as the innocent. No sooner had this assembly met, however, than the place of meeting was beset with armed men. The king then informed them that none had any thing to apprehend excepting such as had been notorious offenders; and these he ordered to be immediately taken into custody, telling them, that their submitting to public justice must be the price of their liberty. They were obliged to accept the king's offer, and the criminals were accordingly punished according to their deserts.

About this time Edgar, king of England, finding himself pressed by the Danes, found means to unite the king of Scotland and the prince of Cumberland with himself in a treaty against the Danes; which gave occasion to a report that Kenneth had become tributary to the king of England. This, however, is utterly denied by all the Scots historians; who affirm that Kenneth cultivated a good correspondence with Edgar, as well because he expected assistance in defending his coasts, as because he intended entirely to alter the mode of succession to the throne. About this time the Danes made a dreadful invasion. Their original intention seems to have been to land on some part of the English coasts; but finding these too well guarded, they landed at Montrose in Scotland, committing every where the most dreadful ravages. Kenneth was then at Stirling, and quite unprepared; however, having collected a handful of troops, he cut off many of the enemy as they were straggling up and down, but could not prevent them from besieging Perth. Nevertheless, as the king's army constantly increased, he resolved to give the enemy battle. The scene of this action was at Loncarty, near Perth. The king is said to have offered ten pounds in

silver, or the value of it in land, for the head of every Dane which should be brought him; and an immunity from all taxes to the soldiers who served in his army, provided they should be victorious: but, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Scots, their enemies fought so desperately, that Kenneth's army must have been totally defeated, had not the fugitives been stopped by a yeoman and his two sons of the name of *Hay*, who were coming up to the battle, armed with such rustic weapons as their condition in life afforded. Buchanan and Boece inform us, that these countrymen were ploughing in a field hard by the scene of action, and perceiving that their countrymen fled, they loosed their oxen, and made use of the yokes as weapons, with which they first obliged their countrymen to stand, and then annoyed their enemies. The fight was now renewed with such fury on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were utterly defeated; and, after the battle, the king rewarded Hay with the barony of Errol in the Carse of Gowrie, ennobled his family, and gave them an armorial bearing alluding to the rustic weapons with which they had achieved this glorious exploit.

In the year 994, Kenneth was murdered at the instigation of a lady named *Fenella*, whose son he had caused to be put to death. The murder was perpetrated in Fenella's castle, where she had persuaded the king to pay her a visit. His attendants waited long near the place; but being at length tired out, they broke open the doors, and found their king murdered: on which they laid the castle in ashes; but Fenella escaped by a postern. The throne was then seized by an usurper named *Constantine*; who, being killed in battle after a reign of a year and a half, was succeeded by Grime, the grandson of King Duffus; and he again was defeated and killed by Malcolm the son of Kenneth, the lawful heir of the Scottish throne. After this victory, however, Malcolm did not immediately assume the sovereignty; but asked the crown from the nobles in consequence of a law passed in the reign of Kenneth, by which the succession to the throne of Scotland became hereditary. This they immediately granted, and Malcolm was accordingly crowned king. He joined himself in strict alliance with the king of England; and proved so successful against the Danes in England, that Sweyn their king resolved to direct his whole force against him by an invasion of Scotland. His first attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; all his soldiers being cut in pieces, except some few who escaped to their ships, while the loss of the Scots amounted to no more than 30 men. But in the mean time, Duncan, prince of Cumberland, having neglected to pay his homage to the king of England, the latter invaded that country in conjunction with the Danes. Malcolm took the field against them, and defeated both; but while he was thus employed in the south, a new army of Danes landed in the north at the mouth of the river Spey. Malcolm advanced against them with an army much inferior in number; and his men, neglecting every thing but the blind impulses of fury, were almost all cut to pieces; Malcolm himself being desperately wounded.

By this victory the Danes were so much elated, that they sent for their wives and children, intending to settle in this country. The castle of Nairn, at that time thought almost impregnable, fell into their hands; and



Scotland. the towns of Elgin and Forres were abandoned both by their garrisons and inhabitants. The Scots were everywhere treated as a conquered people, and employed in the most servile offices by the haughty conquerors; who, to render the castle of Nairn, as they thought, absolutely impregnable, cut through the small isthmus which joined it to the land. All this time, however, Malcolm was raising forces in the southern counties; and having at last got an army together, he came up with the Danes at Murtloch, near Balveny, which appears at this day to have been a strong Danish fortification. Here he attacked the enemy; but having the misfortune to lose three of his general officers, he was again obliged to retreat. However, the Danish general happening to be killed in the pursuit, the Scots were encouraged to renew the fight with such vigour, that they at last obtained a complete victory; but suffered so much, that they were unable to derive from it all the advantages which might otherwise have accrued.

<sup>55</sup>  
But defeat them in a second battle.

On the news of this ill success, Sweyn ordered two fleets, one from England, and another from Norway, to make a descent upon Scotland, under the command of Camus, one of his most renowned generals. The Danes attempted to land at the mouth of the Forth; but finding every place there well fortified, they were obliged to move farther northward, and effected their purpose at Redhead in the county of Angus. The castle of Brechin was first besieged; but meeting with a stout resistance there, they laid the town and church in ashes. From thence they advanced to the village of Panbride, and encamped at a place called *Karboddo*. Malcolm in the mean time was at hand with his army, and encamped at a place called *Barr*, in the neighbourhood of which both parties prepared to decide the fate of Scotland; for as Moray and the northern provinces were already in the possession of the Danes, it was evident that a victory at this time must put them in possession of the whole. The engagement was desperate, and so bloody, that the rivulet which proceeds from Loch Tay is said to have had its water dyed with the blood of the slain; but at last the Danes gave way and fled. There was at that time in the army of Malcolm, a young man of the name of *Keith*. He pursued Camus; and having overtaken him, engaged and killed him; but another Scots officer coming up at the same time, disputed with Keith the glory of the action. While the dispute lasted, Malcolm came up; who suffered them to decide it by single combat. In this second combat Keith proved also victorious, and killed his antagonist. The dying person confessed the justice of Keith's claim; and Malcolm dipping his finger in his blood marked the shield of Keith with three strokes, pronouncing the words *Veritas vincit*, "Truth overcomes," which has ever

<sup>56</sup>  
The Danes again defeated.

<sup>57</sup>  
Rise of the family of Keith.

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since been the armorial bearing and motto of the family of Keith (B). Scotland.

Sweyn, not yet discouraged, sent his son Canute, afterwards king of England, and one of the greatest warriors of that age, into Scotland, with an army more powerful than any that had yet appeared. Canute landed in Buchan; and, as the Scots were much weakened by such a long continued war, Malcolm thought proper to act on the defensive. But the Scots, who now thought themselves invincible, demanded to be led on to a general engagement. Malcolm complied with their desire, and a battle ensued; in which though neither party had much reason to boast of victory, the Danes were so much reduced, that they willingly concluded a peace on the following terms, viz. That the Danes should immediately depart from Scotland; that as long as Malcolm and Sweyn lived, neither of them should wage war with the other, or help each other's enemies; and that the field in which the battle was fought should be set apart and consecrated for the burial of the dead. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled by Malcolm, who built in the neighbourhood a chapel dedicated to Olaus, the tutelary saint of these northern nations.

<sup>58</sup>  
Another invasion.

<sup>59</sup>  
Peace concluded.

After performing all these glorious exploits, and becoming the second legislator in the Scottish nation, Malcolm is said to have stained the latter part of his reign with avarice and oppression; in consequence of which he was murdered at the age of 80 years, after he had reigned above 30. This assassination was perpetrated while he was on his way to Glamis. His own domestics are said to have been privy to the murder, and to have fled along with the conspirators; but in passing the lake of Forfar on the ice, it gave way with them, and they were all drowned. This account is confirmed by the sculptures upon some stones erected near the spot; one of which is still called *Malcolm's grave-stone*; and all of them exhibit some rude representations of the murder and the fate of the assassins.

<sup>60</sup>  
Malcolm assassinated.

Malcolm was succeeded, in the year 1034, by his grandson Duncan I. but he is said to have had another grandson, the famous Macbeth; though some are of opinion that Macbeth was not the grandson of Malcolm, but of Fenella who murdered Kenneth III. The first years of Duncan's reign were passed in tranquillity, but domestic broils soon took place on the following occasion. We are told by some historians that Banquo, a nobleman of great eminence, acted then in the capacity of steward to Duncan, by collecting his rents; but being very rigid in the execution of his office, he was way-laid, robbed, and almost murdered. Of this outrage Banquo complained as soon as he recovered of his wounds and could appear at court. The robbers were

<sup>61</sup>

Duncan I. An. 1034.

4 F

summoned

(B) Mr Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, observes, that in all probability the Scots gained two victories over the Danes on the present occasion; one near the place called *Karboddo*, already mentioned; and the other at Aberlemno, four miles from Brechin. At both places there are monuments with rude sculptures, erected most probably in memory of a victory. That at *Karboddo* is called *Camus's cross*; near which, somewhat more than a century ago, a large sepulchre, supposed to be that of Camus, was discovered. It consisted of four great stones; and had in it a huge skeleton, supposed to be that of the Danish prince. The fatal stroke seemed to have been given him on the back part of the head; a considerable portion of the skull being cut away, probably by the stroke of the sword.

Scotland.

summoned to surrender themselves to justice; but instead of obeying, they killed the messenger. Macbeth represented this in such strong terms, that he was sent with an army to reduce the insurgents, who had already destroyed many of the king's friends. This commission he performed with such success, that the rebel chief put an end to his own life; after which Macbeth sent his head to the king, and then proceeded with the utmost severity against the insurgents.

62  
A new invasion by the Danes;

This insurrection was scarcely quelled, when the Danes landed again in Fife; and Duncan put himself at the head of an army, having the thanes Macbeth and Banquo serving under him. The Danes were commanded by Sweyn king of Norway, and eldest son of Canute. He proceeded with all the barbarity natural to his nation, putting to death men, women, and children, who fell in his way. A battle was fought between the two nations near Culrofs, in which the Scots were defeated: but the Danes purchased their victory so dearly, that they could not improve it; and Duncan retreated to Perth, while Macbeth was sent to raise more forces. In the mean time Sweyn laid siege to Perth, which was defended by Duncan and Banquo. The Danes were so much distressed for want of provisions, that they at last consented to treat for peace, provided the pressing necessities of the army were relieved. The Scots historians inform us, that this treaty was set on foot in order to amuse Sweyn, and gain time for the stratagem which Duncan was preparing. This was no other than a barbarous contrivance of infusing intoxicating herbs into the liquors that were sent along with the other provisions to the Danish camp. These soporifics had the intended effect; and while the Danes were under their influence, Macbeth and Banquo broke into their camp, where they put all to the sword, and it was with difficulty that some of Sweyn's attendants carried him on board; and we are told that his was the only ship of all the fleet that returned to Norway. It was not long, however, before a fresh body of Danes landed at Kinghorn in the county of Fife: but they were entirely defeated by Macbeth and Banquo. Such of the Danes as escaped fled to their ships; but before they departed they obtained leave to bury their dead in Inchcolm, a small island lying in the Forth, where one of their monuments is still to be seen.

63  
who are defeated.

Thus ended the formidable invasions of the Danes; after which Duncan applied himself to the administration of justice, and to reform the manners of his subjects.

64  
Duncan murdered by Macbeth.

While he was thus exerting himself for the good of his subjects, his general, Macbeth, who had been so much distinguished in the Danish wars, was plotting the assassination of the king, and the usurpation of the throne. To these purposes, it appears, Macbeth was instigated by his wife, the lady Gruoch, daughter of Kenneth IV. who, as we have seen, was slain by Malcolm II. the grandfather of Duncan. This lady had been married to Gilcomgain, the maormor of Murray, and after his death had espoused Macbeth, the maormor of Ros. This account of Lady Macbeth shews that it was a spirit of revenge for the murder of her grandfather, which prompted her to instigate her husband to the assassination of Duncan. This assassination took place in 1039, not near Inverness, as related by Shakespeare and the historians whom he has copied, but at

Bathgowanan, near Elgin, within the territory of Gruoch. Duncan left two infant sons, Malcolm and Donald, of whom the former, on the death of his father, fled to Cumberland, and the latter found an asylum in the Western Islands. Macbeth having thus gratified his wife's revenge, and his own ambition, took possession of the vacant throne.

Scotland.

During the greater part of the reign of the usurper, Malcolm, the true heir to the crown of Scotland, kept within his principality of Cumberland, without any thoughts of ascending his father's throne. Macbeth for some time governed with moderation, but at last became a tyrant.

65  
Reign of Macbeth.  
An. 1039.

Among the numerous fables with which the story of Macbeth has been decked, must be ranked the murder of Banquo, and the escape of his son Fleance, the supposed primogenitor of the house of Stewart. History knows nothing of Banquo the thane of Lochaber, nor of Fleance his son. None of the ancient chronicles nor Irish annals, nor even Fordoun, recognize the names of Banquo and Fleance, though the latter be made by genealogists the root and father of many kings. Nor is a thane of Lochaber known in Scottish history, because the Scottish kings had never any demesnes within that impervious district\*.

\* Chalmers's  
Caledonia,  
vol. i.  
p. 412.

Macduff, the thane of Fife, was the most powerful person in Scotland; for which reason, Macbeth determined to destroy him. On this Macduff fled to France; and Macbeth cruelly put to death his wife, and children who were yet infants, and sequestered his estate. Macduff vowed revenge, and encouraged Malcolm to attempt to dethrone the tyrant. Macbeth opposed them with his whole force; but being defeated in a pitched battle, he took refuge in the most inaccessible places of the Highlands, where he defended himself for two years; but in the mean time Malcolm was acknowledged king of Scotland, and crowned at Scone.

66  
Macbeth driven out.

The war between Macbeth and the new king continued for two years after the coronation of the latter; but at last he was killed in a fall by Macduff, at Lumphanan, on the 5th of Decr. 1056. However the public tranquillity did not end with his life. His followers elected one of his kinsmen named *Lullach*, surnamed the *Idiot*, to succeed him; but he not being able to withstand Malcolm, withdrew to the north, where being pursued, he was killed at Esey in Strathbogie, after a reign of four months.

67  
and killed.

Malcolm being now established on the throne, began with rewarding Macduff for his great services; and conferred upon his family four extraordinary privileges: 1. That they should place the king in his chair of state at the coronation. 2. That they should lead the van of all the royal armies. 3. That they should have a regality within themselves: and, 4. That if any of Macduff's family should happen to kill a nobleman unpromptedly, he should pay 24 marks of silver, and, if a plebeian, 12. The king's next care was to reinstate in their fathers' possessions all the children who had been disinherited by the late tyrant; which he did in a convention of his nobles held at Forfar. In the time of William the conqueror, we find Malcolm engaged in a dangerous war with England, the occasion of which was as follows. On the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold seized the throne of England, to the prejudice of

68  
Malcolm III. established on the Scottish throne.  
An. 1056.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> of Edgar Atheling the true heir to the crown. However, he created him earl of Oxford, and treated him with great respect; but on the defeat and death of Harold, William discovered some jealousy of Edgar. Soon after, William having occasion to pay a visit to his dominions in Normandy, he appointed Edgar Atheling to attend him, along with some other noblemen whom he suspected to be in his interest; but on his return to England, he found the people so much disaffected to his government, that he proceeded with great severity, which obliged great numbers of his subjects to take refuge in Cumberland and the southern parts of Malcolm's dominions. Edgar had two sisters, Margaret and Christina: these, with his two chief friends, Gospatric and Marteswin, soon made him sensible how precarious his life was under such a jealous tyrant, and persuaded him to make preparations for flying into Hungary or some foreign country. Edgar accordingly set sail with his mother Agatha, his two sisters, and a great train of Anglo-Saxon noblemen; but by stress of weather was forced into the frith of Forth, where the illustrious exiles landed at the place since that time called the *Queen's Ferry*. Malcolm no sooner heard of their landing than he paid them a visit in person; and at this visit he fell in love with the Princess Margaret. In consequence of this, the chief of Edgar's party repaired to the court of Scotland. William soon made a formal demand of Edgar; and on Malcolm's refusal, declared war against him.

<sup>69</sup>  
Entertains  
Edgar, an  
English  
prince.

<sup>70</sup>  
War be-  
tween Scot-  
land and  
England.

<sup>71</sup>  
England  
invaded.

William was the most formidable enemy whom the Scots had ever encountered, as having not only the whole force of England, but of Normandy, at his command. However, as he had tyrannized most unmercifully over his English subjects, they were much more inclined to assist his enemies than their own prince; and he even found himself obliged to give up the county of Northumberland to Gospatric, who had followed Edgar, upon condition of his making war on the Scots. This nobleman accordingly invaded Cumberland; in return for which Malcolm ravaged Northumberland in a dreadful manner, carrying off an immense booty, and inviting at the same time the Irish and Danes to join him.

By this time William had taken from Gospatric the earldom of Northumberland, and given it to Robert Cummin one of his Norman barons; but the Northumbrians having joined Gospatric, and received the Danes as their countrymen, murdered Cummin and all his followers at Durham, where they had been guilty of great cruelties. After this they laid siege to the forts built by William in Yorkshire; but not being able to reduce them, the English, Scots, and Danes, united their forces, took the city of York, and put to the sword three thousand Normans who were there in garrison; and this success was followed by many incursions and ravages, in which the Danes and Northumbrians acquired great booty. It soon appeared, however, that these allies had the interest of Edgar no more at heart than the Irish; and that all the dependence of this forlorn prince was upon Malcolm, and the few Englishmen who had followed his fortune: for the booty was no sooner obtained, than the Danes retired to their ships, and the Northumbrians to their habitations, as if they had been in perfect safety. But in the mean time William, having raised a considerable army, advanced northwards. He first inflicted a severe revenge upon

the Northumbrians; then he reduced the city of York, and put to death all the inhabitants; and perceiving that danger was still threatened by the Danes, he bribed them with a sum of money to depart to their own country.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

Malcolm was now left alone to encounter this formidable adversary; and, finding himself unable to oppose so great a force, withdrew to his own dominions, where he remained for some time on the defensive, but not without making great preparations for once more invading England. His second invasion took place in the year 1071, while William was employed in quelling an insurrection in Wales. He is said at this time to have behaved with the greatest cruelty. He invaded England by Cumberland; ravaged Teesdale; and at a place called *Hundreds-keld*, he massacred some English noblemen, with all their followers. Thence he marched to Cleveland in the north riding of Yorkshire; which he also ravaged with the utmost cruelty, sending back the booty with part of his army to Scotland: after which, he pillaged the bishopric of Durham, where he is said not to have spared the most sacred edifices, but to have burnt them to the ground. In the mean time Gospatric, to whom William had again ceded Northumberland, attempted to make a diversion in his favour, by invading Cumberland: but being utterly defeated by Malcolm, he was obliged to shut himself up in Bamborough castle; while Malcolm returned in triumph with his army to Scotland, where he married the princess Margaret.

<sup>72</sup>  
A second  
invasion.

The next year William, having greatly augmented his army, invaded Scotland in his turn. The particulars of the war are unknown; but it certainly ended much to the disadvantage of the Scots, as Malcolm agreed to pay him homage. The English historians contend that this homage was for the whole of his dominions; but the Scots with more reason affirm, that it was only for those he possessed in England. On the conclusion of the peace, a cross was erected at Stanmore in Richmondshire, with the arms of both kings, to serve as a boundary between the possessions of William and the feudal dominions of Malcolm. Part of this monument, called *Re-cross*, or rather *Roy-cross*, or *The cross of the kings*, was entire in the days of Camden.

<sup>73</sup>  
William  
the Con-  
queror in-  
vades Scot-  
land.

This peace between Malcolm Canmore and William produced the greatest alteration in the manners of the Scots. What contributed chiefly to this was the excellent disposition of Queen Margaret; who was, for that age, a pattern of piety and politeness: and next to this was the number of foreigners who had settled in Scotland; among whom were some Frenchmen, who laid the foundation of that friendship with the Scots which lasted for ages. Malcolm himself, also, though by his ravages in England he seems naturally to have been a barbarian, was far from being averse to a reformation, and even set the example himself. During her husband's absence in England Queen Margaret had chosen for her confessor one Turgot, whom she also made her assistant in her intended reformation. She began with new-modelling her own court; into which she introduced the offices, furniture, and manner of living, common among the more polite nations of Europe. She dismissed from her service all those who were noted for immorality and impiety; and charged Turgot, on

<sup>74</sup>  
Reforma-  
tion set on  
foot by the  
king and  
queen of  
Scotland.

Scotland. pain of her displeasure, to give his real sentiments on the state of the kingdom, after the best inquiry he could make. By him she was informed, that faction reigned among the nobles, rapine among the commons, and incontinence among all degrees of men. Above all, he complained that the kingdom was destitute of a learned clergy, capable of reforming the people by their example and doctrine. All this the queen represented to her husband, and prevailed upon him to set about the work of reformation immediately. In this, however, he met with considerable opposition. The Scots, accustomed to oppress their inferiors, thought all restrictions of their power so many steps towards their slavery. The introduction of foreign offices and titles confirmed them in this opinion; and such a dangerous insurrection happened in Moray and some of the northern counties, that Malcolm was obliged to march against the rebels in person. He found them, indeed, very formidable; but they were so much intimidated by his resolution, that they intreated the clergy who were among them to intercede with the king in their favour. Malcolm received their submission, but refused to grant an unconditional pardon. He gave all the common people indeed leave to return to their habitations, but obliged the higher ranks to surrender themselves to his pleasure. Many of the most guilty were put to death, or condemned to perpetual imprisonment; while others had their estates confiscated. This severity checked the rebellious spirit of the Scots, and Malcolm returned to his plans of reformation. Still, however, he found himself opposed even in those abuses, which were most obvious and glaring. He durst not entirely abolish that infamous practice of the landlord claiming the first night with his tenant's bride; though, by the queen's influence, the privilege was changed into the payment of a piece of money by the bridegroom, and was afterwards known by the name of *mercheta mulierum*, or "the woman's merk." In those days the Scots had not the practice of saying grace after meals, till it was introduced by Margaret, who gave a glass of wine, or other liquor, to those who remained at the royal table and heard the thanksgiving; which expedient gave rise to the term of the *grace-drink*. Besides this, the terms of the duration of Lent and Easter were fixed; the king and queen bestowed large alms on the poor, and the latter washed the feet of six of their number; many churches, monasteries, &c. were erected, and the clerical revenues augmented. Notwithstanding these reformations, however, some historians have complained, that, along with the manners of the English and French, their luxuries were also introduced. Till this reign the Scots had been remarkable for their sobriety and the simplicity of their diet; which was now converted into excess and riot, and sometimes ended fatally by quarrels and bloodshed. We are told, at the same time, that even in those days, the nobility ate only two meals a-day, and were served with no more than two dishes at each meal.

<sup>75</sup>  
England  
again in-  
vaded.  
An. 1079.

In the year 1079, Malcolm again invaded England; but upon what provocation, or with what success, is not well known. But in 1088, after the death of the Conqueror, he again espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, who had been reduced to implore his assistance a second time, when William Rufus ascended the throne of England. At the time of Edgar's arrival, Malcolm was at the head of a brave and well disciplined army,

with which he penetrated a great way into the country of the enemy; and, as is said, returned to Scotland with an immense booty. William resolved to revenge the injury, and prepared great armaments both by sea and land for the invasion of Scotland. His success, however, was not answerable to the greatness of his preparations. His fleet was dashed to pieces by storms, and almost all on board of it perished. Malcolm had also laid waste the country through which his antagonist was to pass, so effectually that William lost a great part of his troops by fatigue and famine; and, when he arrived in Scotland, found himself in a situation very little able to resist Malcolm, who was advancing against him with a powerful army. In this distress, Rufus had recourse to Robert de Mowbray earl of Northumberland, who dissuaded him from hazarding a battle, but advised him to open a negotiation by means of Edgar and the other English noblemen who resided with Malcolm. Edgar undertook the negotiation, on condition of his being restored to his estates in England; but met with more difficulty than he imagined. Malcolm had never yet recognized the right of William Rufus to the throne of England, and therefore refused to treat with him as a sovereign prince; but offered to enter into a negotiation with his brother Robert. The two princes accordingly met; and Malcolm, having shown Robert the disposition of his army, offered to cut off his brother William, and to pay to him the homage he had been accustomed to pay to the Conqueror for his English dominions. But Robert generously answered, that he had resigned to Rufus his right of primogeniture in England; and that he had even become one of William's subjects, thereby accepting of an English estate. An interview with William then followed; in which it was agreed that the king of England should restore to Malcolm all his southern possessions, for which he should pay the same homage he had been accustomed to do to the Conqueror; that he should restore to Malcolm 12 disputed manors, and give him likewise 12 merks of gold yearly, besides restoring Edgar to all his English estates.

<sup>76</sup>  
The Eng-  
lish army  
in great  
danger.

<sup>77</sup>  
Peace con-  
cluded.

This treaty was concluded in Lothian, according to the English historians; but at Leeds in Yorkshire, according to the Scots. However, the English monarch looked upon the terms to be so very dishonourable, that he resolved not to fulfil them. Soon after his departure, Edgar and Robert began to press him to fulfil his engagements; but receiving only evasive answers, they passed over into Normandy. After their departure, William applied himself to the fortification of his northern boundaries, especially Carlisle, which had been destroyed by the Danes 200 years before.—As this place lay within the feudal dominions of Malcolm, he complained of William's proceeding, as a breach of the late treaty; and soon after repaired to the English court at Gloucester, that he might have a personal interview with the king of England, and obtain redress. On his arrival, William refused him admittance to his presence, without paying him homage. Malcolm offered this in the same manner as had been done by his predecessors, that is, on the confines of the two kingdoms; but this being rejected by William, Malcolm returned to Scotland, and prepared again for war.

<sup>78</sup>  
Hostilities  
recommen-  
ced.

The first of Malcolm's military operations now proved fatal to him; but the circumstances of his death are variously

Scotland.  
79  
Malcolm  
killed at  
the siege  
of Alnwick  
castle.

80  
The throne  
usurped by  
Donald  
Bane.  
An. 1093.

variously related. It is generally believed that while prosecuting the siege of Alnwick in Northumberland, he was surpris'd by Earl Moubray, by whom it was defended, and slain, together with his eldest son Edward, on the 19th November, 1093. Queen Margaret, who was at that time lying ill in the castle of Edinburgh, died four days after her husband.

After the death of Malcolm Canmore, the throne was usurped by his brother Donald Bane; who, notwithstanding the great virtues and glorious achievements of the late king, had been at the head of a strong party during the whole of his brother's reign. The usurper, giving way to the barbarous prejudices of himself and his countrymen, expelled from the kingdom all the foreigners whom Malcolm had introduced, and obliged them to take refuge in England. Edgar himself had long resided at the English court, where he was in high reputation; and, by his interest there, found means to rescue his nephew, young Edgar, the king of Scotland's eldest surviving son, out of the hands of the usurper Donald Bane. The favour which he showed him, however, produced an accusation against himself, as if he designed to adopt young Edgar as his son, and set him up as a pretender to the English throne. This accusation was preferred by an Englishman whose name was *Orgar*; but, as no legal proofs of the guilt could be obtained, the custom of the times rendered a single combat between the parties unavoidable. Orgar was one of the strongest and most active men in the kingdom; but the age and infirmities of Edgar allowed him to be defended by another. For a long time none could be found who would enter the lists with this champion; but at last one Godwin of Winchester, whose family had been under obligations to Edgar or his ancestors, offered to defend his cause. Orgar was overcome and killed: and, when dying, confessed the falsehood of his accusation. The conqueror obtained all the lands of his adversary, and William lived ever afterwards on terms of the strictest friendship with Edgar.

This combat, trifling as it may seem to us, produced very considerable effects. The party of Edgar and his brother's (who had likewise taken refuge at the English court) revived in Scotland, to such a degree, that Donald was obliged to call in the Danes and Norwegians to his assistance. In order to engage them more effectually to his interest, the usurper yielded up to them the Orkney and Shetland islands; but when his new allies came to his assistance, they behaved in such a manner as to become more intolerable to the Scots than ever the English had been. The discontent was greatly increased when it was found that William designed to place on the throne of Scotland a natural son of the late Malcolm, named *Duncan*, who had served in the English armies with great reputation. Donald attempted to maintain himself on the throne by the assistance of his Norwegian allies; but, being abandoned by the Scots, he was obliged to fly to the Isles, in order to raise more forces; and in the mean time Duncan was crowned at Scone with the usual solemnity.

The Scots were now greatly distressed by two usurpers who contended for the kingdom, each of them supported by a foreign army. One of them, however, was soon dispatched. Malpedir, thane of Mearns, surpris'd Duncan in the castle of Monteith, and killed

him; after which he replaced Donald on the throne. The affection of the Scots, however, was by this time entirely alienated from Donald, and a manifest intention of calling in young Edgar was shown. To prevent this, Donald offered the young prince all that part of Scotland which lay to the southward of the Forth; but the terms were rejected, and the messengers who brought them were put to death as traitors. The king of England also, dreading the neighbourhood of the Norwegians, interposed in young Edgar's favour, and gave Atheling the command of an army in order to restore his nephew. Donald prepared to oppose his enemies with all the forces he could raise; but was deserted by the Scots and obliged to fly: his enemies pursued him so closely, that he was soon taken; and being brought before Edgar, he ordered his eyes to be put out, condemning him at the same time to perpetual banishment, in which he died some time after.

With Donald Bane may be said to have terminated the line of Scoto-Irish kings, which had filled the throne of Scotland from the invasion of Fergus in 506, to the year 1097, the date of Donald Bane's defeat, comprehending a period of 591 years. Edgar the new monarch was of Saxon descent, and as in his person a new dynasty commenced, it may be proper to take a brief survey of the state of Scotland on his accession, or at the close of the eleventh century.

We have seen that from the time of Kenneth II. the Picts were either expelled from Scotland, or had been gradually incorporated with the Scoto-Irish tribes. At the period of which we are now treating, Scotland was subdivided into 13 districts, viz. those of Lothian, Galloway, Strathclyd, Fife, Strathern, Athol, Angus, Moern or Mearns, the extensive district between the Dee and the Spey, comprehending Aberdeen and Banff, and the districts of Murray, Argyle, Ross, and Sutherland. Most of these districts possessed within themselves, an independent authority, exercised by the thane. The clans of the distinct districts possessed rights which the regal power could scarcely controul: they were governed by their own customs, and the king could neither appoint nor displace their chieftains. The notion of a body politic having an acknowledged authority to make laws, which every individual and every district were bound to obey, was scarcely known. The kings and the maormors were so independent of each other in their respective stations, that the power of the superior over his vassal was but little felt, though it was acknowledged, and was often resisted, because it could not easily be enforced. The same law which directed the succession of the kings, operated equally, and with similar effects, in the succession of every chieftain. The custom called *tanistry*, already explained in N<sup>o</sup> 32, was the common law of North Britain throughout the Scoto-Irish period. The Brehons continued to be judges throughout every district of Scotland, and were regulated in their judicial proceedings, by the common customs of the country, and the usual manners of the times.

One of the most singular customs introduced by the Scoto-Irish colonists, and which prevailed for many succeeding ages, was the use of slug-horns, or war-cries. Each clan had its appropriate slug-horn. Thus, that of the Mackenzies was *Tulloch-ard*, or the high hill; that of the Grants, *Craig-clachie*, rock of alarm. Often they

81  
A single  
combat.

82  
Donald  
yields up  
the Orkney  
and Shet-  
land islands  
to the  
Danes.

Scotland.  
83  
Donald de-  
posed by  
Edgar.

84  
State of  
Scotland at  
the close of  
the 11th  
century.

85  
Manners  
and cus-  
toms.

Scotland.

they were simply the name of the clan, as *A Home, A Home*, for the family of Hume; *A Douglas, A Douglas*, for that of Douglas. At this time the nobility used no armorial bearings, which we are assured were not adopted before the reign of William the Lion, on whose escutcheon the lion rampant first appeared as a national badge. Neither seals nor coins appear to have been in use, but all commerce consisted in barter.

86  
Reign of  
Edgar.  
An. 1097.

Edgar was son of Malcolm Canmore by Margaret, an Anglo-Saxon princess, and was still very young when he ascended the Scottish throne. The education which he had received from his mother, the experience which he had acquired under the English government in Northumberland, the establishment of his authority over North Britain by the power of that government, all induced him to imitate the English rather than the Scottish customs, during his feeble administration.

He had scarcely ascended the throne of his father when Magnus, the enterprising king of Norway, appeared in the surrounding seas, in order to compel the submission of his subjects in the Orkneys and Hebrides, and to plunder or overawe the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of England, of Man, and of Ireland. Had Magnus attempted a descent on the coast of Scotland, he would probably have met with little opposition from Edgar, in whom the appearance of the Norwegian prince appears to have excited considerable apprehension. From this, however, he was relieved by the death of Magnus, in 1103. Three years before had died William Rufus, whom Edgar considered as a benefactor; and in the same year, his sister Matilda had been married to Henry I. Thus, both from prudence and policy, Edgar avoided all disputes with England, and either his interest or his weakness prevented him from interfering with the then embroiled state of the European continent. He paid considerable attention to the internal regulation of his kingdom, especially in ecclesiastical matters. He conferred on the monks of St Cuthbert at Durham, many churches and lands near Berwick; and he bestowed the church of Portmoak in Kinross, on the Culdees, and that of Gellold on the monks of Dunfermling. It does not appear, however, that in this religious age he founded any remarkable religious house. He died at Dun-Edin without issue, on the 8th of January 1106, having reigned nine years. He has been characterised as an amiable man, who formed himself in the model of Edward the Confessor, of England. From the silence of history we may infer that his reign was barren of events; and from the feebleness of his character, we may conclude that his authority was scarcely recognised within the largest portion of his kingdom.

87  
Alexander I.  
An. 1107.

89  
Administers justice  
rigidly.

Edgar was succeeded by his brother Alexander I. surnamed the *Fierce* from the impetuosity of his temper. On his accession to the throne, however, the Scots were so ignorant of his true character, on account of his appearance of piety and devotion, that the northern parts of the kingdom were soon filled with ravages and bloodshed, by reason of the wars of the chieftains with each other. Alexander immediately raised an army, and marching into Moray and Ross-shire, attacked the insurgents separately; and having subdued them all, he put great numbers of them to death. He then prepared to reduce the exorbitant power of the nobles, and to deliver the people from the oppression under which they

groaned. A remarkable instance of this appeared on his return from the expedition just now mentioned. In passing through the Mearns, he met with a widow, who complained that her husband and son had been put to death by the young earl their superior. Alexander immediately alighted from his horse, and swore that he would not remount him till he had inquired into the justice of the complaint; and, finding it to be true, the offender was hanged on the spot. These vigorous proceedings prevented all attempts at open rebellion; but produced many conspiracies among the profligate part of his private subjects, who had been accustomed to live under a more remiss government. The most remarkable of these took place while the king was engaged in building the castle of Baledgar, so called in memory of his brother Edgar, who had laid the foundation stone. It was situated in the Carse of Gowrie, which, we are told, had formerly belonged to Donald Bane, but afterwards came to the crown, either by donation or forfeiture. The conspirators bribed one of the king's chamberlains to introduce them at night into the royal bed-chamber: but Alexander, alarmed at the noise, drew his sword, and killed six of them; after which, by the help of a knight named *Alexander Carron*, he escaped the danger, by flying into Fife. The conspirators chiefly resided in the Mearns, to which Alexander once more repaired at the head of an army; but the rebels retreated northwards, and crossed the Spey. The king pursued them across that river, defeated them, and brought to justice all that fell into his hands. In this battle, Carron distinguished himself so eminently, that he obtained the name of *Skrimgeour* or *Skrimzeour*; which indeed is no other than the English word *skirmisher* or *fighter*.

Scotland.

89  
Narrowly  
escapes  
assassins.

The next remarkable transaction of Alexander's reign, as recorded by the English historians, was his journey into England, where he paid a visit to Henry I. whom he found engaged in a war with the Welsh. Alexander, in virtue of the fealty which he had sworn for his English possessions, readily agreed to lead an army into Wales. There he defeated one of the chieftains, and reduced him to great straits; but could not prevent him from escaping to Griffith prince of North Wales, with whom he was closely allied. Henry also marched against the enemy, but with much worse success than Alexander. Alexander died in 1124, after a reign of seventeen years; and was buried at Dunfermline.

90  
His exploits  
in England.

This prince, dying a bachelor, was succeeded by his younger brother David; who interfered in the affairs of England, and took part with the empress Maud in the civil war which she carried on with Stephen. In 1136, David met his antagonist at Durham; but as neither party chose to hazard an engagement, a negotiation took place, and a treaty was concluded. This, however, was observed but for a short time; for, in the following year, David again invaded England, on some frivolous pretence. He defeated Stephen at Roxburgh; and forced him to retreat precipitately, after losing one half of his army. Next year he renewed his invasion; and, though he himself was a man of great mildness and humanity, he suffered his troops to commit such outrages, as firmly united the English in opposition to him. His grand-nephew William cut in pieces the vanguard of the English army at Clithero; after which he ravaged the country with such cruelty, that the inhabitants became exasperated beyond measure against him. New

91  
Wars of  
King David  
with  
the English.  
An. 1124.

associations

Scotland.  
92  
Battle of  
the Stand-  
ard.  
An. 1138.

affociations were entered into against the Scots; and the English army receiving great reinforcements from the southward, advanced to Northallerton, where the famous standard was produced. The body of this standard was a kind of box which moved upon wheels, from which arose the mast of a ship surmounted by a silver cross, and round it were hung the banners of St Peter, St John de Beverly, and St Wilfred. Standards of this kind were common at that time on the continent of Europe; and so great confidence had the English in this standard, that they now thought themselves invincible. They had, however, a much more solid ground of confidence, as being much better armed than their antagonists. The armies met at a place called *Culton Moor*. The first line of the Scots army was composed of the inhabitants of Galloway, Carric, Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew. The second line consisted of the Lothian men, by which we are to understand the king's subjects in England as well as the south of Scotland, together with the English and Normans of Maud's party. The third line was formed of the clans under their different chieftains; but who were subject to no regular command, and were always impatient to return to their own country when they had acquired any booty. The English soldiers having ranged themselves round their standard, dismounted from their horses, in order to avoid the long lances which the first line of the Scots army carried. Their front-line was intermixed with archers; and a body of cavalry, ready for pursuit, hovered at some distance. The Scots, besides their lances, made use of targets; but, when the English closed with them, they were soon disordered and driven back upon the centre, where David commanded in person. His son made a gallant resistance, but was at last forced to yield: the last line seems never to have been engaged. David, seeing the victory decided against him, ordered some of his men to save themselves by throwing away their badges, which it seems Maud's party had worn, and mingling with the English; after which he himself, with his shattered forces, retreated towards Carlisle. The English historians say, that in this battle the Scots were totally defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men; but this seems not to be the case, as the English did not pursue, and the Scots were in a condition for carrying on the war next year. However, there were now no great exploits performed on either side; and a peace was concluded, by which Henry prince of Scotland was put in possession of Huntingdon and Northumberland, and took an oath of fealty to Stephen. David continued faithful to his niece the empress as long as he lived; and died at Carlisle in the year 1153, after a glorious reign of rather more than 29 years.

93  
The Scots  
entirely  
defeated.

94  
Malcolm  
IV.  
An. 1153.

95  
William I.  
engages in  
a war with  
Henry II.  
of England.  
An. 1165.

David was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV. surnamed the *Maiden*, on account of his continence. He appears to have been a weak and superstitious prince, and died of a depression of spirits in the year 1165. He was succeeded by his brother William I. who immediately entered into a war with Henry II. of England, on account of the earldom of Northumberland, which had been given up by Malcolm; but Henry, finding his affairs in a very embarrassed situation, consented to yield up this county, on William's paying him homage, rather than continue the miseries of war. In 1172, he attempted to avail himself of the unnatural war which Henry's sons carried on against their father,

and invaded England. He divided his army into three columns: the first of which laid siege to Carlisle; the second the king in person led into Northumberland; and the king's brother, David, advanced with the third into Leicestershire. William reduced the castles of Burgh, Appleby, Warkworth, and Garby; and then joined that division of his army which was besieging Carlisle. The place was already reduced to such straits, that the governor had agreed to surrender it by a certain day, provided it was not relieved before that time: on which the king, leaving some troops to continue the siege, invested a castle with some of the forces he had under his command, at the same time sending a strong reinforcement to his brother David; by which means he himself was left with a very small army, when he received intelligence that a strong body of English under Robert de Stuteville and his son were advancing to surprise him.--William, sensible of his inability to resist them, retired to Alnwick, to which he instantly laid siege; but in the mean time acted in such a careless and unthinking manner, that his enemies actually effected their designs. Having dressed a party of their soldiers in Scots habits, they took the king himself prisoner, and carried him, with his feet tied under the belly of a horse, to Richmond Castle. He was then conveyed in chains before Henry to Northampton, and ordered to be transported to the castle of Falaise in Normandy, where he was shut up with other state prisoners. Soon after this an accommodation took place between Henry and his sons, and the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, William only excepted, who bore his confinement with great impatience. Of this Henry took the advantage, to make him pay homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland, and acknowledge that he held it only as a feu of the crown of England; and, as a security, he was obliged to deliver into the hands of Henry all the principal forts in Scotland, viz. the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; William at the same time agreeing to pay the English garrisons which were put into these castles. David, the king's brother, with 20 barons, who were present at the signing of this shameful convention, were put into the hands of Henry as hostages for William's good faith; after which the king was set at liberty, and returned to Scotland.

96  
He is taken  
prisoner by  
the English,  
and obli-  
ged to do  
homage for  
his king-  
dom.

The affairs of Scotland were now in the greatest confusion. The people of Galloway, at the head of whom were two chiefs called *Othred* and *Gilbert*, had taken the opportunity of asserting their independency on the crown of Scotland; and, having expelled all the Scots officers out of the country, they demolished all the forts which William had erected in their country, and put to death all the foreigners. But in the mean time a quarrel ensuing between the two chiefs, Othred was murdered by Gilbert, who immediately applied to Henry for protection.

Henry, in order to give all possible sanction to the convention betwixt him and William, summoned him to meet him and his son at York. William obeyed the summons, and along with him appeared all the great nobility and landholders; who confirmed the convention of Falaise, swore fealty to Henry, and put themselves and their country under his protection. In the mean time, Gilbert, who was at the head of the rebels in Galloway, had offered to place himself and his people under

Scotland.

Scotland. under the protection of the king of England, and to pay to Henry 2000 merks of silver yearly, with 500 cows and as many hogs, by way of tribute: Henry, however, that he might oblige his new feudatory William, refused to have any concern in the affair. On this, William ordered his general Gilchrist to march against him; which he did with such success, that Gilbert was entirely defeated, and Galloway again reduced under the dominion of Scotland. Very soon after this victory, Gilchrist fell under the king's displeasure on the following occasion. He had married Matilda, sister to William; and on suspicion, or proof, of her incontinence, put her to death at a village called *Maynes*, near Dundee. The king being highly displeas'd at such a gross affront to himself, summoned Gilchrist to take his trial for the murder: but as the general did not choose to make his appearance, his estates were confiscated, his castles demolished, and he himself sent into exile. He took refuge in England; but as it had been agreed in the convention between William and Henry that the one should not harbour the traitorous subjects of the other, Gilchrist was forced to return to Scotland with his two sons. There they were expos'd to all the miseries of indigence, and the perpetual fear of being discovered, so that they were oblig'd to skulk from place to place. William, on his return from an expedition against an usurper whom he had defeated, happened to observe three strangers, who, though disguis'd like rustics, appear'd by their noble mien to be above the vulgar rank. William, who first discover'd them, was confirm'd in this apprehension, by seeing them strike out of the high road, and endeavour to avoid notice. He order'd them to be seiz'd and brought before him. The oldest, who was Gilchrist himself, fell upon his knees before him, and gave such a detail of his misfortunes as drew tears from the eyes of all present; and the king restor'd him to his former honours and estates. From the family of this Gilchrist that of the Ogilvies is said to be descended.

97  
Adventures  
of Wil-  
liam's ge-  
neral, Gil-  
christ.

98  
Origin of  
the family  
of Ogilvy.

99  
William re-  
leas'd from  
his homage  
by Richard  
I.  
An. 1189.

The Scots continued to be in subjection to the English till the accession of Richard I. This monarch being a man of romantic valour, zealously undertook an expedition into the Holy Land against the Turks, in conformity with the superstition of the times. That he might secure the quiet of his dominions in his absence, he determin'd to make the king of Scotland his friend; and for this purpose, he thought nothing could be more acceptable than releasing him and his subjects from that subjection which even the English themselves consider'd as forced and unjust. However, he determin'd not to lose this opportunity of supplying himself with a sum of money, which could not but be absolutely necessary in such an expensive and dangerous undertaking. He therefore made William pay him 10,000 merks for this release: after which he enter'd into a convention still extant; in which he acknowledges, that "all the conventions and acts of submission from William to the crown of England had been extorted from him by unprecedented writings and duresse." This transaction happen'd in the year 1189.

The generosity of Richard met with a grateful return from William; for when Richard was imprison'd by the emperor of Germany in his return from the Holy Land, the king of Scotland sent an army to assist the regency against his rebellious brother John, who had wickedly

usurp'd the throne of England. For this Richard acknowledged his obligation in the highest degree; but William afterwards made this an excuse for such high demands as could not be complied with. Nevertheless, the two monarchs continued in friendship as long as Richard lived. Some differences happen'd with King John about the possession of Northumberland and other northern counties: but these were all finally adjust'd to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; and William continued a faithful ally of the English monarch till his death, which happen'd in the year 1214, after a reign of 49 years.

William was succeeded by his son Alexander II. a youth of 16. He renew'd his claim to Northumberland and the other northern counties of England; but John, supposing that he had now thoroughly subdu'd the English, not only refus'd to consider the demands of Alexander, but made preparations for invading Scotland. John had given all the country between Scotland and the river Tees to Hugh de Baliol and another nobleman, upon condition of their defending it against the Scots. Alexander invad'd Northumberland, which he easily reduced, while John invad'd Scotland. Alexander retir'd to Melros, in order to defend his own country; upon which John burnt the towns of Wark, Alnwick, and Morpeth, and took the strong castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. He next plunder'd the abbey of Coldingham, reduced Dunbar and Haddington, ravaging the country as he pass'd along. His next operation was directed against Edinburgh; but being oppos'd by Alexander at the head of an army, he precipitately retreat'd. Alexander did not fail to pursue; and John, to cover his retreat, burnt the towns of Berwick and Coldingham. In this retreat the king of England himself set his men an example of barbarity, by letting fire every morning to the house in which he had lodg'd the preceding night. In short, such desolation did John spread all around him, that Alexander found it impossible to continue his pursuit; for which reason he march'd westward, and invad'd England by the way of Carlisle. This place he took and fortified; after which he march'd south as far as Richmond, receiving homage from all the great barons as he pass'd. At Richmond he was again stopp'd by John's ravages, and oblig'd to return through Westmoreland to his own dominions.

When the English barons found it necessary to put themselves under the protection of Louis, son to the king of France, this prince, among other acts of sovereignty, summon'd Alexander to do him homage; but the latter being then engag'd in the siege of Carlisle, which had fallen into the hands of King John, he could not immediately attend. In a short time Alexander found himself oblig'd to abandon his enterprise: after which he laid siege to Barnard castle; but being baffled here also, march'd southwards through the whole kingdom of England, and met Louis at London or Dover, where the prince confirm'd to him the rights to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. He continued a faithful ally to Louis and the barons in their wars with John; and, in 1216, brought a fresh army to their assistance, when their affairs were almost desperate.

As long as Louis continued in England, Alexander prov'd faithful to his interest; but, in 1217, he was on such

Scotland.

100  
Alexander II.  
An. 1214.

101  
War with  
John, king  
of England.



Scotland. such good terms with Henry as to demand his eldest sister, the princess Joan, in marriage. His request was granted, and in 1221 he espoused that princess. As long as the queen of Scotland lived, a perfect harmony subsisted between the Scots and English: but in 1239 Queen Joan died without children; and Alexander soon after married Mary, the daughter of Egelrand de Coucy, a young and beautiful French lady, by whom, in 1241, he had a son named *Alexander*. From this time a coolness took place between the two courts, and many differences arose; but no hostilities commenced on either side during the lifetime of Alexander, who died in 1249 in the 35th year of his reign.

102  
Alexander  
III.  
An. 1249.

Immediately on the death of his father, Alexander III. took possession of the throne. He is the first of the Scots kings of whose coronation we have any particular account. We are told, that the ceremony was performed by the bishop of St Andrew's, who girded the king with a military belt, probably as an emblem of his temporal jurisdiction. He then explained in Latin, and afterwards in Gaelic, the laws and oaths relating to the king; who received them all with great appearance of joy, as he also did the benediction and ceremony of coronation from the same prelate. After the ceremony was performed, a Highlander, probably one of those who went under the denomination of *Sannachies*, repeated on his knees before the throne, in his own language, the genealogy of Alexander and his ancestors, up to the first king of Scotland.

103  
marries the  
daughter of  
Henry III.  
of England.  
An. 1250.

In 1250, the king, though no more than ten years of age, was married to the daughter of Henry, who now thought it a proper opportunity to oblige him to do homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland. But Alexander, notwithstanding his youth, replied with great sense and modesty, that his business in England was matrimony; that he had come thither under Henry's protection and invitation; and that he was not prepared to answer such a difficult question.

Henry seems to have been encouraged to this attempt by the distracted state of the Scots affairs at that time; for, during the minority of the king, the nobility threw all into confusion by their mutual dissensions. The family of Cummin were now become exceedingly powerful; and Alexander II. is blamed by Buchanan for allowing them to obtain such an exorbitant degree of power, by which they were enabled almost to shake the foundation of government. Notwithstanding the king's refusal to submit to the homage required of him, they imagined that Henry's influence was now too great; and fearing bad consequences to themselves, they withdrew from York, leaving Henry in full possession of his son-in-law's person. Henry, however, to show that he deserved all the confidence which could be reposed in him, publicly declared, that he dropped all claim of superiority over the crown of Scotland, and that he would ever afterwards act as the father and guardian of his son-in-law; confirming his assurances by a charter. Yet when Alexander returned to Scotland, he found there had been a strong party made against his English connections. They now exclaimed, that Scotland was no better than a province of England; and having gained almost all the nobility over to their side, they kept the king and queen as two state-prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh. Henry had secret intelligence of these proceedings; and his queen privately sent a physician whom

104  
Is confined  
with his  
queen by  
his rebellious  
subjects

she could trust, to inquire into her daughter's situation. Having found means of being admitted into the young queen's presence, she gave him a most lamentable account of her situation. She said, that the place of their confinement was very unwholesome, in consequence of which their health was in imminent danger; and that they had no concern in the affairs of government. Historians do not inform us by what means they were reduced to this dismal situation; only in general, that the Cummins usurped the whole power of the state. Henry scarcely knew how to act. If he proceeded at once to violent measures, he was afraid of the lives of his daughter and son-in-law; and, on the other hand, by a more cautious conduct, he left them exposed to the wicked attempts of those who kept them in thralldom, some of whom, he well knew, had designs on the crown itself. By advice of the Scots royalists, among whom were the earls of Dunbar, Fife, Stratherne, Carrick, and Robert de Bruce, Henry assembled his military tenants at York, whence he himself advanced to Newcastle, where he published a manifesto, disclaiming all designs against the peace or independence of Scotland; declaring, that the forces which had been collected at York were designed to maintain both; and that all he intended was to have an interview with the king and queen upon the borders. From Newcastle he proceeded to Wark, where he privately dispatched the earl of Gloucester, with his favourite John Mansel, and a train of trusty followers, to gain admission into the castle of Edinburgh, then held by John Baliol and Robert de Ros, noblemen of great influence both in England and Scotland. The earl and Mansel gained admittance into the castle in disguise, on pretence of their being tenants to Baliol and Ros; and their followers obtained access on the same account, without any suspicion, till they were sufficiently numerous to have mastered the garrison, had they met with any resistance. The queen immediately informed them of the thralldom and tyranny in which she had been kept. The English, being masters of the castle, ordered a bed to be prepared that very night for the king and queen; and Henry, hearing of the success of his party, sent a safe conduct for the royal pair to meet him at Alnwick. Robert de Ros was summoned by Henry to answer for his conduct; but throwing himself on the king's mercy, he was punished only by the sequestration of his estate, as was John Baliol by a heavy fine, which the king of England reserved entirely for his own use.

Alexander and his queen were attended to Alnwick by the heads of their party; and when they arrived, it was agreed that Henry should act as his son-in-law's guardian; in consequence of which, several regulations were made in order to suppress the exorbitant power of the Cummins. That ambitious family, however, were all this time privately strengthening their party in Scotland, though they appeared satisfied with the arrangements which had been made. This rendered Alexander secure; so that, being off his guard, he was surprised when asleep in the castle of Kinross by the earl of Menteith, who carried him to Stirling. The Cummins were joined in this treason by Sir Hugh de Abernethy, Sir David Lochore, and Sir Hugh de Barclay; and, in the mean time, the whole nation was thrown into the utmost confusion. The great seal was forcibly taken from Robert Stuterville, substitute to the chancellor the

Scotland.

105  
They are set  
at liberty  
by Henry.

106  
Alexander  
carried off  
by rebels,  
but relieved.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> bishop of Dunkeld; the estates of the royalists were plundered; and even the churches were not spared. The king at last was delivered by the death of the earl of Menteith.

An. 1263.

Alexander being thus restored to the exercise of regal authority, acted with great wisdom and moderation. He pardoned the Cummins and their adherents, upon their submitting to his authority; after which, he applied himself to the regulation of his other affairs: but a storm was now ready to break upon him from another quarter. We have already seen, that the usurper Donald Bane, brother to Malcom Canmore, had engaged to deliver up the isles of Orkney and Shetland to the king of Norway, for assisting him in making good his pretensions to the crown of Scotland. Haco, the king of Norway at this time, alleged, that these engagements extended to the delivering up the islands of Bute, Arran, and others in the frith of Clyde, as belonging to the Ebudæ or Western isles; and as Alexander did not think proper to comply with these demands, the Norwegian monarch appeared with a fleet of 160 sail, having on board 20,000 troops, who landed and took the castle of Ayr. Alexander immediately dispatched ambassadors to enter into a treaty with Haco; but the latter, flushed with success, would listen to no terms. He made himself master of the isles of Bute and Arran; after which he passed over to Cunningham. Alexander prepared to oppose him, divided his army into three bodies. The first was commanded by Alexander high steward of Scotland (the great grandfather of Robert II.), and consisted of the Argyle, Athol, Lenox, and Galloway men. The second was composed of the inhabitants of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwick, and Stirling, under the command of Patrick earl of Dunbar. The king himself led the centre, which consisted of the inhabitants of Perth-shire, Angus, Mearns, and the northern counties.—Haco, who was an excellent general, disposed his men in order of battle, and the engagement began at Largs in Ayrshire. Both parties fought with great resolution; but at last the Norwegians were defeated with dreadful slaughter, not fewer than 16,000 of them being killed on the spot. The remainder escaped to their ships; which were so completely wrecked the day after, that Haco could scarcely find a vessel to carry him with a few friends to Orkney, where he soon after died of grief.

107  
Defeats the  
Norwe-  
gians.

In consequence of this victory, the king of the island of Man submitted to Alexander; and his example was followed by several other princes of the islands belonging to the Norwegians. Haco's son, a wise and learned prince, soon after arrived in Scotland with fresh reinforcements, and proposed a treaty: but Alexander, instead of listening to an accommodation, sent the earls of Buchan and Murray, with Allen the chamberlain, and a considerable body of men, to the Western islands, where they put to the sword some of the inhabitants, and hanged their chiefs for having encouraged the Norwegian invasion. In the mean time, Magnus returned to Norway; where a treaty was at last concluded between him and Alexander. By this Magnus renounced all right to the contested islands; Alexander at the same time consenting to pay him 1000 merks of silver in two years, and 100 yearly ever after, as an equivalent for these islands. To cement the friendship more firmly, a marriage was concluded between Margaret

the daughter of Alexander, and Eric the son and heir of Magnus, who was also a child; and, some years after, when the parties were of proper age, the marriage was consummated.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

In 1264, Alexander sent a considerable body of Scottish forces under the command of John Cummin, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, to assist the king of England against his rebellious barons. These leaders were taken prisoners in the battle of Lewis, where Henry was defeated, but regained their liberty in the following year at the decisive battle of Evesham, by which the English civil war was successfully terminated on the part of Henry by the young Prince Edward.

108  
Alexander  
assists the  
king of  
England.  
An. 1264.

From this time to the accession of Edward I. of England, we find nothing remarkable in the history of Scotland. That prince, however, proved a more cruel enemy to this country than it had ever experienced. Alexander was present at the coronation of Edward, who was then newly arrived from the Holy Land, where he had been on a crusade. Soon after this Alexander paid him homage for his English estates; particularly for the lands and lordship of Penrith and others, which Henry had given him along with his daughter. He proved an excellent ally to Edward in his wars against the French; and the latter passed a charter, by which he acknowledged that the services of the king of Scotland in those wars were not in consequence of his holding lands in England, but as an ally to his crown. Even at this time, however, Edward had formed a design on the liberties of that kingdom; for in the charter just mentioned, he inserted a salvo, acknowledging the superiority, by which he reserved his right to the homage of the kingdom of Scotland, when it should be claimed by him or his heirs. The bishop of Norwich suggested this salvo: and this was the reason why Alexander would not perform the homage in person, but left it to be performed by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick; Alexander standing by, and expressly declaring, that it was only paid for the lands he held in England.—No acts of hostility, however, took place during the lifetime of Alexander, who was killed on the 16th of March 1285, in the 45th year of his age, by his horse rushing down the black rock near Kinghorn as he was riding.

109  
Designs of  
Edward I.  
against the  
liberties of  
Scotland.

Both before and after the death of Alexander, the great subjects of Scotland seemed to have been sensible of Edward's ambitious designs. On the marriage of Margaret with Eric prince of Norway, the states of Scotland passed an act obliging themselves to receive her and her heirs as queen and sovereigns of Scotland. Edward at that time was in no condition to oppose this measure, in which the Scots were unanimous; and therefore contented himself with forming factions among the leading men of the country. Under pretence of resuming the cross, he renewed his intrigues at the court of Rome, and demanded leave from the pope to collect the tenths in Scotland; but his holiness replied, that he could make no such grant without the consent of the government of Scotland. On the death of Margaret queen of Norway, her daughter, in consequence of the act above mentioned, was recognized by the states as queen of Scotland. As she was then but two years old, they came to a resolution of excluding from all share in the government, not only Edward I. but their queen's father; and they accordingly established a regency from among

An. 1285.  
110  
Accession of  
Margaret.

Scotland. among their own number, consisting of the six following noblemen; viz. Robert Wishart bishop of Glasgow, Sir James Cummin of Badenoch, senior, James lord high steward of Scotland, who were to have the superintendency of all that part of Scotland which lay to the south of the Forth; William Frazer bishop of St Andrews, Duncan M'Duff earl of Fife, and Alexander Cummin earl of Buchan, who were to have the direction of all affairs to the north of the same river.—With these arrangements Eric was exceedingly displeas'd, considering himself as the only rightful guardian of his own child. He therefore cultivated a good understanding with Edward, from whom he had received considerable pecuniary favours; and perceiving that the states of Scotland were unanimous in excluding all foreigners from the management of their affairs, he embraced the views of the king of England, and named commissioners to treat with those of Edward upon the Scots affairs. These negociations terminated in a treaty of marriage between the queen of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, young as they both were. This alarmed the states of Scotland, who resolv'd not to suffer their queen to be dispos'd of without their consent. It was therefore agreed by the commissioners on both sides, to acquaint them with the result of their conferences, and to demand that a deputation should be sent to London for settling the regency of Scotland, or, in other words, for putting the sovereign power into the hands of the two kings. As the two parties, however, were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, being first cousins, a dispensation was applied for to Pope Boniface, who granted it on condition that the peers of Scotland consented to the match.

Though the Scots nobility were very inimical to this match, they could not refuse their consent to it when propos'd by the father and grand-uncle of their young queen. They therefore appointed the bishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, with Robert Bruce lord of Annandale, and John Cummin, to attend as their deputies, but with a charge to preserve all the liberties and honours of the realm of Scotland; to which Edward agreed. These deputies met at Salisbury with those of England and Norway; and it was at last agreed, 1. That the young queen should be sent from Norway (free of all marriage-engagements) into England or Scotland. 2. That if the queen came to England, she should be at liberty to repair to Scotland as soon as the distractions of that kingdom should be settled: that she should, on her arrival in her own dominions, be free of all matrimonial contracts; but that the Scots should engage not to dispose of her in marriage without her father or Edward's consent. 3. The Scots deputies promised to give such security as the Norwegian commissioners might require, that the tranquillity of the nation should be settled before her arrival. 4. That the commissioners of Scotland and Norway, joined with commissioners from England, should remove such regents and officers of state in Scotland, as might be suspected of disaffection, and place others in their stead. If the Scots and Norwegian commissioners should disagree on that or any other head relating to the government of Scotland, the decision was to be left to the arbitration of English commissioners.

The party of Edward was now so strong in Scotland, that no opposition was made to the late agreement, in a

parliament held at Brechin to deliberate upon the settlement of the kingdom. It is uncertain whether he communicated in form to the Scottish parliament the pope's dispensation for the marriage: but most probably he did not; as, in a letter written to him by the states of Scotland, they mention this as a matter they heard by report. On the whole, however, they highly approved of the marriage, upon certain conditions to which Edward was previously to agree; but the latter, without waiting to perform any conditions, immediately sent for the young queen from Norway. This exceedingly displeas'd Eric, who was by no means inclined to put his daughter into the hands of a prince whose sincerity he suspected, and therefore delayed the departure of the young queen till he should hear farther from Scotland. Edward, alarmed at this, had again recourse to negotiation; and ten articles were at last drawn up, in which the Scots took all imaginable precautions for the safety and independence of their country. These articles were ratified by Edward on the 28th of August 1289; yet, even after the marriage was fully settled, he lost no time in procuring as strong a party as possible. At the head of these were the archbishop of St Andrew's and John Baliol. That prelate, while he was in England, was highly caress'd by Edward, from whom he had great expectations of preferment; and Baliol, having great estates in England, consider'd Edward as his sovereign. The bishop, on his return to Scotland, acted as a spy for Edward, and carried on with him a secret correspondence, informing him of all public transactions. It appears from this correspondence, that the Scots were far from being unanimous as to the marriage. Bruce earl of Annandale suspected, for some reason or other, that the young queen was dead; and, soon after Michaelmas 1290, assembled a body of forces, and was joined by the earls of Mar and Athol. Intelligence of these commotions was carried to Edward by Baliol; and the archbishop of St Andrew's advis'd Edward, if the report of the queen's death should prove true, to march a body of troops towards Scotland, in order to secure such a successor as he might think proper.

Edward, in the mean time, consented to allow ambassadors to be sent from Scotland to bring over the young queen, previous to which, he appointed the bishop of Durham to be lieutenant in Scotland for the queen and her future husband; and all the officers there, both civil and military, oblig'd themselves to surrender their employments and fortresses to the king and queen (that is, to Edward) immediately on their arrival in Scotland. But while the most magnificent preparations were making for the reception of the queen, intelligence of her death was received; but it is not certainly known whether this event happened before the arrival of the ambassadors in Norway, or after her departure from that country, probably the latter.

The Scots were thrown into the utmost consternation by the news of the queen's death; while, on the other hand, Edward was as well prepared as if he had known what was to happen. The state of Scotland at this time, indeed, was to the last degree deplorable. The act of succession, established by the late king, had no further operation, being determined by the death of the queen; and since the crown was hereditary, there was no precedent by which it could be settled. The Scots, in general, however, turned their eyes on

Scotland. the posterity of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to the two kings Malcolm the Maiden and his successor William, both of whom died without lawful issue. The earl had three daughters. Margaret, the eldest, was married to Allan lord of Galloway; the only issue of which marriage was Derverguill wife to John Baliol, who had a son of the same name, a competitor for the crown. The second daughter, Isabella, was married to Robert Bruce; and their son Robert was likewise a candidate. The third daughter, Ada, had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, and predecessor to the present earl of Huntingdon. John Hastings, the son of this marriage, was a third competitor; but as his claim was confessedly the worst of the three, he put in only for a third of the kingdom, on the principle that his mother was joint-heir with her two sisters (c). Several other claimants now started up. Florence earl of Holland pretended to the crown of Scotland in right of his great grandmother Ada, the eldest lawful sister of William, formerly king; as did Robert de Pynkeny, in the right of his great-grandmother Margery, second sister of the same King William. Patrick Gallightly was the son of Henry Gallightly, a bastard of William; William de Rofs was descended of Isabel; Patrick earl of March, of Ida or Ada; and William de Vesce, of Margery; all three natural daughters of King William. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Aufrie, another natural daughter of William, also put in his claim; but the right of Nicolas de Soulis, if bastardy could give a right, was better than those of the former. His grandmother Margery, the wife of Allan le Huiffier, was a natural daughter of Alexander II. and consequently sister to Alexander III. John Cummin lord of Badenoch derived his claim from a more remote source, viz. Donald Bane, who usurped the crown about 200 years before this time; but he was willing to resign his pretensions in favour of John Baliol. The last indeed had the best right; and, had the succession been regulated as it is in all hereditary kingdoms at this day, he would undoubtedly have succeeded. Bruce and Hastings, however, pleaded that they were preferable, not only to John Baliol the grandchild of Margaret, but also to Der-

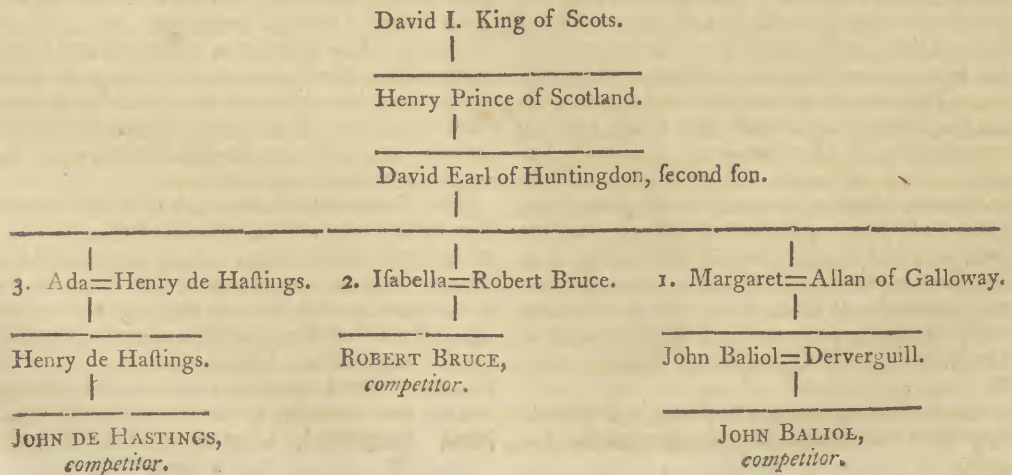
guill her daughter and his mother, for the following reason. Derverguill and they were equally related to their grandfather Earl David: She was indeed the daughter of his eldest daughter; but she was a woman, they were men; and, said they, the male in the same degree ought to succeed to sovereignties, in their own nature impartible, preferable to the female.

Notwithstanding this number of candidates, however, it was soon perceived, that the claims of all might be cut off excepting those of two, viz. Baliol and Bruce, of whom the former had the preference with respect to hereditary right, and the latter as to popularity. Baliol had strongly attached himself to Edward's party; and this being by far the most powerful in Scotland, gave him a decided superiority over Bruce. The event was, that Edward was appointed to decide between the two competitors. It soon appeared, however, that Edward had no intention of adjudging the crown to any person but himself; for, in an assembly held at Norham on the 10th of May 1291, Brabanzon the chief justice of England informed the members, "That his master was come thither in consideration of the state of the realm of Scotland, which was then without a king, to meet them, as *direct sovereign* of that kingdom, to do justice to the claimants of his crown, and to establish a solid tranquillity among his people; that it was not his intention to retard justice, nor to usurp the right of any one, or to infringe the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, but to render to every one his due. And to the end this might be done with the more ease, he required the assent of the states *ex abundante*, and that they should own him as *direct sovereign* of the kingdom; offering, on that condition, to make use of their counsels to do what justice demanded." The deputies were astonished at this declaration, and replied, that they were by no means prepared to decide on Edward's claim of superiority; but that Edward ought previously to judge the cause between the two competitors, and require homage from him whom he should choose to be king. Edward treated this excuse as trifling, and gave them till next day to consider of his demand. Accordingly, on that day, the assembly was held in Norham church, where the deputies from Scotland insisted upon giving no answer

Scotland.

114  
Edward declares himself sovereign of Scotland.

(c) The pedigree of the three principal competitors will be fully understood from the following scheme.



Scotland. fwer to Edward's demands, which could be decided only by the whole community; representing, at the same time, that numbers of the noblemen and prelates were absent, and that they must have time to know their sense of the affair. In consequence of this, Edward gave them a delay of three weeks; which interval be employed in multiplying claimants to the crown of Scotland, and in flattering all with hopes, if they would acknowledge his superiority. But when the assembly met, according to appointment, on the 2d of June following, they found the place of meeting surrounded by a numerous army of English. Edward had employed the bishop of Durham to draw up the historical evidence of his right to the crown of Scotland; which has since been published. In this paper mention is made of the fealty and homage performed by the kings of Scotland to the Anglo-Saxon kings of England; but no sufficient evidence is brought of any such homage being actually performed. As to the homage paid by the kings of Scotland from the time of William the Conqueror to that of the dispute between Bruce and Baliol, the Scots never denied it; but they contended, and indeed with justice, that it was paid for the lands which they held from the crown of England; and they alleged, that it was as far removed from any relation to a fealty or homage performed for the crown of Scotland, as the homage paid by the English monarchs to the crown of France was removed from all relation to the crown of England. With regard to the homage paid by William king of Scotland to Henry II. of England, it was not denied that he performed it for the whole kingdom of Scotland: but they pleaded, that it was void of itself, because it was extorted when William was a prisoner to Henry; and they produced Richard I.'s charters, which pronounced it to have been compulsive and iniquitous.

But, however urgent these reasons of the Scots might be, Edward was by no means disposed to examine into their merits. Instead of this, he closeted the several pretenders to the crown; and having found them all ready to comply with his measures, he drew up the following charter of recognition to be signed by them all.

"To all who shall hear this present letter.

"We Florence earl of Holland, Robert de Bruce lord of Annandale, John Baliol lord of Galloway, John Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Cummin lord of Badenoch, Patrick de Dunbar earl of March, John Vesci for his father Nicholas Soulis, and William de Ros, greeting in the Lord:

"Whereas we intend to pursue our right to the kingdom of Scotland; and to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him that hath most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it; and the noble prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England, &c. having informed us, by good and sufficient reasons, that to him belongs the sovereign seignory of the same: We therefore promise, that we will hold firm and stable his act; and that he shall enjoy the realm to whom it shall be adjudged before him. In witness whereof, we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the Ascension, in the year of Grace 1291."

Edward then declared, by the mouth of his chancellor, that although, in the dispute which had arisen

between the several claimants, touching the succession to the kingdom of Scotland, he acted in quality of sovereign, in order to render justice to whomsoever it was due; yet he did not thereby mean to exclude himself from the hereditary right which in his own person he might have to that crown, and which right he intended to assert and improve when he should think proper: and the king himself repeated this protestation in French. The candidates were then severally called upon by the English chancellor, to declare whether they were willing to acknowledge Edward's claim of superiority over the crown of Scotland, and to submit to his award in disposing of the same; which being answered in the affirmative, they were then admitted to prove their rights. But this was mere matter of form; for all the force of England was then assembled on the borders in order to support the claims of Edward, and nothing now remained but to furnish him with a sufficient pretext for making use of it. He observed, that the Scots were not so unanimous as they ought to be in recognising his superiority, and that the submission, which had been signed by the candidates, was not sufficient to carry it into execution. For this reason he demanded that all the forts in Scotland should be put into his possession, that he might resign them to the successful candidate.

Though nothing could be more shameful than a tame compliance with this last demand, the regency of Scotland without hesitation yielded also to it; for which they gave the following reasons. "That whereas they (the states of Scotland), had, with one assent, already granted that King Edward, as superior lord of Scotland, should give sentence as to their several rights and titles to the crown of Scotland, &c. but as the said king of England cannot put his judgement in full execution to answer effectually without the possession or seisin of the said country and its castles; we will, grant, and assent, that he, as sovereign lord thereof, to perform the things aforesaid, shall have seisin of all the lands and castles in Scotland, until right be done to the demandants, and to the guardians and community of the kingdom of Scotland, to restore both it and its castles, with all the royalties, dignities, franchises, customs, rights, laws, usages, and possessions, with their appurtenances, in the same state and condition in which they were when he received them; saving to the king of England the homage of him that shall be king; so as they may be restored within two months after the day on which the rights shall be determined and affirmed; and that the profits of the nation which shall be received in the mean time shall be kept in the hands of the chamberlain of Scotland that now is, and one to be joined with him by the king of England; so that the charge of the government, castles, and officers of the realm, may be deducted. In witness whereof, &c."

For these reasons, as it is said, the regency put into the hands of Edward all the forts in the country. Gilbert de Umfrville alone, who had the command of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, refused to deliver them up, until he should be indemnified by the states, and by Edward himself, from all penalties of treason of which he might afterwards be in danger.

But though Edward had thus obtained possession of the whole power of the nation, he did not think proper to determine every thing by his own authority. Instead of

Scotland's

116  
Edward demands possession of all the fortified places in Scotland,

117  
which is agreed to by the states.

115  
The candidates sign an assent  
An. 1291.

Scotland.

118  
Commis-  
sioners ap-  
pointed to  
determine  
the preten-  
sions of the  
candidates.

of this, he appointed commissioners, and promised to grant letters-patent declaring that sentence should be passed in Scotland. It had been all along foreseen that the great dispute would be between Bruce and Baliol; and though the plea of Cummin was judged frivolous, yet he was a man of too much influence to be neglected, and he agreed tacitly to resign it in favour of Baliol. Edward accordingly made him the compliment of joining him with Baliol in nominating 40 commissioners. Bruce was to name 40 more; and the names of the 80 were to be given in to Edward in three days; after which the king was to add to them 24 of his own choosing. The place and time of meeting were left at their own option. They unanimously pitched upon Berwick for the place of meeting; but as they could not agree about the time, Edward appointed the second of August following. Soon after this, the regents resigned their commissions to Edward; but he returned them, with powers to act in his name; and he nominated the bishop of Caithness to be chancellor of Scotland; joining in the commission with him Walter de Hemondelham an Englishman, and one of his own secretaries. Still, however, he met with great difficulties. Many of his own great men, particularly the earl of Gloucester, were by no means fond of increasing the power of the English monarch by the acquisition of Scotland; and therefore threw such obstacles in his way, that he was again obliged to have recourse to negotiation and intrigue, and at last to delay the meeting until the second of June in 1292: but during this interval, that he might the better reconcile the Scots to the loss of their liberty, he proposed an union of the two kingdoms; and for this he issued a writ by virtue of his superiority.

An. 1292.

The commissioners having met on the second of June 1292, ambassadors for Norway presented themselves in the assembly, demanding that their master should be admitted into the number of the claimants, as father and next heir to the late queen. This demand too was admitted by Edward, after the ambassadors had acknowledged his superiority over Scotland; after which he proposed that the claims of Bruce and Baliol should be previously examined, but without prejudice to those of the other competitors. This being agreed to, he ordered the commissioners to examine by what laws they ought to proceed in forming their report. The discussion of this question was attended with such difficulty, and the opinions on it were so various, that Edward once more adjourned the assembly to the 12th of October following; at which time he required the members to give their opinions on the two following points: 1. By what laws and customs they ought to proceed to judgement; and, supposing there could be no law or precedent found in the two kingdoms, in what manner? 2. Whether the kingdom of Scotland ought to be taken in the same view as all other fiefs, and to be awarded in the same manner as earldoms and baronies? The commissioners replied, that Edward ought to give justice conformable to the usage of the two kingdoms: but that if no certain laws or precedents could be found, he might, by the advice of his great men, enact a new law. In answer to the second question they said, that the succession to the kingdom might be awarded in the same manner as that to other estates and great baronies. Upon this, Edward ordered Bruce

and Baliol to be called before him; and both of them urged their respective pleas, and answers, to the following purpose.

Bruce pleaded, 1. That Alexander II. despairing of heirs of his own body, had declared that he held him to be the true heir, and offered to prove by the testimony of persons still alive, that he declared this with the advice and in the presence of the good men of his kingdom. Alexander III. also had declared to those with whom he was intimate, that, failing issue of his own body, Bruce was his right heir. The people of Scotland also had taken an oath for maintaining the succession of the nearest in blood to Alexander III. who ought of right to inherit, failing Margaret the Maiden of Norway and her issue.—Baliol answered, that nothing could be concluded from the acknowledgement of Alexander II. for that he left heirs of his body; but made no answer to what was said of the sentiments of Alexander III. and of the oath made by the Scottish nation to maintain the succession of the next of blood.

2. Bruce pleaded, that the right of reigning ought to be decided according to the natural law, by which kings reign; and not according to any law or usage in force between subject and subject: That by the law of nature, the nearest collateral in blood has a right to the crown; but that the constitutions which prevail among vassals, bind not the lord, much less the sovereign: That although in private inheritances, which are divisible, the eldest female heir has a certain prerogative, it is not so in a kingdom that is indivisible; there the nearest heir of blood is preferable whenever the succession opens.—To this Baliol replied, that the claimants were in the court of their lord paramount; and that he ought to give judgement in this case, as in the case of any other tenements, depending on his crown, that is, by the common law and usage of his kingdom, and no other. That by the laws and usages of England, the eldest female heir is preferred in the succession to all inheritances, indivisible as well as divisible.

3. It was urged by Bruce, that the manner of succession to the kingdom of Scotland in former times, was in favour of his claim; for that the brother, as being nearest in degree, was wont to be preferred to the son of the deceased king. Thus, when Kenneth Macalpin died, his brother Donald was preferred to his son Constantine, and this was confirmed by several other authentic instances in the history of Scotland.—Baliol answered, that if the brother was preferred to the son of the king, the example militated against Bruce; for that the son, not the brother, was the nearest in degree. He admitted, that after the death of Malcolm III. his brother usurped the throne; but he contended, that the son of Malcolm complained to his liege lord the king of England, who dispossessed the usurper, and placed the son of Malcolm on the throne; that after the death of that son the brother of Malcolm III. again usurped the throne; but the king of England again dispossessed him, and raised Edgar, the second son of Malcolm, to the sovereignty.

4. Bruce pleaded, that there are examples in other countries, particularly in Spain and Savoy, where the son of the second daughter excluded the grandson of the eldest daughter. Baliol answered, that examples from foreign countries are of no importance; for that according

119  
Pleas of  
Bruce and  
Baliol

Scotland. according to the laws of England and Scotland, where kings reign by succession in the direct line, and earls and barons succeed in like manner, the issue of the younger sister, although nearer in degree, excludes not the issue of the eldest sister, although more remote; but the succession continues in the direct line.

5. Bruce pleaded, that a female ought not to reign, as being incapable of governing: That at the death of Alexander III. the mother of Baliol was alive; and as she could not reign, the kingdom devolved upon him, as being the nearest male heir of the blood royal. But to this Baliol replied, that Bruce's argument was inconsistent with his claim: for that if a female ought not to reign, Isabella the mother of Bruce ought not, nor must Bruce himself claim through her. Besides, Bruce himself had sworn fealty to a female, the maiden of Norway.

<sup>120</sup> Judgement given in favour of Baliol. The arguments being thus stated on both sides, Edward demanded an answer from the council as to the merits of the competitors. He also put the following question to them: By the laws and usages of both kingdoms, does the issue of the eldest sister, though more remote in one degree, exclude the issue of the second sister, though nearer in one degree? or ought the nearer in one degree, issuing from the second sister, to exclude the more remote in one degree issuing from the eldest sister? To this it was answered unanimously, That by the laws and usages of both kingdoms, in every heritable succession, the more remote in one degree lineally descended from the eldest sister, was preferable to the nearer in degree issuing from the second sister. In consequence of this, Bruce was excluded from the succession; on which he entered a claim for one third of the kingdom: but being baffled in this also, the kingdom of Scotland being determined an indivisible fee, Edward ordered John Baliol to have seisin of Scotland; with this caveat, however, "That this judgement should not impair his claim to the property of Scotland."

<sup>121</sup> who is crowned at Scone, 30th Nov. 1292. After so many disgraceful and humiliating concessions on the part of the Scots, John Baliol was crowned king at Scone on the 30th November 1292; and finished the ceremony by doing homage to the king of England. All his submissions, however, could not satisfy Edward, as long as the least shadow of independence remained to Scotland. A citizen of Berwick appealed from a sentence of the Scots judges appointed by Edward, in order to carry his cause into England. But this was opposed by Baliol, who pleaded a promise made by the English monarch, that he should "observe the laws and usages of Scotland, and not withdraw any causes from Scotland into his English courts." Edward replied, that it belonged to him to hear the complaints made against his own ministers; and concluded with asserting his right, not only to try Scots causes in England, but to summon the king of Scotland, if necessary, to appear before him in person. Baliol had not spirit to resist; and therefore signed a most disgraceful instrument, by which he declared, that all the obligations which Edward had come under were already fulfilled, and therefore that he discharged them all.

<sup>122</sup> Haughty behaviour of Edward.

Edward now thought proper to give Baliol some marks of his favour, the most remarkable of which was giving him seisin of the Isle of Man; but it soon ap-

peared that he intended to exercise his rights of superiority in the most provoking manner. The first instance was in the case of Malcolm earl of Fife. This nobleman had two sons, Colban his heir, and another who is constantly mentioned in history by the family-name of Macduff.—It is said, that Malcolm put Macduff in possession of the lands of Reres and Crey. Malcolm died in 1266; Colban his son, in 1270; Duncan the son of Colban, in 1288. To this last earl, his son Duncan, an infant, succeeded. During the nonage of this Duncan, grand-nephew of Macduff, William archbishop of St Andrew's, guardian of the earldom, dispossessed Macduff. He complained to Edward; who having ordered his cause to be tried, restored him again to possession. Matters were in this state when Baliol held his first parliament at Scone, 10th February 1293. There Macduff was cited to answer for having taken possession of the lands of Reres and Crey, which were in possession of the king since the death of the last earl of Fife. As his defences did not satisfy the court, he was condemned to imprisonment; but an action was reserved to him against Duncan, when he should come of age, and against his heirs. In all this defence, it is surprising that Macduff should have omitted his strongest argument, viz. that the regents, by Edward's authority, had put him in possession, and that Baliol had ratified all things under Edward's authority. However, as soon as he was set at liberty, he petitioned Baliol for a rehearing; but this being refused, he appealed to Edward, who ordered Baliol to appear before him in person on the 25th of March 1293: but as Baliol did not obey this order, he summoned him again to appear on the 14th of October. In the mean time the English parliament drew up certain *standing orders* in cases of appeal from the king of Scots; all of which were harsh and captious. One of these regulations provided, "that no excuse of absence should be received either from the appellant, or the king of Scotland respondent; but that the parties might have counsel if they required it."

Scotland.

Though Baliol had not the courage to withstand the second summons of Edward, he behaved with considerable resolution at the trial. The cause of Macduff being brought on, Edward asked Baliol what he had to offer in his own defence; to which he replied, "I am King of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to ought else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people."—Edward affected surprise at this refusal, after the submissions which Baliol had already made him; but the latter steadily replied, "In matters respecting my kingdom, I neither *dare* nor *can* answer in this place, without the advice of my people." Edward then desired him to ask a farther adjournment, that he might advise with the nation. But Baliol, perceiving that his doing so would imply an acquiescence in Edward's right of requiring his personal attendance on the English courts, replied, "That he would neither ask a longer day, nor consent to an adjournment."—It was then resolved by the parliament of England, that the king of Scotland had offered no defence; that he had made evasive and disrespectful answers: and that he was guilty of manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience. To recompence Macduff for his imprisonment, he was ordered damages from the king of Scots, to be taxed by the

<sup>123</sup> He summons Baliol to appear before him, An. 1293.

<sup>124</sup> who behaves with resolution at his trial.

<sup>125</sup> His sentence.

Scotland. the court; and it was also determined that Edward should inquire, according to the usages of the country, whether Macduff recovered the tenements in question by the judgement of the king's court, and whether he was dispossessed by the king of Scots. It was also resolved, that the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns in which they were situated, and the royal jurisdiction over them, should be taken into the custody of the king, and there remain until the king of Scots should make satisfaction for his contempt and disobedience. But, before this judgement was publicly intimated, Baliol addressed Edward in the following words: "My lord, I am your liege-man for the kingdom of Scotland; that, whereof you have lately treated, respects my people no less than myself: I therefore pray you to delay it until I have consulted my people, lest I be surprised through want of advice: They who are now with me, neither will nor dare advise me in absence of the rest of my kingdom. After I have advised with them, I will in your first parliament after Easter report the result, and do to you what I ought."

126  
Edward's  
demands  
on Scot-  
land.

In consequence of this address, Edward, with consent of Macduff, stopped all proceedings till the day after the feast of Trinity 1294. But before this term Edward was obliged to suspend all proceedings against the Scots, in consequence of a war which broke out with France. In a parliament held this year by Edward, the king of Scotland appeared, and consented to surrender the whole revenues of his English estates for three years to assist Edward against his enemy. He was also requested and ordered by Edward to extend an embargo laid upon the English vessels all over Scotland; and this embargo to endure until the king of England's further pleasure should be known. He also requested Baliol to send some troops for an expedition into Gascony, and required the presence and aid of several of the Scottish barons for the same purpose. The Scots, however, eluded the commands of Edward, by pretending that they could not bring any considerable force into the field; and, unable to bear his tyranny any longer, they negotiated an alliance with Philip king of France. Having assembled a parliament at Scone, they prevailed upon Baliol to dismiss all the Englishmen whom he maintained at his court. They then appointed a committee of twelve, four bishops, four earls, and four barons, by whose advice every thing was to be regulated; and, if we may credit the English historians, they watched the conduct of Baliol himself, and detained him in a kind of honourable captivity. They could not, however, prevent him from delivering up the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, to the bishop of Carlisle; in whose custody they were to remain during the war between England and France, as a pledge of his allegiance. Notwithstanding this, Baliol concluded the alliance with Philip; by which it was stipulated, that the latter should give in marriage the eldest daughter of the count of Anjou to Baliol's son; and it was also provided, that Baliol should not marry again without the consent of Philip. The king of Scotland engaged to assist Philip in his wars at his own expence, and with his whole power, especially if Edward invaded France; and Philip on his part engaged to assist Scotland, in case of an English invasion, either by making a diversion, or by sending succours to the Scotch.

Elated with the hopes of assistance from France, the

Scots invaded Cumberland with a mighty army, and laid siege to Carlisle. The men abandoned the place; but the women mounted the walls, and drove the assailants from the attack. Another incursion into Northumberland proved almost as disgraceful. Their whole exploits consisted in burning a nunnery at Lumley, and a monastery at Corebridge, though dedicated to their patron St Andrew; but having attempted to storm the castle of Harbottle, they were repulsed with loss. In the mean time Edward, with an army equal in number to that of the Scots, but much superior in respect of discipline, invaded the eastern coast of Scotland. Berwick had either not been delivered according to promise, or had been resumed by the Scots, and was now defended by a numerous garrison. Edward assaulted it by sea and land. The ships which began the attack were all either burnt or disabled; but Edward having led on his army in person, took the place by storm, and cruelly butchered the inhabitants, to the number of 8000, without distinction of sex or age. In this town there was a building called the *Red hall*, possessed by certain Flemings, by the tenure of defending it at all times against the king of England. Thirty of these maintained their ground for a whole day against the English army; but at night the building being set on fire, all of them perished in the flames. The same day the castle capitulated; the garrison, consisting of 2000 men, marched out with all the honours of war, after having sworn never to bear arms against England.

Scotland.  
128  
The Scots  
invade  
England  
without  
success.

129  
Berwick  
taken, and  
the inhabi-  
tants mas-  
sacred by  
Edward.

In the mean time, Baliol, by the advice of his parliament, solemnly and openly renounced his allegiance to Edward, sending him the following declaration:—

"To the magnificent prince, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England; John, by the same grace, king of Scotland.

130  
Baliol's re-  
nunciation  
of his alle-  
giance to  
England.

"Whereas you, and others of your kingdom, you not being ignorant, or having cause of ignorance, by your violent power, have notoriously and frequently done grievous and intolerable injuries, contempts, grievances, and strange damages against us, the liberties of our kingdom, and against God and justice; citing us, at your pleasure, upon every slight suggestion, out of our kingdom; unduly vexing us; seizing our castles, lands, and possessions, in your kingdom; unjustly, and for no fault of ours, taking the goods of our subjects, as well by sea as land, and carrying them into your kingdom; killing our merchants, and others of our kingdom; carrying away our subjects and imprisoning them: For the reformation of which things, we sent our messengers to you, which remain not only undressed, but there is every day an addition of worse things to them; for now you are come with a great army upon the borders, for the disinheriting us, and the inhabitants of our kingdom; and, proceeding, have inhumanly committed slaughter, burnings, and violent invasions, as well by sea as land: We not being able to sustain the said injuries, grievances, and damages any longer, nor to remain in your fealty or homage, extorted by your violent oppression, restore them to you, for ourself, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of you in your kingdom, as for your pretended government over us."

Edward was presented with this renunciation by the hands of the intrepid Henry abbot of Aberbrothwick; and as it was favourable to his political views, he received

127  
The Scots  
enter into  
an alliance  
with  
France.  
An. 1294.



Scotland. ceived it rather with contempt than anger. "The foolish traitor," said he to the abbot, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." The abbot had been persuaded by his enemies, of whom he had many in Scotland, to present this letter, in hopes that Edward would have put him to death; but he had address enough to escape without receiving any other answer.

131  
The Scots  
defeated at  
Dunbar.

Though this scheme of renunciation had been concerted some time before, the declaration was not sent to Edward till after the taking of Berwick. The fate of Scotland, after it, however, was soon decided. The earl of March had sided with Edward, but the countess betrayed his castle of Dunbar into the hands of the Scots. Edward sent a chosen body of troops to recover the place. The whole force of Scotland opposed them on the heights above Dunbar; but leaving their advantageous post, and pouring down on their enemies in confusion, they were dispersed and defeated.

An. 1296.  
132  
Baliol sub-  
mits to Ed-  
ward.

The castle of Dunbar surrendered at discretion; that of Roxburgh followed the same example; the castle of Edinburgh surrendered after a short siege; and Stirling was abandoned. The Scots, in the mean time, were guilty of the greatest extravagances. During the short interval between the loss of Berwick and the defeat at Dunbar, an order was made for expelling all the English ecclesiastics who held benefices in England; all the partizans of England, and all neutrals, were declared traitors, and their estates confiscated. But the great successes of Edward soon put an end to these impotent acts of fury. Baliol was obliged to implore the mercy of the conqueror. Divested of his royal ornaments, and bearing a white rod in his hand, he performed a most humiliating penance; confessing that by evil and false counsel, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord. He recapitulated his various transgressions, in concluding an alliance with France while at enmity with England; in contracting his son with the niece of the French king; in renouncing his fealty; in attacking the English territories, and in resisting Edward. He acknowledged the justice of the English invasion and conquest; and therefore he, of his own free consent, resigned Scotland, its people, and their homage, to his liege-lord Edward, 2d July 1296.

The king of England pursued his conquests, the barons everywhere crowding in to swear fealty to him, and renounce their allegiance to France. His journey ended at Elgin, from whence he returned southward; and, as an evidence of his having made an absolute conquest of Scotland, he carried off from Scone the wooden chair in which the kings were usually crowned. This chair had for its bottom the fatal stone regarded as the national palladium (D). Some of the charters belonging to the abbey were carried off, and the seals torn from others.

Scotland.  
133  
Scotland  
subdued.

On the 28th of August 1296, Edward held a parliament at Berwick, where he received the fealty of the clergy and laity of Scotland. It is said, that while the English monarch was employed in the conquest of Scotland, he had promised the sovereignty to Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, in order to secure his fidelity; but being put in mind of his promise, he answered, "Have I no other business but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce silently retired, and passed his days in obscurity. Among those who professed their allegiance at this parliament was Robert Bruce the younger, earl of Carrick. After this, Edward took the most effectual methods of securing his new conquest. He ordered the estates of the clergy to be restored; and having received the fealty of the widows of many of the Scottish barons, he put them in possession of their jointure-lands, and even made a decent provision for the wives of many of his prisoners. Yet, though in every thing he behaved with great moderation towards the Scots, he committed the government of certain districts, and of the chief castles in the south of Scotland, to his English subjects, of whose fidelity and vigilance he thought himself assured. In order to conciliate the affections of the clergy, he granted to the Scottish bishops, for ever, the privilege of bequeathing their effects by will, in the same manner as that privilege was enjoyed by the archbishops and bishops of England. In honour of the "glorious confessor St Cuthbert," he gave to the monks of Durham an annual pension of 40 pounds, payable out of the revenues of Scotland, by the tenure of maintaining, before the shrine of the saint, two wax-tapers of 20 pounds weight each, and of distributing twice a-year one penny each to 3000 indigent persons.

At

(D) "This stone is thus described by W. Hemingford, tom. i. p. 37. "Apud monasterium de Scone positus erat lapis pergrandis in ecclesia Dei, juxta magnum altare, concavus quidem *ad modum rotundæ cathedræ consecutus*, in quo futuri reges loco quasi coronationis ponebantur ex more. Rege itaque novo in lapideposito, missarum solemnium incepta peraguntur, et præterquam in elevatione sacri dominici corporis, semper lapidatus, mansit." And again, tom. i. p. 100. "In redeundo per Scone, præcepit tolli et Londoniis cariari, *lapidem* illum, in quo, ut supra dictum est, reges Scotorum solebant poni loco coronationis suæ, *et hoc in signum regni conquesti et resignati*." Walsingham mentions the use to which Edward put this stone: "Ad Westmonasterium transtulit illum, jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." This account of *the fatal stone* is here transcribed, that it may be compared with the appearance of the stone that now bears its name at Westminster.

Fordun has preserved the ancient rhymes concerning it; lib. xi. c. 25.

"Hic rex sic totam Scotiam fecit sibi notam,  
Qui sine mensura tulit inde jocalia plura,  
Et pariter lapidem, Scotorum quem fore fedem  
Regum decrevit fatum; quod sic inolevit,  
*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum*  
*Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*"

Scotland. At last, having settled every thing, as he thought, in tranquillity, he departed for England, with all the triumph of a conqueror.

134  
New disturbances.

The tranquillity established by Edward was, however, of short duration. The government of Scotland at that time required many qualities which Edward's vicegerents did not possess. Warenne, earl of Surrey, who had been appointed governor, took up his abode in England, on pretence of recovering his health. Cressingham, the treasurer, was a voluptuous, proud, and selfish ecclesiastic; while Ormesby the justiciary was hated for his severity. Under these officers the administration of Edward became more and more feeble; bands of robbers infested the highways, and the English government was universally despised. At this critical moment arose Sir William Wallace, the hero so much celebrated in Scottish fables, by which indeed his real exploits are so much obscured, that it is difficult to give an authentic relation of them. The most probable account is, that he was the younger son of a gentleman (Wallace of Ellerslie) in Renfrewshire (E). Having been outlawed for some offence, he associated with a few companions, of fortunes equally desperate with his own. Wallace himself was endowed with great strength and courage, and an active and ambitious spirit; and by his affability, eloquence, and wisdom, he maintained an authority over the rude and undisciplined multitudes who flocked to his standard. In May 1297, he began to infest the English quarters; and being successful in his predatory incursions, his party became more numerous, and he was joined by Sir William Douglas. With their united forces, these two allies attempted to surprize Ormesby the justiciary, while he held his courts at Scone; but he saved himself by a precipitate flight. After this the Scots roved over the whole country, assaulted castles, and massacred the English. Their party was joined by many persons of rank; among whom

135  
Sir William Wallace.  
An. 1297.

were Robert Wishart bishop of Glasgow, the steward of Scotland (E), and his brother Alexander de Lindisay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. Young Bruce would have been a vast accession to the party; for he possessed all Carrick and Annandale, so that his territories reached from the frith of Clyde to Solway. But the wardens of the western marches of England suspected his fidelity, and summoned him to Carlisle. He obeyed, and made oath on the consecrated host, and on the sword of Becket, to be faithful and vigilant in the cause of Edward; and to prove his sincerity, he invaded with fire and sword the estate of Sir William Douglas, and carried off his wife and children. However, he instantly repented of what he had done: "I trust (said he), that the pope will absolve me from an extorted oath;" on which he abandoned Edward, and joined the Scottish army.

All this time Edward was in France, not in the least suspecting an insurrection among people whom he imagined he had thoroughly subdued. As soon as he received the intelligence, he ordered the earl of Surrey to suppress the rebels; but he declining the command of the army himself on account of his health, resigned it to his nephew, Lord Henry Percy. A great army, some say not fewer than 40,000 men, was now assembled, with which Percy marched against the Scots. He found them encamped at Irvine, with a lake in their front, and their flanks secured by intrenchments, so that they could not be attacked without the utmost danger. The Scots, however, ruined every thing by their dissensions. Wallace was envied on account of his accomplishments, which had raised his reputation above the other officers, whose birth and circumstances were higher than his. His companions accordingly became jealous, and began to suggest, that an opposition to the English could only be productive of farther national destruction. Sir Richard Lundin, an officer of great rank, formed

136  
Dissensions of the Scots.

(E) The descent of Sir William Wallace has scarcely been carried with accuracy beyond his father, Wallace of Ellerslie. It has been supposed that the family of Wallace or Walleys, came originally from Wales; but according to Mr Chalmers, they were an Anglo-Norman family, originally denominated Walense, of whom Richard Walense, who appears as a witness to the charters of Walter, the son of Alan, the first of the Stewarts, acquired lands in Kyle, in Ayrshire, where he settled. This Richard was succeeded by his son Richard, who was cotemporary with Alan, the son of Walter the Stewart. Another branch of the family of Walense settled in Renfrewshire, under the kindly influence of the Stewarts; and of this branch Henry Walense, probably a younger son of the first Richard, held some lands in Renfrewshire under Walter the Stewart in the early part of the 13th century. From this Henry was descended Malcolm Waleys of Ellersly, the father of Sir William Wallace, the champion of Scottish independence.

We find that the family of Wallace was patronised by that of Stewart, which now began to make a distinguished figure in Scottish history. The genealogy of this illustrious house has been much disputed, and is involved in great obscurity. Mr Chalmers seems to have thrown considerable light on the origin of the Stewarts, and has traced them farther back than the generality of historians. According to this writer, Walter the son of Alan, who is generally considered as the first of the Stewarts, came from Shropshire in England, and his father Alan was the son of Flaald, and the younger brother of William, son of Alan, the progenitor of the famous house of Fitz-Alan, earls of Arundel. Alan the son of Flaald married the daughter of Warine, the famous sheriff of Shropshire, soon after the Norman conquest, in which both these families bore a part in the suite of William; and of this marriage was born William, the undoubted heir both of Alan and of Warine. Now, Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, who in 1335 claimed the post of steward of Scotland by hereditary right, and sold this title and claim to Edward III. for 1000 merks, had not, according to Mr Chalmers, any right to the stewardship of Scotland; but Walter, the younger brother of William, the son of Alan, the progenitor of Richard Fitz-Alan the claimant, was the first purchaser of this hereditary office. Robert the Stewart, who was born of Margery, the daughter of Robert Bruce in 1316, and became king of Scots in 1370, was then in possession of the hereditary office of *Stewart* by lineal descent.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> formed a party against Wallace, and went over to Edward with all his followers. Other leaders entered into a negociation with the English. Bruce, the steward and his brother Alexander de Lindefay, and Sir William Douglas, acknowledged their offences, and made submissions to Edward for themselves and their adherents.

<sup>137</sup>  
Most of them submit to the English.

This scandalous treaty seems to have been negotiated by the bishop of Glasgow, and their recantation is recorded in the following words.—“Be it known to all men: Whereas we, with the commons of our country, did rise in arms against our lord Edward, and against his peace, in his territories of Scotland and Galloway, did burn, slay, and commit divers robberies; we therefore, in our own name, and in the name of all our adherents, agree to make every reparation and atonement that shall be required by our sovereign lord; reserving always what is contained in a writing which we have procured from Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, commanders of the English forces; at Irvine, 9th July 1297.” To this instrument was subjoined, “Escriit a Sire Willaume; the meaning of which Lord Hailes supposes to be, that the barons had notified to Sir William Wallace their having made terms of accommodation for themselves and their party.

Edward accepted the submission of the Scottish barons who had been in arms, and granted liberty to those whom he had made prisoners in the course of the former year, on condition that they should serve him in his wars against France. The inconstancy of Bruce, however, was so great, that acknowledgments of submission or oaths of fealty were not thought sufficiently binding on him; for which reason the bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Alexander de Lindefay, became sureties for his loyalty and good behaviour, until he should deliver his daughter Margery as an hostage.

<sup>138</sup>  
Wallace still holds out.

Wallace alone refused to be concerned in these shameful submissions; and, with a few resolute followers, resolved to submit to every calamity rather than give up the liberty of his country. The barons had undertaken to procure his submission as well as their own; but finding that to be impossible, the bishop of Glasgow and Sir William Douglas voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners to the English. Edward, however, ascribed this voluntary surrender, not to any honourable motive, but to treachery. He asserted, that Wishart repaired to the castle of Roxburgh under pretence of yielding himself up, but with the concealed purpose of forming a conspiracy in order to betray that castle to the Scots; and in proof of this, Edward appealed to intercepted letters of Wishart. On the other hand, Wallace, ascribing the bishop's conduct to traitorous pusillanimity, plundered his house, and carried off his family captives.

Immediately after the defection of the barons at Irvine, Wallace with his band of determined followers attacked the rear of the English army, and plundered their baggage; but was obliged to retire, with the loss of 1000 men. He then found himself deserted by almost all the men of eminence and property. His army, however, increased considerably by the accession of numbers of inferior rank, and he again began to act on the offensive. While he employed himself in besieging the castle of Dundee, he was informed that the English army approached Stirling. Wallace, having charged the citizens of Dundee, under pain of death, to

continue the blockade of the castle, hastened with all his troops to guard the important passage of the Forth; and encamped behind a rising ground in the neighbourhood of the abbey of Cambuskenneth. Brian Fitz-Allan had been appointed governor of Scotland by Edward; but Warrenne, who waited the arrival of his successor, remained with the army. Imagining that Wallace might be induced by fair means to lay down his arms, he dispatched two friars to the Scottish camp, with terms of capitulation. “Return,” said Wallace, “and tell your masters, that we came not here to treat but to assert our right, and to set Scotland free. Let them advance, they will find us prepared.” The English, provoked at this answer, demanded impatiently to be led on to battle. Sir Richard Lundin remonstrated against the absurdity of making a numerous army pass by a long narrow bridge in presence of the enemy. He told them, that the Scots would attack them before they could form on the plain to the north of the bridge, and thus certainly defeat them: at the same time he offered to show them a ford, which having crossed with 500 horse, and a chosen detachment of infantry, he proposed to come round upon the rear of the enemy, and by this diversion facilitate the operations of the main body. This proposal being rejected, the English army began to pass over; which was no sooner perceived by Wallace, than he rushed down upon them, and broke them in a moment. Cressingham the treasurer was killed, and many thousands were slain on the field, or drowned in their flight. The loss of the Scots would have been inconsiderable, had it not been for that of Sir Andrew Moray, the intimate friend and companion of Wallace, who was mortally wounded in the engagement.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

<sup>139</sup>  
Gives the English a great defeat near Stirling, 12th September 1297.

The victory at Stirling was followed by the surrender of Dundee castle, and other places of strength in Scotland; at the same time the Scots took possession of Berwick, which the English had evacuated. But as a famine now took place in Scotland from bad seasons and the miseries of war, Wallace marched with his whole army into England, that he might in some measure relieve the necessities of his countrymen by plundering the enemy. This expedition lasted three weeks, during which time the whole tract of country from Cocker-mouth and Carlisle to the gates of Newcastle was laid waste with all the fury of revenge and rapacity; though Wallace endeavoured, as far as possible, to repress the licentiousness of his soldiers.

In 1298, Wallace assumed the title of “Governor An. 1298. of Scotland, in name of King John, and by consent of the Scottish nation;” but in what manner this office was obtained, is now in a great measure unknown. In a parliament which he convoked at Perth, he was confirmed in his authority; and under this title he conferred the constabulary of Dundee on Alexander surnamed *Skringgeour* and his heirs. This grant is said to have been made with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility, 29th March 1298. From this period, however, we may date the very great jealousy which took place between Wallace and the nobles who pretended to be of his party. His elevation wounded their pride; his great services reproached their inactivity in the public cause; and thus the counsels of Scotland were perplexed with distrust and envy, when almost its very existence depended on unanimity.

<sup>140</sup>  
Jealousy between Wallace and the barons.

Scotland.

In June 1298, Edward, who had all this time been in Flanders, returned to England and summoned the Scottish barons, under pain of rebellion, to attend him in parliament; and, on their disobeying his summons, he advanced with his army towards Scotland. His main force, commanded by himself, assembled at Berwick; but a body of troops, under the earl of Pembroke, having landed in the north of Fife, were defeated with great loss by Wallace, on the 12th of June. The same month Edward invaded Scotland by the way of the eastern borders. No place resisted him except the castle of Dirleton. After a resolute defence, it surrendered to Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham.

141  
Scotland  
again in-  
vaded by  
Edward.

Meanwhile the Scots were assembling all their strength in the interior of the country. Few barons of eminence repaired to the national standard. They whose names are recorded, were John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger; Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to *The Steward*; Sir John Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, the grand-uncle of the young earl of Fife.—Robert Bruce again acceded to the Scottish party; and with his followers guarded the important castle of Ayr, which kept the communication open with Galloway, Argyleshire, and the isles.

The aim of Edward was to penetrate into the west, and there to terminate the war. He appointed a fleet, with provisions, to proceed to the frith of Clyde, and await his arrival in those parts. This precaution was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of his numerous army in a country impoverished and waste.

Waiting for accounts of the arrival of his fleet, he established his head-quarters at Templeliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow.

A dangerous insurrection arose in his camp. He had bestowed a donation of wine among his soldiers, they became intoxicated; a national quarrel ensued.—In this tumult the Welsh slew 18 English ecclesiastics. The English horsemen rode in among the Welsh, and revenged this outrage with great slaughter. The Welsh in disgust separated themselves from the army. It was reported to Edward, that they had mutinied, and gone over to the Scots: "I care not," said Edward, dissembling the danger; "let my enemies go and join my enemies; I trust that in one day I shall chastise them all."

Edward was now placed in most critical circumstances. As the fleet with provisions had been detained by contrary winds, he could not venture to advance, neither could he subsist any longer in his present quarters. To retreat would have sullied the glory of his arms, and exposed him to the obloquy and murmurs of a discontented people. Yet he submitted to this hard necessity. Abandoning every prospect of ambition and revenge, he commanded his army to return to the eastern borders. At that moment intelligence arrived that the Scots had advanced to Falkirk.

Edward instantly marched against them. His army lay that night in the fields. While Edward slept on the ground, his war-horse struck him and broke two of his ribs. The alarm arose, that the king was wounded. They who knew not the cause, repeated the cry, "The

king is wounded; there is treason in the camp; the enemy is upon us." Edward mounted on horseback, and by his presence dispelled the panic. With a fortitude of spirit superior to pain, he led on his troops. At break of day, the Scottish army was defeated, forming on a stony field at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.

Scotland.  
142  
The battle  
of Falkirk,  
22d July  
1298.

Wallace ranged his infantry in four bodies of a circular form. The archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart, were placed in the intervals. The horse, amounting to no more than a thousand, were at some distance in the rear. On the front of the Scots lay a morass. Having drawn up his troops in this order, Wallace pleasantly said, "Now I have brought you to the ring, dance according to your skill."

Edward placed his chief confidence in the numerous and formidable body of horsemen whom he had selected for the Scottish expedition. These he ranged in three lines. The first was led by Bigot Earl Marshal, and the earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second by the bishop of Durham, having under him Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton; the third, intended for a reserve, was led by the king himself. No mention is made of the disposition of his infantry: it is probable that they were drawn up behind, to support the cavalry, and to annoy the Scots with their arrows and other missile weapons.

Bigot, at the head of the first line, rushed on to the charge. He was checked by the morass, which in his impetuosity he had overlooked. This obliged him to incline to the solid ground on his left, towards the right flank of the Scottish army. The bishop of Durham, who led the second line, inclined to the right, turned the morass, and advanced towards the left flank of the Scottish army. He proposed to halt till the reserve should advance. "To mass, bishop," cried Basset, and instantly charged. The shock of the English cavalry on each side was violent, and gallantly withstood by the Scottish infantry; but the Scottish cavalry, dismayed at the number and force of the English men-at-arms, immediately quitted the field. Stewart, while giving orders to his archers, was thrown from his horse and slain. His archers crowded round his body and perished with him. Often did the English strive to force the Scottish circle. "They could not penetrate into that wood of spears," as one of their historians speaks. By repeated charges, the outermost ranks were brought to the ground. The English infantry incessantly galled the Scots with showers of stones and arrows. Macduff and Sir John Graham fell. At length the Scots were broken by the numbers and weight of the English cavalry, and the rout became universal.

The number of the Scots slain in this battle must have been very great. As is commonly the case, it is exaggerated by the historians of the victors, and reduced too low by the historians of the vanquished.

On the side of the English the loss was inconsiderable. The only persons of note who fell were Brian le Jay, master of the English Templars, and the prior of Torpichen in Scotland, a knight of another order of religious soldiery (E).

143  
The Scots  
defeated  
with great  
slaughter.

The

(E) "This account of the action at Falkirk, extracted from Lord Hailes's *Annals*, is drawn, his Lordship informs us, from the testimony of the English historians. "They have done justice (he observes) to the courage and steadiness

Scotland. The Scots in their retreat burnt the town and castle of Stirling. Edward repaired the castle, and made it a place of arms. He then marched to the west. At his approach, Bruce burnt the castle of Ayr, and retired. Edward would have pursued him into Carrick; but the want of provisions stopped his further progress. He turned into Annandale, took Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, and then departed out of Scotland by the western borders.

Here may be remarked the fatal precipitancy of the Scots. If they had studied to protract the campaign, instead of hazarding a general action at Falkirk, they would have foiled the whole power of Edward, and reduced him to the necessity of an inglorious retreat.

An. 1299. In 1299 Edward thought proper to release John Baliol the unfortunate king of Scotland, whom he had kept close prisoner ever since the year 1296. Before this time Baliol had used the most disgraceful methods to recover his liberty. He had solemnly declared, that "he would never have any intercourse with the Scots; that he had found them a false and treacherous people; and that he had reason to suspect them of an intention to poison him." Notwithstanding all his protestations, Edward still detained him in captivity; but at last released him at the mediation of the pope, though after a singular form: He ordered the governor of Dover to convey him to the French coast, and there to deliver him to the papal nuncio, "with full power to the pope to dispose of Baliol and his English estate." In consequence of this he was conveyed to Witland, delivered to the nuncio in presence of a notary and witnesses, and a receipt taken for his person. Notwithstanding this abject state, however, the Scots continued to own him for their king, and to assert their national independence. Though the misfortune at Falkirk had deprived them of a very considerable extent of territory, they were still in possession of the whole country beyond the Forth, as well as the county of Galloway. By general consent William Lamberton bishop of St Andrew's, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and John Cummin the younger, were chosen guardians of Scotland in name of Baliol. Wallace at this time was reduced to the condition of a private man; nor had he any longer the command of the Scots armies, nor any share in their councils.—The new guardians undertook to reduce the castle of Stirling, and Edward prepared to defend it. The Scots posted themselves at the Torwood, and chose their ground judiciously, so that Edward could scarcely have raised the siege without dislodging them; which finding impossible, he returned home in disgust. Next year he invaded Scotland on the west side, wasted Annandale, and reduced Galloway; but the Scots being now taught by experience to avoid a general action, chose their posts with such skill, that Edward could not penetrate farther; and the same year a truce was concluded with the Scots, to continue till Whitunday 1301.

145 Edward obliged to retire.

146 The crown of Scotland claimed by Pope Boniface VIII. An. 1301.

This year appeared a new competitor for the crown of Scotland. Boniface VIII. in a bull directed to Edward, averred, that Scotland belonged anciently, and

did still belong, to the holy see; and supported his extravagant claim by some strange authorities; such as, that Scotland had been miraculously converted by the relics of St Andrew: after which he proceeded to show the futility of Edward's pretensions, and that Scotland never had any feudal dependence on England. He required Edward to set at liberty all the Scottish ecclesiastics, particularly Wishart bishop of Glasgow, and to remove his officers from the patrimony of the church: "But (added he) should you have any pretensions to the whole, or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months; I will hear and determine according to justice; I take the cause under my own peculiar cognizance."

This interposition of the pope had probably been procured by Scottish emissaries at the court of Rome; but, however ridiculous his pretensions might be, they afforded matter of very serious consideration to Edward. After spending a whole winter in deliberations, Edward and his parliament made separate answers to the pope. The answer of the parliament was to the following purpose: All England knows, that ever since the first establishment of this kingdom, our kings have been liege-lords of Scotland. At no time has the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the church. In temporals, the kings of England are not amenable to the see of Rome. We have with one voice resolved, that, as to temporals, the king of England is independent of Rome; that he shall not suffer his independence to be questioned; and therefore, that he shall not send commissioners of Rome. Such is, and such, we trust in God, ever will be, our opinion. We do not, we cannot, we must not, permit our king to follow measures subversive of that government which we have sworn to maintain, and which we will maintain."

The king entered into a more full refutation of the pope's arguments; and having, as he thought, answered them sufficiently, he marched again into Scotland: but, by the mediation of France, another truce was concluded, to last till St Andrew's day 1302.

After the expiration of the truce, Edward sent an army into Scotland, under the command of John de Seegrave. This general divided his troops into three bodies; but, keeping them so far distant that they could not support each other, they were all engaged and defeated in one day by the Scots, near Roslin (see ROSLIN). This, however, was the last successful exploit of the Scots at this period. The pope deserted them; and the king of France concluded a peace with England, in which all mention of the Scots was industriously avoided; so that they were left alone to bear the whole weight of Edward's resentment, who now invaded their country in person with a mighty army. He met with no resistance in his progress, except from the castle of Brechin, which was commanded by Thomas Maule, a brave and experienced officer. He held out for 20 days against the whole power of the English army; but at last, he was mortally wounded, and the place capitulated. Thence he proceeded northward, according to some historians, as far as Caithness. He then returned towards

Scotland.

147 His pretensions answered by Edward and his parliament.

148 A short truce concluded with Scotland.

149 Three bodies of the English defeated in one day. An. 1302.

150 Scotland invaded by Edward in person with a vast army.

steadiness of their enemies; while our historians represented their own countrymen as occupied in frivolous unmeaning contests, and, from treachery or resentment, abandoning the public cause in the day of trial."

<sup>Scotland.</sup> towards the south, and wintered in Dunfermline. In that place there was an abbey of the Benedictine order; a building so spacious, that, according to an English historian, three sovereign princes with all their retinue might have been lodged conveniently within its precincts. Here the Scottish nobles sometimes held their assemblies. The English soldiers utterly demolished this magnificent fabric.

<sup>151</sup>  
The Scots  
army rout-  
ed.

The only fortress that remained in the possession of the Scots was the castle of Stirling, where Sir William Oliphant commanded. To protect this single place of refuge, Cummin assembled all his forces. He posted his army on the south bank of the river, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, there to make the last stand for the national liberty. The Scots fondly imagined, that Edward would attempt to force the passage, as the impetuous Cressingham had attempted in circumstances not dissimilar. But the prudence of Edward frustrated their expectation. Having discovered a ford at some distance, he crossed the river at the head of his whole cavalry. The Scots gave way, and soon dispersed.

<sup>152</sup>  
Capitula-  
tion with  
Edward.

All resources but their own courage had long failed them; that last resource failed them now, and they hastened to conciliate the favour of the conqueror. Previous to this, Bruce had surrendered himself to John de St John, the English warden. Cummin and his followers now submitted to Edward. They stipulated for their lives, liberties, and estates: reserving always to Edward the power of inflicting pecuniary mulcts on them as he should see fit.

From the general conditions of this capitulation, the following persons were excepted: Wishart bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, Sir John Soulis, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Frazer, Thomas Bois, and Wallace. With respect to them, it was provided, that the bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Soulis, should remain in exile for two years, and should not pass to the north of Trent; that Graham and Lindesay should be banished from Scotland for six months; that Frazer and Bois should be banished for three years from all the dominions of Edward, and should not be permitted, during that space, to repair to the territories of France. "As for William Wallace, it is agreed, that he shall render himself up at the will and mercy of our sovereign lord the king, if it shall seem good to him." These were all the conditions that the Scottish nation stipulated for the man who had vanquished the English at Stirling, who had expelled them from Scotland, and who had once set his country free!

Amid this wreck of the national liberties, Wallace scorned submission. He lived a free man: a free man he resolved to die. Frazer, who had too often complied with the times, now caught the same heroic sentiments. But their endeavours to rouse their countrymen were in vain. The season of resistance was past. Wallace perceived that there remained no more hope; and sought out a place of concealment, where, eluding the vengeance of Edward, he might silently lament over his fallen country.

<sup>153</sup>  
The castle  
of Stirling  
reduced,  
and Scot-  
land sub-  
dued.

Edward assembled at St Andrew's what is called a *parliament*. Wallace, Frazer, and the garrison of Stirling, were summoned to appear: They appeared not, and sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.

Edward now prepared to besiege the castle of Stir-

ling; and, foreseeing that the reduction of this place would be attended with considerable difficulty, he stripped the abbey of St Andrew's of the lead which covered it, in order to employ the metal in bullets for his battering machines. Oliphant was solemnly summoned to surrender; but in vain. Edward drew out all his artillery, and battered the walls with stones of 200 pounds weight. The besieged, however, defended themselves with obstinacy, and killed a great number of the English: but at last they were obliged to surrender: and Edward, looking upon the conquest of Scotland as now complete, set out for York, and from thence to Lincoln.

Though Edward had thus met with all the success he could desire in his expeditions against the Scots, he could not but perceive that his dominion over them must be very precarious, as long as he held them in the subjection of a conquered people. He resolved therefore once more to renew his attempts for an union of the two kingdoms. He began with taking into favour the bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce, and John Mowbray, who, next to Bruce and the Cummins, was amongst the greatest of the Scottish nobility. To them he recommended the settling the affairs of their country, but in such a manner as to leave it in his power to effect the proposed union with England. This scheme, however, was by no means agreeable to Bruce; who had now no other competitor for the crown but Cummin, who was in a great measure incapable of opposing his designs: nor indeed could it ever be made agreeable to the bulk of the nation; and therefore came to nothing. Scotland, however, was subdued. Its inhabitants had renounced every idea of asserting their liberty, and only strove to make their court to the conqueror. Wallace alone remained an exception. Edward, who had received into favour those who had repeatedly proved traitors, showed a mean revenge against the only man who discovered a steady and honourable spirit, and whose friendship seemed worth the courting.

Ralph de Haliburton, a prisoner, offered his assistance for discovering Wallace; and for this purpose he was granted a temporary liberty: but what he did in this very dishonourable employment is unknown. Certain it is that Wallace was discovered, and betrayed into the hands of the English, by Sir John Menteth, the sheriff of Dunbarton. This celebrated and heroic patriot was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor to Edward, and as having burnt villages, stormed castles, and slaughtered many subjects of England. Wallace denied his having been a traitor, and indeed with truth; for he had always been the avowed enemy of Edward, and had not at any time owned allegiance to him. But whatever his defences might have been, they were of no avail with a judge who had resolved on his destruction. Wallace was condemned to die a traitor's death, and the sentence was executed with the utmost rigour! In his last moments he asserted that independency which a degenerate nation had renounced. His head was placed on a pinnacle at London, and his mangled limbs were distributed over the kingdom.

After the death of Wallace, Edward thought of no-  
thing but settling the affairs of Scotland as a conquered  
country; but he took care to preserve the ancient forms  
as far as was consistent with the dependent state of the  
nation. It has been said, indeed, that Edward abrogated

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

<sup>154</sup>  
Edward at-  
tempts an  
union be-  
tween the  
two king-  
doms in  
vain.

<sup>155</sup>  
Wallace  
betrayed,  
and execut-  
ed, 23d  
August  
1305.

<sup>156</sup>  
Edward's  
precautions  
for settling  
the Scots  
affairs.

Scotland. all the Scottish laws and customs, and endeavoured to substitute the English in their stead; but this is denied by others. Lord Hailes gives us at length the record with respect to these laws, in the following words. "And, with respect to the laws and usages of the government of Scotland, it is ordained, that the *custom of the Scots and the Brets* shall for the future be prohibited, and be no longer practised. It is also ordained, that the king's lieutenant shall forthwith assemble the good people of Scotland: and that, at such assembly, shall be read over the statutes made by David king of Scots, and also the additions and amendments which have been made by other kings; and that the lieutenant, with the assistance which he shall then have, as well of Englishmen as of Scots, shall amend such of these statutes and usages as are plainly against the laws of God and reason, as they best may in so short a space, and in so far as they can without consulting the king; and as to matters which they cannot undertake to correct of themselves, that they be put in writing, and laid before the king by the lieutenant, and any number of commissioners, with parliamentary powers, whom the Scots shall think fit to choose. That they shall meet with commissioners appointed by the king, and finally determine as to the premises."

157  
Did not  
abrogate  
the ancient  
laws.

This is the record by which it is generally supposed that the law of Scotland was abrogated. But Lord Hailes is of opinion, that the *usage of the Scots and Brets* here mentioned was something different from the common law of the land. "We know (says he), from our statute-book, that the people of Galloway had certain usages peculiar to themselves; *Stat. Alex. II. c. 2.* One was, that causes were tried among them without juries [*Quon. Atach. c. 72. 73.* placed in some ancient MSS. among LL. David I. c. 15.], and this may probably have been the usage which Edward abolished. The people of Galloway were sometimes distinguished by the name of *Scots*: thus the *wild Scots of Galloway* is an expression to be found in ancient instruments, and is proverbial even in our own days. *The usage of the Brets*, I take to be what relates to the judge called *brithibh*, or *brehon*; in Ireland, *brehan*; and consequently, that the thing here abolished was the commutation of punishments by exacting a pecuniary mulct."

158  
Indemnity  
granted to  
the Scots.

An indemnity was now granted to the Scots on certain conditions. Various fines were imposed, from one to five years rent of the estates of the delinquents. One year's rent was to be paid by the clergy, excluding the bishop of Glasgow; two by those who were more early in their submissions than Cummin; three by Cummin and his associates, and five by the bishop of Glasgow; four years rent was to be paid by William de Baliol and John Wishart; and five by Ingelram de Umfraville, because they had stood out longer. Three years rent was also paid by the vassals of Baliol, Wishart, and Umfraville. These fines were to be paid in moieties. The person taxed was to pay half his income annually: and thus Umfraville, taxed in five years rent, was allowed ten years to discharge the fine. This was an express reservation to Edward of all the royal demesnes which Baliol might have alienated. There was also an exception for those who were already in custody, and those who had not yet submitted.

159  
Overthrow  
of the Eng-  
lish govern-  
ment.

Thus, after a long and obstinate contest, was Scotland wholly reduced under the dominion of Edward.

—Within *four months* was overthrown that system, which the incessant labour of *fifteen years* had established by craft, dissimulation, and violence, with a waste of treasure, and the effusion of much blood. The causes of this event are related as follows. Derverguill of Galloway had a son, John Baliol, and a daughter named Margery. John Cummin was the son of Margery, and, setting Baliol aside, was heir to the pretensions of Derverguill. He had for many years maintained the contest against Edward; but at last laid down his arms, and swore fealty to the conqueror; and as Baliol had repeatedly renounced all pretensions to the crown of Scotland, Cummin might now be considered as the rightful heir. His rival in power and pretensions was Bruce earl of Carrick. This young nobleman's grandfather, *the competitor*, had patiently acquiesced in the award of Edward. His father, yielding to the times, had served under the English banners. But young Bruce had more ambition, and a more restless spirit. In his earlier years he acted on no regular plan. By turns the partisan of Edward and the vicegerent of Baliol, he seems to have forgotten or stifled his pretensions to the crown. But his character developed itself by degrees, and in maturer age became firm and consistent. According to the traditionary report, Bruce made the following proposal to Cummin: "Support my title to the crown, and I will give you my estate; or give me your estate, and I will support yours." The conditions were properly drawn out and signed by both parties; but Cummin, either through fear or treachery, revealed the whole to Edward. On this the king showed Bruce the letters of his accuser, and severely questioned him; but the latter found means to pacify him by mild and judicious answers. Notwithstanding this, however, Edward still suspected him, though he dissembled his sentiments, until he should get the brothers of Bruce into his power, and then destroy all the family at once. The king having drunk freely one evening, informed some of his lords that he had resolved to put Bruce to death next day. The earl of Gloucester, hearing this resolution, sent a messenger to Bruce, with twelve pence and a pair of spurs, as if he intended to restore what he had borrowed. Bruce understood the meaning of his message, and prepared for flight. The ground was covered with snow, which would have discovered his flight; but, it is said, that Bruce ordered his farrier to invert the shoes of his horses, and immediately set out for Scotland in company with his secretary and groom. In his way he observed a foot-passenger whose behaviour seemed to be suspicious, and whom he soon discovered to be the bearer of letters from Cummin to the English monarch, urging the death or immediate imprisonment of Bruce. The latter, filled with resentment, immediately beheaded the messenger, and set forward to his castle of Lochmaben, where he arrived the seventh day after his departure from London. Soon after this he repaired to Dumfries, where Cummin happened at that time to reside. Bruce requested an interview with him in the convent of the Minorites, where he reproached him with his treachery. Cummin gave him the lie, and Bruce instantly stabbed him; after which he hastened out of the convent, and called "To horse." His attendants, Lindefay and Kirkpatrick, perceiving him pale, and in extreme agitation, inquired how it was with him? "Ill (replied Bruce); I doubt I have slain Cummin." 160  
Edward's  
designs  
against the  
family of  
Bruce.  
161  
Robert  
Bruce  
make his  
escape.  
162  
and kills  
John Cum-

Scotland. myn." "You doubt!" cried Kirkpatrick; on saying which, he rushed into the place where Cummin lay, and instantly dispatched him. Sir Robert Cummin, a relation, attempted to defend his kinsman, and shared his fate. Bruce had now gone so far, that it was in vain to think of retracting; and therefore set himself in decided opposition to Edward. The justiciaries were then holding their court at Dumfries; and hearing what had happened, imagined their own lives to be in danger, and barricaded the doors. Bruce ordered the house to be set on fire: on which they surrendered; and Bruce granted them leave to depart out of Scotland without molestation.

163  
Opinion of  
Lord Hailes  
concerning  
this event.

The above account of this catastrophe is taken from the Scots historians; those of England differ in many particulars. Lord Hailes supposes both to be wrong, and that the true circumstances of the quarrel are unknown. "My opinion (says he) is, that Bruce, when he met Cummin at Dumfries, had no intention of embroiling his hands in his blood, nor any immediate purpose of asserting his right to the crown of Scotland; that the slaughter of Cummin was occasioned by a hasty quarrel between two proud-spirited rivals; and that Bruce, from necessity and despair, did then assert his pretensions to the crown."

The death of Cummin affected the Scots variously, according to their different views and interests. The relations of the deceased viewed it as a cruel assassination, and joined with Edward in schemes of revenge. Some who wished well to the peace of their country, thought that it was better to submit quietly to the government of the English, than to attempt a revolution, which could not be effected without much danger and bloodshed; but, on the other hand, the friends of Bruce now saw the necessity of proceeding to the coronation of the new king without loss of time. The ceremony was therefore performed at Scone on the 25th of March 1306, in presence of two earls, the bishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, the abbot of Scone, John de Athol, and John de Menteith. It had been customary, since the days of Macbeth, for one of the family of Fife to put the crown on the king's head; and Bruce found the prepossession of the Scots in favour of this circumstance so strong, that he was obliged to seek for an expedient to satisfy them. Macduff the earl of Fife was at that time in England, where he had married a near relation of Edward. His sister was wife to the earl of Buchan, one of the heads of the family of Comyn, and consequently the determined enemy of Robert. By an uncommon effort of female patriotism, she postponed all private quarrels to the good of her country, and in her husband's absence repaired, with all his warlike accoutrements, to Bruce, to whom she delivered them up, and placed the crown upon his head. This crown is said to have been made by one Conyers an Englishman, who narrowly escaped being punished for it by Edward.

An. 1306.  
164  
Robert  
crowned  
king of  
Scotland  
by a wo-  
man.

The king of England received intelligence of all these proceedings with astonishment; and without delay sent a body of troops under the command of Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, to suppress the rebellion. Bruce omitted nothing for his defence. He had always been considered by his countrymen as a promising accomplished young nobleman, but firmly attached to Edward's person and government; for which reason he had not

been trusted by those independent patriots who joined Wallace. But their confidence was now gained by his rendering himself so obnoxious to Edward, that no possibility of a reconciliation was left; and he soon saw himself at the head of a small army. With these, who consisted of raw and unexperienced soldiers, Bruce formed a camp at Methven near Perth, which last was the head-quarters of the enemy; but knowing the disadvantage under which he laboured from the inexperience of his men, he resolved to act on the defensive. The English general at last sent Bruce a challenge to fight him, which was accepted: but the day before the battle was to have been fought by agreement, the Scots were attacked by surprise, and totally defeated. Bruce behaved with the greatest valour, and had three horses killed under him. Being known by the slaughter which he made, John Mowbray, a man of great courage and resolution, rushed on him, and catching hold of his horse's bridle, cried out, "I have hold of the new-made king!" but he was delivered by Christopher Seaton.

This disaster almost gave the finishing stroke to the affairs of Bruce. He now found himself deserted by a great part of his army. The English had taken prisoners great numbers of women whose husbands followed Bruce; and all those were now ordered, on pain of death, to accompany their husbands. Thus was Bruce burdened with a number of useless mouths, and found it hard to subsist. The consequence was, that most of his men departed with their families, so that in a few days his army dwindled down to 500. With these he retreated to Aberdeen, where he was met by his brother Sir Neil, his wife, and a number of other ladies, all of whom offered to follow his fortune through every difficulty. But, however heroic this behaviour might be, it put Bruce to some inconvenience, as he could scarcely procure subsistence; and therefore he persuaded the ladies to retire to his castle of Kildrommey, under the protection of Sir Neil Bruce and the earl of Athol. In the mean time the desertion among Bruce's troops continued, so that now he had with him no more than 200 men; and as winter was approaching, he resolved to go into Argyleshire, where Sir Neil Campbell's estate lay, who had gone before to prepare for his reception. In his way thither he encountered incredible difficulties; and some of his followers being cut off at a place called *Dalry*, the rest were so disheartened, that they all forsook him, excepting Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir James Douglas, and a few domestics. Bruce, however, kept up the spirits of his little party by recounting to them the adventures of princes and patriots in circumstances similar to his own. Having crossed Lochlomond in a small crazy boat, he was discovered by his trusty friend the earl of Lenox, who had been proscribed in England, and now lived in retirement on his own estate. The meeting between these friends was very affecting, and drew tears from the eyes of all present. Lenox, who had heard nothing of Bruce's misfortunes, furnished him and his half-famished attendants with plenty of provisions: but being soon made sensible that it was impossible for them to live in a place where they were well known, and surrounded by enemies, Bruce resolved to seek out some more safe habitation. For this purpose Sir Neil Campbell had already provided shipping; but our adventurers had scarcely set sail, when they were pursued by a large

Scotland.  
He is de-  
feated at  
Methven.

165

166  
Is distressed  
after this  
defeat.

167  
Reaches  
Argyle-  
shire with  
great dif-  
ficulty.

168  
Meets with  
the earl of  
Lenox;



<sup>Scotland.</sup> large squadron of the enemy's fleet. The bark which carried the earl of Lenox escaped with the utmost difficulty to Cantire, were Bruce was already landed: and, at their meeting, both agreed that they should never afterwards be separated while they remained alive.

<sup>169</sup> with whom he flies to Cantire. In the mean time Edward having compromised some differences with his English subjects, resumed his old project of entirely subduing Scotland, and his intention now appears to have been to divide the lands of such as he suspected of disaffection among his English followers. He ordered a proclamation to be made, that all who had any title to the honour of knighthood, either by heritage or estate, should repair to Westminster to receive all military ornaments, from his royal wardrobe. As the prince of Wales came under this denomination, he was the first who underwent the ceremony; which gave him a right to confer the like honour on the sons of above 300 of the chief nobility and gentry of England. The prince then repaired, at the head of this gallant train, to Edward; who received them, surrounded by his nobility, in the most solemn manner. The king then made a speech on the treachery of the Scots, whose entire destruction he denounced. He declared his resolution of once more heading his army in person; and he desired, in case of his death, that his body might be carried to Scotland, and not buried till signal vengeance was taken on the perfidious nation. Having then ordered all present to join him within fifteen days, with their attendants and military equipages, he prepared for his journey into Scotland. He entered the country soon after Bruce's defeat at Methven. The army was divided into two bodies; one commanded by the king himself, the other by the prince of Wales, and, under him, by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with orders to proceed northwards, and penetrate into the countries where the interest of Bruce was strongest. As he passed along, Edward caused all that fell into his hands, whom he suspected of favouring Bruce's party, to be immediately executed. The bishop of Glasgow was the only exception to this barbarity; he was taken, but had his life spared on account of his function.

<sup>171</sup> Enters the country, and behaves with great cruelty. In the mean time, as the prince of Wales continued his march northwards, Bruce's queen began to be alarmed for her own safety. She was advised to take sanctuary at the shrine of St Duthac in Ross-shire; but there she was made prisoner by William earl of Ross, who was of the English party. By Edward's order she was sent to London; her daughter, who was taken at the same time, being shut up in a religious house. The directions for the entertainment of the queen are still preserved\*. She was to be conveyed to the manor of Brustewick; to have a waiting-woman and a maid-servant, advanced in life, sedate, and of good conversation: a butler, two men-servants, and a foot-boy for her chamber, sober, not riotous, to make her bed: three greyhounds when she inclines to hunt; venison, fish, and the fairest house in the manor. In 1308, she was removed to another prison; in 1312, she was removed to Windsor castle, 20 shillings per week being allowed for her maintenance. In 1314, she was committed to Rochester castle, and was not set at liberty till the close of that year.

<sup>172</sup> Robert's queen and daughter taken prisoners. The only fortress which Bruce possessed in Scotland was the castle of Kildrommey; and it was soon besieged

\* *Fœdera*, tom. ii. p. 1013.

<sup>173</sup> Kildrommey castle taken, and the garrison massacred.

by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. One Osburn treacherously burned the magazine; by which means the garrison, destitute of provisions, was obliged to surrender at discretion. The common soldiers were hanged; Sir Neil Bruce and the earl of Athol were sent prisoners to Edward, who caused them to be hanged on a gallows 50 feet high, and then beheaded and burnt. The countess of Buchan, who had crowned King Robert, was taken prisoner; as was Lady Mary Bruce, the king's sister.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> About this time also many more of Bruce's party were put to death; among whom were Thomas and Alexander Bruce, two of the king's brothers, and John Wallace, brother to the celebrated Sir William. Bruce himself, in the mean time, was in such a desperate situation, that it was thought he never could give more disturbance; and it was even reported that he was dead. All his misfortunes, however, could not intimidate him, nor prevent his meditating a most severe revenge upon the destroyers of his family. He first removed to the castle of Dumbarton, where he was hospitably received and entertained by Angus lord of Kintyre; but, suspecting that he was not safe there, he sailed in three days to Rachrin, a small island on the Irish coast, where he secured himself effectually from the pursuit of his enemies. It was during his stay in this island, that the report of his death was generally propagated. Notwithstanding this, his party increased considerably; and, even when he landed on this island he was attended by 300 men. Having lived for some time in this retreat, being apprehensive that the report of his death might be generally credited among his friends in Scotland, it was resolved to attempt the surprise of a fort held by the English under Sir John Hastings, on the isle of Arran. This was performed with success by his two friends Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd, who put the greatest part of the garrison to the sword. The king, hearing of their success, passed over into Arran; but, not knowing where his people resided, is said to have found them out by blowing a horn. He then sent a trusty servant, one Cuthbert, into his own country of Carrick; with orders, if he found it well affected to his cause, to light a fire on a certain point near his castle of Tunberry, whence it might be discerned in Arran. Bruce and his party perceived the signal, as they thought, and immediately put to sea. Their voyage was short; and as Bruce had now 400 men along with him, he resolved immediately to act on the offensive. His first exploit was to surprise his own castle of Tunberry, which had been given, along with Bruce's estate, to Lord Henry Percy. Him he drove out, along with the English garrison; but, in the mean time, he met with his servant Cuthbert, who gave him unpleasing intelligence. This man had met with very little encouragement on his landing in Scotland; in consequence of which he had not lighted the fire agreed upon as a signal of his success, that which Bruce had observed having been kindled by accident. He also told him, that the English were in full possession of the country, and advised his master to be on his guard. Soon after this the king was joined by a lady of fortune, who brought along with her 40 warriors. By her he was first particularly informed of the miserable fate of his family and relations; which, instead of disheartening, animated him the more with a desire of revenge. He did not immedi-

<sup>174</sup> Adventures of Robert.

<sup>175</sup> He takes a fort on the isle of Arran.

<sup>176</sup> and the castle of Tunberry in Carrick.

Scotland.

177  
Douglas re-  
covers his  
own estate.

ately attempt any thing himself, but allowed Douglas to attempt the recovery of his estate of Duglasdale, as Bruce himself had recovered his in Carrick. In this expedition Douglas was joined by one Thomas Dickson, a man of considerable fortune, who gave him intelligence concerning the state of the country. By his advice he kept himself private till Palm Sunday; when he and his followers with covered armour repaired to St Bride's church, where the English were performing divine service. The latter were surpris'd, but made a brave defence; though, being overpowered by numbers, they were at last obliged to yield. Douglas, without farther resistance, took possession of his own castle, which he found well furnished with arms, provisions, and money. He destroyed all that he could not carry with him, and also the castle itself, where he knew that he must have been besieged if he had kept it.

178  
The Eng-  
lish twice  
defeated by  
Robert.

An. 1307.

In 1307, the earl of Pembroke advanced into the west of Scotland to encounter Bruce. The latter did not decline the combat; and Pembroke was defeated. Three days after this, Bruce defeated with great slaughter another English general named Ralph de Monthermer, and obliged him to fly to the castle of Ayr. The king laid siege to the castle for some time, but retired at the approach of succours from England. This year the English performed nothing, except burning the monastery at Paisley. Edward, however, resolved still to execute his utmost vengeance on the Scots, though he had long been retarded in his operations by a tedious and dangerous indisposition. But now, supposing that his malady was decreased so far that he could safely proceed on his march, he offered up the horse-litter, in which he had hitherto been carried, in the cathedral church of Carlisle; and, mounting on horseback, proceeded on the way towards Solway. He was so weak, however, that he could advance no farther than six miles in four days; after which he expired in sight of that country, which he had so often devoted to destruction. With his dying breath he gave orders that his body should accompany his army into Scotland, and remain unburied until the country was totally subdued; but his son, disregarding this order, caused it to be deposited in Westminster abbey.

179  
Death of  
Edward I.

The death of such an inveterate enemy to the Scottish name, could not fail of raising the spirits of Bruce and his party; and the inactive and timid behaviour of his son Edward II. contributed not a little to give them fresh courage. After having granted the guardianship of Scotland to his favourite Piers de Gaveston earl of Pembroke, whom his father had lately banished, he advanced to Cumnock on the frontiers of Ayr-shire, and then retreated into England; conferring the office of guardian of Scotland upon John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, a fortnight after he had bestowed it on Gaveston. He was no sooner gone than Bruce invaded Galloway. The inhabitants refusing to follow his standard, he laid waste the country; but was defeated, and obliged to retire northwards by the guardian. In the north he overran the country without opposition; and soon began to move southwards again in order to repair his late disgrace. He was encountered by Cummin earl of Buchan with an undisciplined body of English, whom he entirely defeated and dispersed. But about this time he was seized with a grievous distemper, which weakened him so much, that no hopes were left of his

180  
Robert de-  
feated in  
Galloway.

recovery. In this enfeebled situation, he was attacked by the earl of Buchan and John Mowbray an English commander, who had assembled a body of troops in order to efface their late dishonour. The armies met at Inverury in Aberdeen-shire. Bruce was too weak to support himself, and therefore was held upon horseback by two attendants: but he had the pleasure of seeing his enemies totally defeated, and pursued with great slaughter for many miles; and it is reported, that the agitation of his spirits on that day proved the means of curing him of his disease. This battle was fought on the 22d of May 1308.

The king of Scotland now took revenge on his enemies, after the manner of that barbarous age, by laying waste the country of Buchan with fire and sword. His successes had so raised his character, that many of the Scots who had hitherto adhered to the English cause, now came over to that of Robert. Edward, the king's brother, invaded Galloway, and defeated the inhabitants of that country. John de St John, an English commander, with 1500 horsemen, attempted to surprize him; but Edward Bruce having received timely information of his designs, ordered the infantry to entrench themselves strongly, while he himself, with not more than 50 horsemen, well armed, under cover of a thick mist, attacked his enemies, and put them to flight. After this he reduced all the fortresses in the country, and totally expelled the English. About this time also, Douglas, while roving about the hilly parts of Tweeddale, surpris'd and made prisoners Thomas Randolph the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, who had hitherto continued inimical to the interests of Robert. Randolph was conducted to the king, but talked to him in a haughty strain: on which his uncle sent him into close confinement.

The next exploit of Robert was against the lord of Lorn, a division of Argyre-shire. It was this nobleman who had reduced the king to such straits after his defeat at Methven; and Bruce now resolved to take ample revenge. Having entered the country, the king arrived at a narrow pass, where the troops of Lorn lay in ambush. This pass had a high mountain on the one side, and a precipice washed by the sea on the other; but Robert having ordered Douglas to make a circuit, and gain the summit of the mountain with part of the army, he entered himself with the rest. He was immediately attacked; but Douglas with his men rushed down the hill, and decided the victory in favour of the king; who soon after took the castle of Dunstaffnage, the chief residence of this nobleman.

While Robert and his associates were thus gaining the admiration of their countrymen by the exploits which they daily performed, the English were so unsettled and fluctuating in their counsels, that their party knew not how to act. Edward still imagined that there was a possibility of reconciling the Scots to his government; and for this purpose he employed William de Lambyrton, archbishop of St Andrew's, who after having been taken prisoner, and carried from one place of confinement to another, had at last made such submissions, as procured first his liberty, and then the confidence of Edward. This ecclesiastic having taken a most solemn oath of fidelity to Edward, now resolved to ingratiate himself, by publishing against Robert and his adherents a sentence of excommunication, which had been resolved

Scotland.

181  
He defeats  
the English  
in his turn,  
and recovers  
from a  
dangerous  
disease.  
An. 1308.

182  
Successes of  
Edward  
Bruce.

183  
The lord  
of Lorn de-  
feated, and  
his castle  
taken.

184  
Unsuccess-  
ful negocia-  
tions for  
peace.

Scotland. resolved on long before. This, however, produced no effect; and the event was, that in 1309, through the mediation of the king of France, Edward consented to a truce with the Scots. This pacific disposition, however, lasted not long. The truce was scarcely concluded, when Edward charged the Scots with violating it, and summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Newcastle: yet, probably being doubtful of the event of the war, he empowered Robert de Umfraville and three others, to conclude a new truce; declaring, however, that he did this at the request of Philip king of France, as his dearest father and friend, but who was not to be considered as the ally of Scotland.

The new negotiations were soon interrupted. They were again renewed; and in the beginning of the year 1310 the truce was concluded, but entirely disregarded by the Scots. The progress of Bruce now became very alarming to the English. The town of Perth, a place at that time of great importance, was threatened; and to relieve it, Edward ordered a fleet to sail up the river Tay: he also commanded the earl of Ulster to assemble a body of troops at Dublin, and thence to invade Scotland; his own barons were ordered to meet him in arms at Berwick. About the end of September, he entered Scotland; passed from Roxburgh, through the forest of Selkirk, to Biggar; thence he penetrated into Renfrew; and turning back by the way of Linlithgow, he retreated to Berwick, where he continued inactive for eight months.

During this invasion, Robert had carefully avoided a battle with the English; well knowing, that an invasion undertaken in autumn would ruin the heavy-armed cavalry, on which the English placed their chief dependence. His cause was also favoured by a scarcity which prevailed at this time in Scotland; for as magazines and other resources of modern war were then unknown, the English army were greatly retarded in their operations, and found it impossible to subsist in the country.

The spirit of enterprise had now communicated itself to all ranks of people in Scotland. In 1311, the castle of Linlithgow was surprised by a poor peasant, named *William Binnock*. The English garrison were secure, and kept but a slight guard; of which Binnock being informed, concealed eight resolute men in a load of hay, which he had been employed to drive into the castle. With these, as soon as the gate was opened, he fell upon the feeble guard, and became master of the place; which was dismantled by Robert, as well as all the other castles taken in the course of the war.

Edward now resolved to invade Scotland again; and for this purpose ordered his army to assemble at Roxburgh. But Robert, not contented with defending his own country, resolved in his turn to invade England. He accordingly entered that country, and cruelly ravaged the bishopric of Durham. He returned loaded with spoil, and laid siege to Perth. After remaining six weeks before that place, he raised the siege, but returned in a few days; and having provided scaling ladders, approached the works with a chosen body of infantry. In a dark night he made the attack; and having waded through the ditch, though the water stood to his throat, he was the second man who reached the top of the walls. The town was then soon taken; after which it was plundered and burnt, and the fortifica-

tions levelled with the ground. This happened on the 8th of January 1312. Scotland.

Edward was now become averse to the war, and renewed his negotiations for a truce; but they still ended in nothing. Robert again invaded England; burnt great part of the city of Durham; and even threatened to besiege Berwick, where the king of England had for the present, fixed his residence. He next reduced the castles of Butel, Dumfries, and Dalwinton, with many other fortresses. The castle of Roxburgh, a place of the utmost importance, next fell into his hands. The walls were scaled while the garrison was revelling on the eve of Lent. They retreated into the inner tower; but their governor, a Frenchman, having received a mortal wound, they capitulated.

Randolph, the king's nephew, was now received into favour, and began to distinguish himself in the cause of his country. He blockaded the castle of Edinburgh so closely, that all communication with the neighbouring country was cut off. The place was commanded by one Leland, a knight of Gascony; but the garrison suspecting his fidelity, confined him in a dungeon and chose another commander in his stead. One William Frank presented himself to Randolph, and informed him how the walls might be scaled. Randolph himself, with 30 men, undertook to scale the castle walls at midnight. Frank was their guide, and first ascended the walls; but before the whole party could reach the summit, an alarm was given, the garrison ran to arms, and a desperate combat ensued. The English fought valiantly till their commander was killed; after which they threw down their arms. Leland, the former governor, was released from his confinement, and entered into the Scottish service.

In 1313, King Robert found the number of his friends increasing with his successes. He was now joined by the earl of Athol, who had lately obtained a grant of lands from Edward. This year, through the mediation of France, the conferences for a truce were renewed. These, however, did not retard the military operations of the Scots. Cumberland was invaded and laid waste: the miserable inhabitants besought Edward's protection; who commended their fidelity, and desired them to defend themselves. In the mean time, Robert, leaving Cumberland, passed over into the isle of Man, which he totally reduced. Edward found great difficulties in raising the supplies necessary for carrying on the war; but at last overcame all these, and, in the beginning of the year 1314, was prepared to invade Scotland with a mighty army. In March he ordered his ships to be assembled for the invasion; invited to his assistance Eth O'Connor, chief of the Irish of Connaught, and 26 other Irish chiefs; summoned them and his subjects in Ireland to attend his standard, and gave the command of these auxiliaries to the earl of Ulster. His barons were summoned to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June; and 22,000 foot soldiers, from the different counties of England and Wales, were by proclamation required to assemble at Wark.

In the mean time, the successes of the Scots continued. Edward Bruce had reduced the castles of Rutherglen and Dundee, and laid siege to the castle of Stirling. The governor of the place agreed to surrender, if he should not be relieved before the 24th of June 1314; and to this Edward agreed, without con-

Scotland.  
An. 1309.

185  
Edward  
invades  
Scotland  
without  
success.  
An. 1310.

186  
Linlithgow  
castle sur-  
prised by  
the Scots.  
An. 1311.

187  
Robert in-  
vades Eng-  
land, and  
takes Perth  
on his re-  
turn.  
An. 1312.

188  
Invades  
England a  
second time  
with great  
success.

189  
The castle  
of Edin-  
burgh ta-  
ken by  
Randolph.

An. 1313

190  
Robert in-  
vades Eng-  
land, and  
reduces the  
isle of Man.

An. 1314.

191  
Edward  
Bruce en-  
ters into an  
imprudent  
treaty with  
the govern-  
or of Stir-  
ling,

Scotland. fulting his brother. The king was highly displeas'd with this rash treaty, which interrupted his own operations, allowed the English time to assemble their utmost force, and at last obliged him either to raise the siege or to place all on the event of a single battle. However, he resolv'd to abide by the agreement, and to meet the English by the appointed day. Having appointed a general rendezvous of his forces between Falkirk and Stirling, he found their number to amount to rather more than 30,000, besides upwards of 15,000 of an undisciplin'd rabble that followed the camp. He determin'd to await the English in a field which had the brook or *burn* of Bannock on the right, and Stirling on the left. His chief dread was the strength and number of the English cavalry, and these he took every method to oppose. The banks of the brook were steep in many places, and the ground between it and Stirling was partly covered with wood. The king commanded many pits, of about a foot in breadth and two or three feet deep, to be dug in all places where cavalry could have access. From the description given of them by the historians of those times, there seem to have been many rows of them, with narrow intervals. They were carefully covered with brushwood and sod, so that they might easily be overlooked by a rash and impetuous enemy. It is said by some authors, that he also made use of caltrops, to annoy the horses in the most effectual manner.

192  
which  
brings on  
the decisive  
engage-  
ment of  
Bannock-  
burn.

193  
Disposition  
of the  
Scots.

On the 23d of June, the Scots received intelligence of the approach of Edward, and prepared to decide the fate of their country. The front of their army extended from the brook called *Bannockburn* to the neighbourhood of St Ninians, nearly upon the line of the present turnpike-road from Stirling to Kilsyth; and the stone in which the king is said to have fixed his standard is still to be seen. Robert commanded all his soldiers to fight on foot. He gave the command of the centre to Douglas, and Walter the young steward of Scotland; his brother Edward had the command of the right wing, and Randolph that of the left; the king himself taking charge of the reserve, which consisted of the men of Argyle, Carrick, and the islanders. In a valley to the rear, said to be to the westward of a rising ground now called *Gilles-hill*, he placed the baggage, and all the useles attendants on his army.

194  
A party of  
English ca-  
valry de-  
feated by  
Randolph.

Randolph was commanded to be vigilant in preventing the English from throwing succours into the castle of Stirling; but 800 horsemen commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, made a circuit by the low grounds to the east, and approached the castle. The king, perceiving their motions, chid Randolph for his inadvertency, on which the latter hastened to encounter that body. As he advanced, the English wheeled to attack him. Randolph drew up his men in a circular form, holding out their spears on every side. At the first onset Sir William Daynecourt, an English commander of distinguished valour, was killed; but Randolph, who had only a small party with him, was surrounded on all sides, and in the utmost danger. Douglas perceived his danger, and requested the king to let him go to his assistance. Robert at first refused, but afterwards consented with reluctance. Douglas set out without delay; but as he approached he saw the English falling into disorder; upon which he called to his men to stop,

and not diminish the glory of Randolph and his men by sharing their victory. Scotland.

Robert was in the front of the line when the vanguard of the English appeared. He was meanly dressed, with a crown above his helmet, and a battle-axe in his hand. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, armed cap-a-pee, rode forward to encounter him. Robert did not decline the combat, and struck his antagonist so violently with his battle-axe, that he is said to have cleft him down to the chin; after which the English vanguard retreated in confusion. The Scottish generals are said to have blamed their king for his rashness in thus encountering Bohun; and he himself, conscious of the justice of their charge, replied only, "I have broken my good battle-axe."

195  
An Eng-  
lish knight  
killed in  
single com-  
bat by King  
Robert.

On Monday the 24th of June, the whole English army moved on to the attack. The van, consisting of archers and lancemen, was commanded by Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester, nephew to the English king, and Humphry de Bohun constable of England; but the ground was so narrow, that the rest of the army had not sufficient room to extend itself; so that it appeared to the Scots as consisting of one great compact body. The main body was brought up by Edward in person, attended by Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles d'Argentine, two experienced commanders. Maurice abbot of Inchaffray, placing himself on an eminence, celebrated mass in the sight of the Scottish army. He then passed along the front, barefooted, with a crucifix in his hands, and in few words exhorted the Scots to fight for their rights and liberty. The Scots fell down on their knees; which being perceived by Edward, he cried out, "They yield! See, they implore mercy." "They do," answered Umfraville, one of his commanders, "they do implore mercy, but not from us. On that field they will be victorious or die."

196  
Comman-  
ders of the  
English ar-  
my.

As both parties were violently exasperated against each other, the engagement began with great fury. The king of Scotland, perceiving that his troops were grievously annoyed by the English archers, ordered Sir Robert Keith the marischal, with a few armed horsemen, to make a circuit and attack the archers in flank. This was instantly accomplished; and as the weapons of the archers were useles in a close encounter, they could make very little resistance, while their flight spread disorder through the whole army.

197  
The Eng-  
lish entirely  
defeated,  
24th June  
1314.

Robert now advanced with the reserve: the whole English army was in the utmost confusion; for the defeat of the archers had decided the victory in favour of the Scots. The young and gallant earl of Gloucester attempted to rally the fugitives, but was thrown from his horse, and cut in pieces, which increased the general confusion. At this critical moment, the numerous attendants on the Scottish camp, prompted by curiosity or the desire of plunder, issued from their retirement. The English mistook them for a body of fresh troops coming to the assistance of their enemies, and fled with precipitation on all sides. Many sought refuge among the rocks in the neighbourhood of Stirling castle, and many were drowned in the rivers. Pembroke and Sir Giles d'Argentine had never quitted Edward during the action; but now, seeing the battle irretrievably lost, Pembroke constrained the king to quit the field. D'Argentine

Scotland. gentine refused to fly. He was a man of great valour, and had a high reputation in Scotland. According to the common opinion, the three most eminent worthies in that age were the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, Robert Bruce, and Giles d'Argentine. He is said to have thrice encountered two Saracen warriors in Palestine, and to have killed them both. His valour now availed him but little; for rushing into the midst of the Scots army, he was instantly cut in pieces. Douglas, with 60 horsemen, pursued Edward closely. At the Torwood he met Sir Lawrence Abernethy, who was halting to the English rendezvous with twenty horsemen. The latter soon abandoned the cause of the vanquished, and joined Douglas in the pursuit of Edward, who fled to Linlithgow. He had scarcely arrived there, when he was alarmed by the approach of the Scots, and again obliged to fly. Douglas and Abernethy followed him with the greatest assiduity; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, Edward got safe to Dunbar, where he was received by the earl of March, who protected him till he could be conveyed by sea to England.

198  
Edward escapes to Dunbar, and thence to England.

199  
Loss of the English in the battle of Bannockburn.

Such was the decisive battle of Bannockburn, the greatest defeat which the English ever sustained from the Scots. On the side of the latter no persons of note were slain, excepting Sir William Vipont, and Sir Walter Rofs the favourite of Edward Bruce; and so grievously was Edward afflicted by the death of this man, that he exclaimed, "O that this day's work were undone, so Rofs had not died!" On the English side were slain 27 barons and bannerets, and 22 taken prisoners; of knights there were killed 42, and 60 taken prisoners; of esquires there fell 700; but the number of the common men who were killed or taken was never ascertained. The Welsh who had served in the English army were scattered over the country, and cruelly butchered by the Scottish peasants. The English, who had taken refuge among the rocks in the neighbourhood of Stirling, surrendered at discretion: the castle was surrendered, and the privy seal of England fell into the hands of the king of Scots. The spoils of the English camp were immense, and enriched the conquerors, along with the ransom of many noble prisoners who fell into their hands. Robert showed much generosity in his treatment of the prisoners who fell to his share. He set at liberty Ralph de Monthermer, and Sir Marmaduke Twerge, two officers of high rank, without ransom; and by humane and generous offices alleviated the misfortune of the rest. The dead bodies of the earl of Gloucester and the lord Clifford were sent to England, that they might be interred with the usual solemnity. There was one Baston, a Carmelite friar and poet, whom Edward is said to have brought with him in his train to be spectator of his achievements, and to record his triumphs. Baston was made prisoner, and obliged to celebrate the victory of Robert over the English. This he did in wretched Latin rhymes; which, however, procured his liberty. After the battle of Bannockburn, the earl of Hereford retreated to the castle of Bothwell, where he was besieged by Edward Bruce, and soon obliged to surrender. He was exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of the king, the young earl of Mar, and the bishop of Glasgow.

The terror of the English after the defeat of Bannockburn is almost incredible. Edward Bruce and Douglas entered England on the eastern side, ravaged

Northumberland, and laid the bishopric of Durham under contribution. Thence they proceeded to Richmond, laid Appleby and some other towns in ashes, and returned home loaded with plunder. Edward summoned a parliament at York, in order to concert means for the public security; and appointed the earl of Pembroke, formerly the guardian of Scotland, to be guardian of the country between the Trent and the Tweed. Robert, however, sent ambassadors to treat for a peace; but the Scots were too much elated with their good fortune to make concessions, and the English were not yet sufficiently humbled to yield to all their demands. The ravages of war were again renewed: the Scots continued their incursions into England, and levied contributions in different places.

Scotland:  
200  
Inroads of the Scots into England.

In 1315, the English affairs seemed a little to revive. The Scots, indeed, plundered Durham and Hartlepool; but they were repulsed from Carlisle, and failed in an attempt on Berwick. The Irish of Ulster, oppressed by the English government, implored the assistance of Robert, and offered to acknowledge his brother Edward as their sovereign; who accordingly landed at Carrickfergus on the 25th of May 1315, with 6000 men.— This was an enterprise evidently beyond the power of Scotland to accomplish, and this could not but be perceived by Robert. There were, however, motives which induced him to consent. The offer of a crown, though ever so visionary, inflamed the ambition of Edward Bruce, whose impetuous valour disregarded difficulties, however great. It might have been deemed ungenerous, and perhaps would not have been politic or safe, to have rejected the proposals of the Irish for the advancement of his brother, to whom the king owed more than he could repay. Besides, the invasion of Ireland seemed a proper expedient for dividing the English forces. The event proved unfortunate. Edward, after performing and suffering more than could almost have been expected from human nature, was at last defeated and killed by the English, as is related under the article IRELAND, N<sup>o</sup> 42.

201  
Expedition of Edward Bruce into Ireland.  
An. 1315.

The king himself had gone over into Ireland, in order to assist his brother in attempting the subjection of that country; and during his absence the English had made several attempts to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland. The earl of Arundel invaded the forest of Jedburgh with a numerous army; but being drawn into an ambuscade by Douglas, he was defeated with great loss. Edmund de Cailaud, a knight of Gascony and governor of Berwick, invaded and wasted Teviotdale; but while he was returning home loaded with spoil, he was attacked, defeated, and killed by Douglas. By sea the English invaded Scotland, and anchored off Inverkeithing in the frith of Forth, where they soon after landed. Five hundred men, under the command of the earl of Fife and the sheriff of that county, attempted to oppose their landing, but were intimidated by the number of their enemies. William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld happened to meet the fugitives; and having by his reproaches obliged them to rally, he led them on again to the charge, and drove the English to their ships with considerable loss. For this exploit Robert conferred the title of *the king's bishop* on Sinclair; and he was long remembered by his countrymen on this account.

202  
He is defeated and killed.

203  
Unsuccessful attempts of the English on Scotland.

In 1317, after King Robert had returned from his Irish expedition, a bull was issued by the pope (John XXI.)

204  
Negotiations with the Pope.  
An. 1317.

Scotland. XXII.) commanding a two years truce between England and Scotland, under pain of excommunication. Two cardinals were dispatched into Britain to make known his commands; and they were privately empowered to inflict the highest spiritual censures on Robert Bruce, or whomsoever else they thought proper. About the beginning of September 1317, two messengers were sent to Robert by the cardinals. The king gave them a gracious reception; and after consulting with his barons, returned for answer, that he very much desired a good and lasting peace, either by the mediation of the cardinals, or by any other means. He allowed the open letters from the pope, which recommended peace, to be read in his presence, and listened to them with due respect. But he would not receive the sealed letters addressed to *Robert Bruce governor of Scotland*, alleging, that there might be many of his barons whose names were *Robert Bruce*, and that these barons might probably have some share in the government. Unless, therefore, the letters were addressed to him as *king of Scotland*, he could not receive them without advice of his parliament, which he promised immediately to assemble on the occasion. The messengers attempted to apologise for the omission of the title of KING. "The holy church was not wont," they said, "during the dependence of a controversy, to write or say any thing which might be interpreted as prejudicial to the claims of either of the contending parties." "Since then," answered the king, "my spiritual father and my holy mother would not prejudice the cause of my adversary by bestowing on me the appellation of *king* during the dependence of the controversy, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause by withdrawing that appellation from me. I am in possession of the kingdom of Scotland; all my people call me king; and foreign princes address me under that title; but it seems that my parents are partial to their English son. Had you presumed to present letters with such an address to any other sovereign prince, you might perhaps have been answered in a harsher style; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see."

205  
Spirited behaviour of Robert.

The messengers, quite abashed with this reply, changed the discourse, and requested the king that he would consent to a temporary cessation of hostilities; but to this he declared, that he never would consent, while the English daily invaded and plundered his people. His counsellors, however, informed the messengers, that if the letters had been addressed to the *king of Scots*, the negotiations would instantly have been opened. This disrespectful omission they imputed to the intrigues of the English at the court of Rome, hinting at the same time that they had received this intelligence from Avignon.

206  
A papal truce proclaimed in Scotland.

When the messengers had informed the cardinals of these proceedings, the latter determined to proclaim the papal truce in Scotland; in which hazardous office they employed Adam Newton, guardian of the monastery of Minorites at Berwick, who was charged with letters to the clergy of Scotland, particularly to the bishop of St Andrew's. The monk found the king encamped with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, making preparations for assaulting Berwick. Personal access was denied to the king; but the monk, in obedience to his masters, proclaimed the truce by the authority of the pope. The king sent him for answer, that

he would listen to no bulls, till he was treated as king of Scotland, and had made himself master of Berwick.

The poor monk, terrified at this answer, requested either a safe conduct to Berwick, or permission to pass into Scotland, and deliver his letters to the Scottish clergy. Both were refused; and he was commanded to leave the country without loss of time. He set out for Berwick; but in his way thither was attacked by robbers, or some who pretended to be so. By them he was stripped and robbed of all his parchments, together with his letters and instructions; the robbers also, it is said, tore the pope's bull, without any regard to its sanctity.

In 1318, King Robert proceeded in his enterprise against Berwick, but resolved to employ artifice as well as force in the reduction of it. A citizen of Berwick, by name *Spalding*, having been ill used by the governor, meditated revenge; and wrote a letter to a Scottish lord, whose relation he had married, offering on a certain night to betray the post where he kept guard. The nobleman communicated this important intelligence to the king. "You did well," said Robert, "in making me your confidant; for if you had told this either to Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust: Both of them, however, shall aid you in the execution of the enterprise." The king then commanded him to repair to a certain place with a body of troops; to which place he also gave separate orders to Douglas and Randolph to repair at the same hour, each with a body of troops under his command. The forces, thus cautiously assembled, marched to Berwick, and, assisted by Spalding, scaled the walls, making themselves masters of the town in a few hours. The garrison of the castle, perceiving that the number of Scots was but small, made a desperate sally with the men who had fled into the castle from the town; but, after an obstinate conflict, they were defeated and driven back, chiefly by the extraordinary valour of a young knight named *Sir William Keith of Galloway*.—This happened on the 28th of March 1318.

King Robert no sooner heard of the success of his forces against the town, that he hastened to lay siege to the castle of Berwick. This was soon obliged to capitulate; after which the Scots entered Northumberland, and took the castles of Wark, Harbottle, and Mitford. In May, they again invaded England, and penetrated into Yorkshire. In their progress they burnt the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton in Craven, forcing the inhabitants of Rippon to redeem themselves by paying 1000 merks: after which they returned to Scotland with much booty; and, as an English historian expresses it, "driving their prisoners before them like flocks of sheep."

This year the interposition of the pope was obtained against Robert, with a view to intimidate the Scottish nation; and the two cardinals residing in England were commanded to excommunicate *Robert Bruce and his adherents*, on account of his treatment of the messengers of the holy see, and his assault of Berwick, after a truce had been proclaimed by the papal authority.—This sentence was accordingly put in execution, though Robert had certainly been excommunicated *once*, if not oftener before. Messengers were sent from Scotland to Rome, in order to procure a reversal of the sentence; but Edward dispatched the bishop of Hereford, and Hugh d'Espencer

Scotland.

207  
Which is disregarded by the king.

208  
Berwick besieged and taken by the Scots, An. 1318.

209  
who invade England with great success.

210  
King Robert excommunicated by the Pope.

Scotland. d'Espencer the Elder, to counteract this negociation, informing the his holiness at the same time of certain intercepted letters which had been written from Avignon to Scotland; upon which the pope ordered all the Scots residing at Avignon, and all of that place who had corresponded with Scotland, to be taken into custody.

The most remarkable transaction of this year, however, was the defeat and death of Edward Bruce in Ireland; of which an account is given under the article IRELAND, N<sup>o</sup> 42. His body was quartered, and distributed for a public spectacle over Ireland; and his head was presented to Edward by John lord Bermingham the commander of the English army; in return for which service, he was rewarded with the title of *earl of Lowth*.

In the mean time Edward, who had summoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln, was obliged to prorogue it on account of the Scottish invasion, and to assemble an army at York for the defence of his country. At Michaelmas it was determined, in a parliament held at London, that every city and town in England should furnish a certain proportion of men completely armed. Thus a considerable body of troops was soon raised; but, when they assembled at York, their party-animosities and mutual distrust rose to such an height, that it was found necessary to send them back to their habitations.

In 1319, Edward, having succeeded so well in his negotiations with the court of Rome, resolved to make similar attempts with other powers to the prejudice of the Scottish nation. Accordingly he requested the count of Flanders to prohibit the Scots from entering his country: but to this request he received the following remarkable reply: "Flanders is the common country of all men; I cannot prohibit any merchants from trafficking thither, for such prohibition would prove the ruin of my people." Finding himself baffled in this attempt, the English monarch once more determined to have recourse to war; and with this view commanded his army to assemble at Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 24th of July 1319: but before he proceeded, he requested the prayers of the clergy for the success of his expedition; and, to render their prayers the more effectual, he at the same time demanded from them a great sum of money by way of loan.

211  
Edward again invades Scotland.

An. 1319.

212  
Berwick besieged by the English.

Every thing being now in readiness, the English army approached Berwick, which was commanded by Walter the steward of Scotland. This nobleman had long apprehended an attack from the English, and had taken every means of defence in his power. The enemy, however, confiding in their numbers, made a general assault; but were repulsed on the 7th of September, after a long and obstinate contest. Their next attempt was on the side towards the river. At that time the walls of Berwick were of an inconsiderable height; and it was proposed to bring a vessel close to them, from whence the troops might enter by a draw-bridge let down from the mast. But the Scots annoyed the assailants so much, that they could not bring this vessel within the proper distance; and at the ebb of the tide it grounded, and was burnt by the besieged.—The English had then recourse to a newly invented engine which they called a *sow*, but for what reason is unknown. In many particulars it resembled the *testudo arietaria* of the ancients. It appears to have been a large fabric

213  
A new invented engine called a *sow*.

composed of timber, and well-roofed, having stages within it, and in height surpassing the wall of the town. It was moved upon wheels, and served for the double purpose of conducting the miners to the foot of the wall, and armed men to the storm. This machine was counteracted by one constructed by John Crab, a Flemish engineer in the Scots service. This was a kind of moveable crane, whereby great stones might be raised on high, and then let fall upon the enemy. The English made a general assault on the quarter towards the sea, as well as on the land side; so that the garrison, exhausted by continual fatigue, could scarce maintain their posts. The great engine moved on to the walls; and, though stones were incessantly discharged against it from the crane, their effect was so small, that all hope of preserving Berwick was lost. At length a huge stone struck it with such force, that the beams gave way, and the Scots pouring down combustibles upon it, it was reduced to ashes. The English, however, still continued the attack. The steward, with a reserve of 100 men, went from post to post, relieving those who were wounded or unfit for combat. One soldier of the reserve only remained with him when an alarm was given that the English had burnt a barrier at the port called *St Mary's*, possessed themselves of the draw-bridge, and fired the gate. The steward hastened thither, called down the guard from the rampart, ordered the gate to be set open, and rushed out upon the enemy. A desperate combat ensued, and continued till the close of the day, when the English commanders withdrew their troops.

Scotland.

214  
Destroyed by the Scots.

Notwithstanding this brave defence, it was evident that the town could not hold out long without a speedy relief; and Robert could not, with any probability of success, attack the fortified camp of the English. He therefore determined to make a powerful diversion in England, in order to oblige Edward to abandon the undertaking. By order of the king, 15,000 men entered England by the western marches. They had concerted a plan for carrying off the queen of England from her residence near York; but being disappointed in this attempt, they laid waste York-shire. The archbishop of York hastily collected a numerous body of commons and ecclesiastics, with whom he encountered the Scots at Mitton, near Boroughbridge, in the north riding of York-shire. The English were routed; 3000 were left dead on the field, and great part of those who fled perished in the river Swale. In this action 300 ecclesiastics lost their lives. The news of this successful inroad alarmed the besiegers of Berwick. The

215  
who invaded England.

barons whose estates lay to the southward remote from the Scottish depredations were eager for continuing the siege. But they were opposed by those of the north; who were no less eager to abandon the enterprise, and return to the defence of their own country. With them the earl of Lancaster concurred in opinion; and understanding that his favourite manor of Pontefract was exposed to the ravages of the Scots, departed with all his adherents. Edward on this, drew off the remainder of his army, and attempted to intercept Randolph and Douglas; but they eluded him, and returned in safety to Scotland.

216  
The English defeated, and the siege of Berwick raised.

The unsuccessful event of this last attempt induced Edward seriously to think of peace; and accordingly a truce between the two nations was concluded on the

218

Scotland. 21st of December 1319; which interval of tranquillity the Scots made use of in addressing a manifesto to the pope in justification of their cause. This was drawn up in a spirited manner, and made a very considerable alteration in the councils of Rome. The pope, foreseeing that Robert would not be terrified into submissions, ordered Edward to make peace with him in the best manner he could. A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, which soon terminated ineffectually; the truce was not renewed, and in 1322 a mutual invasion took place. The Scots penetrated into Lancashire by the western marches; and, after plundering the country, returned home with an extraordinary booty; while Edward made great preparations for an expedition into Scotland, which took place in August the same year. In this, however, he was not attended with success.

217  
England again invaded by the Scots, and Scotland by the English.  
An. 1322.

Robert had caused all the cattle to be driven off, and all the effects of any value to be removed from Lothian and the Merse: fixing his camp at Culrofs, on the north side of the frith of Forth. His orders for removing the cattle were so punctually obeyed, that according to common tradition, the only prey which fell into the hands of the English was a lame bull at Tranent in East Lothian. Edward, however, still proceeded, and penetrated as far as Edinburgh, but without any hopes of subduing the kingdom. His provisions being consumed, many of his soldiers perished for want; and he was obliged at last to retire without having seen an enemy. On their return, his soldiers burnt the abbeys of Holyrood, Melrofs, Dryburgh, &c. killed many of the monks, and committed many sacrileges: but when they returned to their own country, and began again to enjoy a plentiful living, they indulged themselves in such excesses as were productive of mortal diseases; insomuch that, according to an English historian, almost one half of the great army which Edward had brought from England with him were destroyed either by hunger or gluttony.

218  
Great part of Edward's army destroyed.

No sooner were the English retired than they were pursued by the Scots, who laid siege to the castle of Norham. Edward lay at the abbey of Biland in Yorkshire, with a body of troops advantageously posted in the neighbourhood. The Scots, invited, as is said, by some traitors about the king's person, attempted to surprise him; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he made his escape to York, abandoning all his baggage and treasure to the enemy. The English camp was supposed to be accessible only by a narrow pass, but Douglas undertook to force it, and Randolph presented himself as a volunteer in this dangerous service under his friend Douglas. The Highlanders and men of the Isles climbed the precipice on which the English camp stood, and the enemy were driven out with great loss. The Scots pursued them to the very gates of York, wasted the country without controul, and returned home unmolested.

219  
The English defeated and driven out of their camp.

220  
A truce concluded between England and Scotland.  
An. 1323.

Edward, disheartened by repeated losses, agreed to a cessation of arms "with the men of Scotland who were engaged in war with him." But the king of Scotland would not consent to it in that form; however, he gave his consent, on the proper form being employed, to which Edward now made no objection. This treaty was concluded on the 30th of March 1323, and was to endure until the 12th of June 1336. It was agreed, that, during the continuance of it, no new fortresses

Scotland. should be erected in Cumberland, to the north of the Tyne, or in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, or Dumfries; and by a very singular article it was provided, that "Bruce and the people of Scotland might procure absolution from the pope; but in case there was no peace concluded before the expiration of the truce, that the sentence of excommunication should revive." The treaty was ratified by Robert, under the style of the *king of Scotland*, 7th June 1323.

The next care of Robert was to reconcile himself to the church, and to obtain from the pope the title of *king*, which had been so long denied him; and this, though not without great difficulty, was at last obtained. This year a son was born to the king of Scotland at Dunfermline, and named *David*. The court-poets of the time foretold, that this infant would one day rival his father's fame, and prove victorious over the English. But scarcely had this future hero come into the world, when a rival began to make his appearance. John Baliol, the unfortunate king of Scotland, had long been dead; but left a son named *Edward*, heir of his pretensions to the crown. The young prince had resided on his paternal estate in Normandy, neglected and forgotten; but in 1324 he was called to the court of England, for the purpose, undoubtedly, of setting him up as a rival to young David Bruce, in case his father, now broken with fatigues, should die in a short time. The negotiations for peace, however, still went on; but the commissioners appointed for this purpose made little progress, by reason of demands for feudal sovereignty still made by the English. The reconciliation with the church was also broken off, by reason of the Scots keeping possession of Berwick. This had been taken during the papal truce; and Robert thought proper still to lie under the sentence of excommunication rather than to part with such an important fortress.

221  
Birth of David Bruce.

222  
Edward Baliol makes his appearance at the court of England.  
An. 1324.

In the beginning of the year 1327, Edward II. was deposed, and succeeded by his son Edward III. then in his 15th year. He renewed the negotiations for peace, and ratified the truce which his father had made; but hearing that the Scots had resolved to invade England if a peace was not immediately concluded, he summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Newcastle, and fortified York.—We are not certainly informed of the reasons which induced the Scots at this time to disregard the truce; however, it is certain, that on the 15th of June 1327, Douglas and Randolph invaded England by the western marches, with an army of 20,000 horsemen. Against them Edward III. led an army, consisting, at the lowest calculation, of 30,000 men, who assembled at Durham on the 13th of July. The Scots proceeded with the utmost cruelty, burning and destroying every thing as they went along; and on the 18th of the same month, the English discovered them by the smoke and flames which marked their progress. They marched forward in order of battle towards the quarter where the smoke was perceived; but, meeting with no enemy for two days, they concluded that the Scots had retired. Disencumbering themselves then of their heavy baggage, they resolved by a forced march to reach the river Tyne, and, by posting themselves on the north bank of that river, to intercept the Scots on their return. On the 20th of July, the cavalry having left the infantry behind, crossed the

223  
Douglas and Randolph invade England.  
An. 1327.

224  
Edward III. marches against them.



Scotland. the river at Haidon : but before the rest of the army could come up, the river was so swelled by sudden rains, that it could no longer be forded ; and thus the troops remained divided for several days, without any accommodation for quarters, and in the greatest want of provisions and forage. The soldiers now began to murmur ; and it was resolved again to proceed southwards. The king proclaimed a reward of lands, to the value of 100*l.* yearly for life, to the person who should first discover the enemy " on dry ground, where they might be attacked ;" and many knights and esquires swam across the river on this strange errand. The army continued its march for three days without any news of the Scots ; but on the fourth day, certain accounts of them were brought by an esquire, Thomas Rokesby : who reported, that " the Scots had made him prisoner ; but that their leaders, understanding his business, had set him at liberty ; saying, that they had remained for eight days on the same ground, as ignorant of the motions of the English as the English were of theirs, and that they were desirous and ready to combat." With this man for their guide, the English soon came in view of the Scots. They were advantageously posted on a rising ground, having the river Wre in front, and their flanks secured by rocks and precipices. The English dismounted and advanced, hoping to allure the Scots from their strong post ; but in vain. Edward then sent a herald to Randolph and Douglas, with a message in the style of chivalry : " Either," says he, " suffer me to pass the river, and leave me room for ranging my forces ; or do you pass the river, and I will leave you room to range yours ; and thus shall we fight on equal terms." To this the Scottish commanders answered, " We will do neither. On our road hither we have burnt and spoiled the country ; and here we are fixed while to us it seems good ; and if the king of England is offended, let him come over and chastise us."

The armies continued in sight of each other for two days ; after which the English, understanding that their enemies were distressed for provisions, resolved to maintain a close blockade, and to reduce them by famine. Next day, however, they were surprised to find that the Scots had secretly decamped, and taken post two miles up the river in ground still stronger, and of more difficult access, amidst a great wood. The English encamped opposite to them near Stanhope park. At midnight Douglas undertook a most desperate enterprise, resembling those of the ancient heroes. With 200 horsemen he approached the English camp, and entered it under the guise of a chief commander calling the rounds. Having thus eluded the sentinels, he passed on to the royal quarters, overthrew every thing that opposed him, and furiously assaulted the king's tent. The domestics of Edward desperately defended their master ; and his chaplain, with many others of his household, were slain. The king himself, however, escaped ; and Douglas, disappointed of his prey, rushed through the enemy, and effected a retreat with inconsiderable loss.—The following day, the English learned from a prisoner, that orders had been issued in the Scottish camp for all men to hold themselves in readiness that evening to follow the banner of Douglas : on which, apprehending an attack in the night, they prepared for battle, lighting great fires, and keeping a strict watch ; but in the morning, they were informed by two trumpeters whom they

225  
Is obliged to offer a reward for discovering where they are.

226  
Desperate attempt of Douglas to carry off the king of England.

had taken prisoners, that the Scots had decamped before midnight, and were returning to their own country. This report could scarcely be credited, and the army remained for some hours in order of battle ; but at length some scouts having crossed the river, returned with certain intelligence that the Scottish camp was totally deserted : which when the young king of England was certainly informed of, he is said to have burst into tears. Every preparation had been made by him for opposing an enemy, and auxiliaries had even been procured at a most enormous expence from Hainault. These auxiliaries consisted of heavy-armed cavalry ; and they were now so much worn out, that they could scarcely move. Their horses were all dead, or had become unserviceable, in a campaign of three weeks ; so that they were obliged to procure horses to convey themselves to the south of England. Edward having rested at Durham for some days, marched to York, where he disbanded his army. Barbour, a Scots historian, relates, that there was a morass in the rear of the Scottish camp, which he calls the *two-mile morass* ; that the Scots made a way over it with brushwood, removing it as they went along, that the English might not pursue them by the same way. The English historians are filled with descriptions of the strange appearance of the deserted camp of the Scots. They found there a number of skins stretched between stakes, which served for kettles to boil their meat ; and for bread, each soldier carried along with him a bag of oatmeal, of which he made cakes, toasting them upon thin iron plates, which are supposed to have been part of their armour.

On the return of Douglas and Randolph, the king led his army against the eastern borders, and besieged the castle of Norham. But in 1328, Edward, wearied out with continual losses and disappointments, consented to a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms on the following conditions. 1. The stone on which the kings of Scotland were wont to sit at the time of their coronation, shall be restored to the Scots. 2. The king of England engages to employ his good offices at the papal court for obtaining a revocation of all spiritual processes depending before the holy see against the king of Scots, or against his kingdom or subjects. 3. For these causes, and in order to make reparation for the ravages committed in England by the Scots, the king of Scots shall pay 30,000 merks to the king of England. 4. Restitution shall be made of the possessions belonging to ecclesiastics in either kingdom, whereof they may have been deprived during the war. 5. But there shall not be any restitution made of inheritances which have fallen into the hands of the king of England or of the king of Scots, by reason of the war between the two nations, or through the forfeiture of former possessors. 6. Johanna, sister of the king of England, shall be given in marriage to David, the son and heir to the king of Scots. 7. The king of Scots shall provide the princess Johanna in a jointure of 2000*l.* yearly, secured on lands and rents, according to a reasonable estimation. 8. If either of the parties shall fail in performing these conditions, he shall pay 2000 pounds of silver to the papal treasury. The marriage of the infant prince was celebrated on the 12th of July 1328.

On the 7th of June 1329 died Robert Bruce, unquestionably the greatest of all the Scottish monarchs. His death seems to have been occasioned by the excess-

Scotland.  
227  
The Scots decamp, and return to their own country.

228  
The treaty of Northampton.  
An. 1328.

229  
King Robert dies.  
An. 1329.

Scotland. five fatigues of military service; and his disease, called by the historians of those times a leprosy, was probably an inveterate scurvy, occasioned by his way of living. He died at the age of 55. He was married to Isabella, daughter of Donald the tenth earl of Marr; by whom he had a daughter named Margery, married to Walter the steward of Scotland; whose husband died in 1326. The second wife of Robert was Elizabeth, the daughter of Aymer de Burgh earl of Ulster. By her he had a son, David II.; a daughter named Margaret, married to William earl of Sutherland; another, named Matilda, married to an esquire named Thomas Isaac; and Elizabeth, married to Sir Walter Oliphant of Gask. He had also a natural son named Robert.

230  
Account of  
a conspira-  
cy against  
him.

That King Robert I. was a man of unquestionable virtue and humanity, as well as unequalled in the knowledge of the military art, must be evident from many particulars already related. The only questionable part of his character is his severe punishment of a conspiracy formed against him in the year 1320; a relation of which, to avoid interrupting our detail of more important matters, we have deferred till now.—The chief of the conspirators were William de Soulis, whose ancestor had been a candidate for the crown of Scotland; the countess of Strathern, and some other persons of high rank. The countess discovered the plot; after which Soulis confessed the whole, and was punished with perpetual imprisonment; as well as the countess, notwithstanding her having made the discovery. Gilbert de Malyerb and John de Logie, both knights, and Richard Brown an esquire, were put to death as traitors: but the person most lamented was Sir David de Brechin, for his bravery styled *the flower of chivalry*. He was nephew to the king, and served with great reputation against the Saracens. To him the conspirators, after having exacted an oath of secrecy, revealed their designs. He condemned their undertaking, and refused to share in it; but did not discover it, on account of the oath he had taken. Yet for this concealment he was tried as a traitor, condemned and executed, without regard to his personal merit or his relationship to the king. The conspirators were tried before the parliament at Scone in 1320; and this session, in which so much blood was shed, was long remembered by the people under the name of the *black parliament*. Whether there was any thing real in this conspiracy, or whether the king only made use of this pretence to rid himself of such as were obnoxious to him, cannot now be known with certainty.

231  
State of  
Scotland at  
the death  
of Robert I.

The reign of Robert Bruce is distinguished by great efforts, and occasioned considerable changes both in property and in power, though it is treated by historians rather as a period of romantic adventures, than as an age of uncommon revolutions. However few and unimportant were his first supporters when he set out for Scone, he was crowned with the applause of an indignant people. His successes, when he began to try his skill and valour against such gallant soldiers as the English, were not equal either to his views or his expectations. It was the battle of Bannockburn that decided the fate of Bruce, and secured the independence of Scotland. After many conflicts of various success, the English government was induced to acknowledge the regal title of Bruce and the independence of the Scottish nation.

The revolution that took place when the Saxon race of kings ascended the throne of Scotland, was scarcely greater than the changes which happened under the great restorer of the Scottish monarchy. Some of the most eminent families in North Britain fell before the fortune of Bruce, and forfeited their all to his offended laws. Many subordinate barons, who owed fealty to those unfortunate families, rose on their ruined estates, and thus ceased to be vassals to superior lords. Some of the greatest offices, which had been hereditary in those eminent houses, passed, with large possessions, into new families, and raised them to unwonted greatness. It is not perhaps too much to say, when we assert, that one half of the forfeited lands of Scotland were conferred on new proprietors, who gave a different cast to the population of a mixed people. It was the fault of Bruce, that he sometimes sacrificed his policy to his gratitude; but, much as the gratitude or munificence of that great prince bestowed on those who had fought by his side in many a conflict, he attempted not to deprive those who were innocuous to law of their possessions. Yet we have been told, that, in order to check the growing power of his nobles, he summoned them to shew by what right they held their lands, and, that in reply to this inquiry, they drew their swords, and exclaimed, "By these we acquired our lands, and with these we will defend them." This brilliant passage, which has made such a figure in the fabulous history of those times, and has been brought forward by the rhetoricians of the present day as a beautiful instance of the effect of passion in inverting the usual order of words, appears to have little foundation in historic truth. We have no example of any man in Scotland claiming lands by right of conquest; and, during the reigns of Bruce and his son David, there was no other right to lands, except ancient possession, or the grant of the king\*.

As the accession of Robert Bruce forms a new and brilliant era in the history of Scotland, it may be proper before we proceed in our narration, to take a general view of the state of manners in North Britain during the interval that elapsed from the 11th to the 14th century. In this inquiry, we must carefully distinguish between the Gaelic and English inhabitants of Scotland. The former were the most numerous during the whole of this period. The government was administered by Scoto-Saxon kings, on Anglo-Norman principles; with the assistance of Anglo-Saxon barons. To these sources must be traced the maxims of the governors and the customs of the governed. Chivalry, with its notions and pursuits, was no sooner introduced into England by the Normans, than it was adopted by the Scoto-Saxon inhabitants of North Britain. Before the reign of Malcolm IV. it had become a sort of maxim, that a prince could scarcely be considered as a king before he had received the honour of knighthood; and before the accession of Alexander III. this maxim was so fully established, that it was deemed unfit, or perhaps unlawful, to crown their sovereign before he had been knighted. The barons, in this respect, followed the example of their sovereigns, by seeking knighthood, at the peril of life, through many a bloody field. Thus chivalry, which had been unknown in Celtic Scotland, was fully established before the time of Robert Bruce; and armorial bearings were universally worn by the nobility. Before the conclusion of this period, the Scottish bi-

\* Chal-  
mers's Ca-  
ledonia,  
vol. i.

shops

shops quartered the arms of their families, with the badges of their fees; but the establishment of heralds, with a lord-lyon at their head, is of a much more modern date.

The mode of living, the virtues, the vices, of the ordinary classes of people, both in South and North Britain, were nearly the same, as they were of the same extraction. The manners of the nobles were warlike, and their diversions were analogous to their manners. Of these, tournaments were the most splendid; hunting and hawking, the most frequent amusements. The kings were the great hunters, in imitation of the Norman sovereigns of England; and they had in every county a vast forest, with a castle, for the enjoyment of their favourite sport. Attached to every forest there was a forester, whose duty it was to take care of the game. The bishops and barons had also their foresters, with similar powers. The king had his falconer; an office which, like that of steward and some others, gave a surname to one of the principal families of Scotland.

Of the domestic pastimes of those rustic ages, there are but few notices. When David led his army to the battle of the Standard (see N<sup>o</sup> 92.), his varied people were amused by geitures, dancings, and buffoons. The amusements of the same classes of people, in the two kingdoms, were pretty much the same during those congenial ages. As the English kings had their minstrels, so the Scottish kings had their harpers and their trumpeters.

The education of such a people was similar to their manners. As early as the reign of David I. public schools seem to have existed in the principal towns of North Britain. The monks, who were ambitious of engrossing the education of the youth, obtained grants of the principal seminaries; and the children of the most honourable parents were educated in the monasteries. The abbots had sufficient liberality to encourage the studies of the monks, in order to qualify them for becoming the instructors of youth.

It may be easily supposed, that the speech of the inhabitants derived a tinge from that of their masters, who were not always natives of North Britain. At the beginning of the present period, the universal language of Scotland, if we except the district of Lothian, was Gaelic; but, towards the end of this period, the language was considerably changed, especially in the southern districts, where it was much the same as that spoken in South Britain in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The manners which were most remarkable, and attended with the most lasting effects, were produced by that religious zeal which prevailed among all ranks of men, from the highest to the lowest. All were active to endow or to enrich a monastery, according to their circumstances; and many persons of rank were studious to be received into the fraternity of some ecclesiastical community. It was thought an object of great consequence to be buried in the consecrated ground of some religious house; and, to obtain this end, many lands and other property were bestowed upon the monks. Every monastery had its roll of benefactors, and many a heart beat with desire to be added to the sacred list. Feasts were made, and masses said, for the souls of those persons who had made the largest donations to the monks; and particular monks were sometimes maintain-

ed to pray for the soul of the giver. The same energetic principle, which induced the people of that religious age to build chapels and erect churches, prompted them to found magnificent cathedrals, and to delight in the parade of splendid worship. The age was warlike as well as religious. The dignified clergy did not scruple to put on armour with their calloes. The bishops and abbots, as well as the barons, had their esquires and armour-bearers, whom they rewarded with lands.

In the wars of these times, defensive armour was not commonly worn by the Scottish soldiers. The people retained the weapons of their ancestors, and their only defence was a buckler or target of leather. Their chief offensive weapons were, a spear of enormous length, and swords of unskilful workmanship. Their men-at-arms, or cavalry, were accoutred like the same class of soldiers in England, as they were the descendants of Englishmen.

After the death of Robert, the administration was assumed by Randolph, in consequence of an act passed in 1318, by which he was appointed regent in case of the king's death. In his new character he behaved himself in a most exemplary manner; and by impartially discharging the duties of his station, and rigidly administering justice, he secured the public tranquillity in the most perfect manner. A severe exercise of justice was now rendered indispensable. During a long course of war, the common people had been accustomed to plunder and bloodshed; and having now no English enemies to employ them, they robbed and murdered one another. The methods by which Randolph repressed these crimes were much the same with those which have been adopted in latter times; for he made the counties liable for the several robberies committed within their bounds. He even ordered the farmers and labourers not to house the tools employed by them in agriculture during the night-time, that the sheriff's officers might be the more vigilant in securing them. He gave orders for severely punishing all vagabonds, and obliged them to work for their livelihood; making proclamation, that no man should be admitted into a town or borough who could not earn his bread by his labour. These regulations were attended with the most salutary effects. A fellow who had secreted his own plough-irons, pretending that they were stolen, being detected by the sheriff's officers, was instantly hanged. A certain man having killed a priest, went to Rome, and obtained absolution from the pope; after which he boldly returned to Scotland. Randolph ordered him to be tried, and, on his conviction, to be executed: "Because," said he, "although the pope may grant absolution from the spiritual consequences of sin, he cannot screen offenders from civil punishment."

King Robert, just before his death, had desired that his heart might be deposited in our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem; and on this errand the great commander Douglas was employed, who set sail in June 1330 with a numerous and splendid retinue. He anchored off Sluys in Flanders, the great emporium of the Low Countries, where he expected to find companions in his pilgrimage; but learning that Alphonso XI. the young king of Leon and Castile, was engaged in a war with Osmyn the Moor, he could not resist the temptation of fighting against the enemies of Christianity. He met with an honourable reception at the court of Spain, and readily obtained

Scotland.

232  
Randolph appointed regent.

233  
His excellent administration.

234  
Douglas sets out for the Holy Land with King Robert's heart. An. 1330.

Scotland. obtained leave to enter into what was thought the common cause of Christianity. The Spaniards first came in fight of their enemy near Theba, a castle on the frontiers of Andalusia, towards the kingdom of Granada. The Moors were defeated; but Douglas giving way to his impetuous valour, pursued the enemy too eagerly, and throwing among them the casket which contained the heart of his sovereign, cried out, "Now pass thou onward as thou wert wont; Douglas will follow thee or die." The fugitives rallied and surrounded Douglas; who, with a few of his followers, was killed in attempting to rescue Sir Walter St Clair of Roslin. His body was brought back to Scotland, and interred in the church of Douglas. His countrymen perpetuated his memory by bestowing upon him the epithet of *the good Sir James Douglas*. He was one of the greatest commanders of the age; and is said to have been engaged in 70 battles, 57 of which he gained, and was defeated in 13.—Of him it is reported, that meeting with an officer at the court of Alphonso, who had his face quite disfigured with scars, the latter said to him, "It astonishes me, that you, who are said to have seen so much service, should have no marks of wounds on your face." "Thank heaven," answered Douglas, "I had always an arm to protect my face."

235  
Is killed by  
the Moors  
in Spain.

236  
Edward  
Baliol  
claims the  
crown of  
Scotland.  
An. 1331.

In 1331, Edward Baliol began to renew his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, about the same time that David II. and his consort Johanna were crowned at Scone; which ceremony was performed on the 24th of November. Some historians relate, that he was excited to this attempt by one Twynham Lowrison, a person who had been excommunicated for refusing to do penance for adultery, and afterwards was obliged to fly on account of his having way-laid the official, beaten him, and extorted a sum of money from him. But however this be, it is certain, that in this year differences began to arise with England, on the following account. It had been provided by an article of the

treaty of Northampton, that "Thomas Lord Wake of Ledel, Henry de Beaumont, called *earl of Buchan*, and Henry de Percy, should be restored to their estates, of which the king of Scots, by reason of the war between the two nations, had taken possession." This article had been executed with respect to Percy, but not to the other two; and though Edward had repeatedly complained of this neglect, he could not obtain any satisfaction (G).

The disinherited barons now resolved to invade Scotland, though their force consisted of no more than 3000 infantry, and 400 men at arms. Edward would not permit them to enter Scotland by the usual way, as he himself did not yet choose openly to take part in their quarrel. For this reason they were obliged to take shipping, and landed at a place called *Ravenbare*, *Ravenspur*, or *Ravenburgh*, at the mouth of the Humber. Randolph, having intelligence of the English preparations, had marched an army to the frontiers of East Lothian; but, being afterwards informed of the naval armament, he marched northwards; but died at Muffelburgh, six miles east of Edinburgh, on the 20th of July 1332. With him died the glory of Scotland. The <sup>237</sup> *earl of Marr*, a man whose only merit consisted in his being related to the royal family, was chosen to succeed him in the regency.—Edward, in the mean time, fell on a most curious expedient to show the justice of his cause. In March 1332, he had published a prohibition for any person to infringe the treaty of Northampton. The disinherited lords had been suffered to embark, expressly for the purpose of invading Scotland, after this prohibition was published. *After they were gone*, Henry de Percy was empowered to punish those who should presume to array themselves in contempt of his prohibition; and because he understood that the Scots were arming in order to repel those invaders whom Edward had indirectly sent against them, he empowered Henry de Percy to arm against them.

<sup>237</sup>  
Randolph  
dies.  
An. 1332.

On

(G) As this is an important period of history, we shall here transcribe the opinion of Lord Hailes concerning the causes of this strange delay of executing an article seemingly of little importance where a nation was concerned. "By the treaty of Northampton (says he), all the claims of the English barons to inheritances in Scotland were disregarded, excepting those of Henry de Percy, Thomas Lord Wake of Ledel, and Henry de Beaumont. Percy procured satisfaction: but the others did not.

"Henry de Beaumont, in the reign of Edward II. had associated himself with the nobility against the D'Espensers, and on that account had suffered imprisonment and exile. He aided Queen Isabella in the invasion which proved the cause of the deposition, captivity, and death of her husband. Although, under the administration of Mortimer, he had obtained a share in the partition of the spoils of the D'Espensers, he persisted in opposing the measures of the new favourite; and although his own interests were secured by the treaty of Northampton, he boldly exclaimed against the injustice done to the other barons by that treaty. He joined the princes of the blood-royal in their attempt to rescue the young king from the hands of Isabella and her minion, and place him in their own; and, on the failure of that ill-advised conspiracy he again took refuge in foreign parts. It appears that Lord Wake, having followed the political opinions of Henry de Beaumont, was involved in like calamities and disgrace. While the queen-dowager and Mortimer retained their influence, the claims of those two barons were altogether overlooked: But within 48 hours after the execution of Mortimer, a peremptory demand was made by Edward III. to have their inheritance restored.

"The demand was unexpected and alarming. Made at the very moment of the fall of Isabella and Mortimer, and in behalf of men who had loudly protested against the treaty of Northampton, it indicated a total and perilous change in the system of the English.

"Randolph, of late years, had beheld extraordinary vicissitudes in England. The D'Espensers alternately persecuted and triumphant, and at length abased in the dust: The fugitive Mortimer elevated to supreme authority, victorious over the princes of the blood-royal, and then dragged to a gibbet. Hence it was natural for Randolph to wish, and even to look, for some new revolution, which might prove more favourable to the Scottish interests.

Meanwhile,

Scotland.  
238  
Baliol lands  
at King-  
horn, and  
defeats the  
Scots.

On the 31st of July, Edward Baliol and his associates landed in the neighbourhood of Kinghorn, on the Forth; routed the earl of Fife, who opposed them; and marched next day to Dunfermline. Having then ordered his fleet to wait for him at the mouth of the Tay, he proceeded northwards, and encamped on the Miller's acre at Forteviot, with the river Earn in front. Nothing, however, could be more dangerous than his present situation, and his destruction seemed to be inevitable. The earl of Marr was encamped with a numerous army on the opposite bank of the river Earn, in the neighbourhood of Duplin; and another, nearly as numerous, had advanced from the south, through the Lothians and Stirlingshire, and fixed its quarters at Auchterarder, eight miles to the west of Forteviot. Historians differ as to the number of the two armies. Fordun says, that the regent had with him 30,000 men, and the earl of March as many; and that Baliol had between 500 and 600 men at arms, that is, horsemen completely armed. Hemingford reckons each of the Scots armies at 40,000, and Baliol's at 500 armed men. Knyghton says, that Baliol, when he landed in Fife, had 300 armed men, and 3000 more of different forts; but that he had in all only 2500 men in his camp at Earn. In this desperate situation, the English general formed a design of attacking the Scots in their camp. They were directed to a ford by Andrew Murray of Tullibardine. The Scots kept no watch, but abandoned themselves to intemperance and riotous mirth; while their enemies, led by Alexander Moubray, crossed the river at midnight. They ascended a rising ground, came unperceived on the right flank of the Scottish army, and made a dreadful slaughter. At the first attack, young Randolph hastened with 300 men at arms to oppose the enemy; and being seconded by Murdoch earl of Menteith, Alexander Frazer, and Robert Bruce natural son to the late king, he gave a check to the English, and maintained the combat on equal terms. But now the regent himself, along with the whole multitude, rushed forward to battle without the least order: so that while the hindmost pressed on, the foremost were thrown down, trodden upon, and suffocated. The slaughter lasted many hours, and the remains of this vast army were utterly dispersed. Many men of eminence

were killed; among whom were Donald earl of Marr, author of the whole catastrophe; Thomas earl of Murray, Murdoch earl of Menteith, Robert earl of Carrick, Alexander Frazer, and Robert Bruce. The slaughter of the infantry and of the men at arms was very great; the most probable accounts make it 2000 men at arms, and upwards of 13,000 common soldiers. The loss of the English was inconsiderable.

The day after this victory, Baliol took possession of Perth; and, apprehending an attack from the earl of March, caused the ditch to be cleared, and the town to be fortified with pallisadoes. The first information which the earl received of this dreadful defeat was from a common soldier, who fled from the place mortally wounded. When this poor wretch came up, he had time to do no more than to show his wounds; after which he fell down, and expired. On his arrival at the field of battle, he found a dreadful confirmation of the intelligence given by the soldier; but instead of taking his measures with any prudence, he and his men hurried on to Perth, actuated only by a blind impulse to revenge. At first they designed to assault the place; but their hearts failing them, they next determined to reduce it by famine. This, however, could not be done unless the Scots were masters at sea. John Crab, the Flemish engineer (who had distinguished himself by destroying the famous engine called the *sew* at the siege of Berwick), had continued for many years to annoy the English on the eastern coasts. After the blockade of Perth was formed, he came with ten vessels to the mouth of the Tay, where the English fleet was, and took the ship belonging to Henry de Beaumont; but soon after all his ten vessels were burnt by the English in a general engagement. After this the blockade of Perth was raised, the earl of March disbanded his army, and Edward Baliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, on the 24th of September 1332.

The new monarch was no sooner put in possession of the kingdom, than he left Perth in the hands of the earl of Fife, while he himself repaired to the southern parts of the kingdom. But the party of King David was far from being extinguished. Baliol was scarcely gone, when the town of Perth was surprised, and its fortifications

239  
Farther  
success of  
Baliol.

240  
He is  
crowned  
king of  
Scotland.

Meanwhile, with great reason and good policy, he delayed the restitution of the inheritances claimed under the treaty of Northampton, in behalf of the avowed opposers of that treaty.

" Besides, it was necessary for Randolph to be assured that the English, while they urged the performance of one article of that treaty, did, on their part, sincerely purpose to perform its more important articles, by continuing to acknowledge the succession in the house of Bruce, and the independency of the Scottish nation.

" Of this, however, there was much reason to doubt. For the English king had taken Baliol under his protection, and had granted him a passport to come into England, with permission to reside there during a whole year, (10th October 1330). These things had no friendly or pacific appearance.

" Be this as it will, the event too fatally justified the apprehensions of Randolph; for, while Edward III. was demanding restitution of the estates reserved by the treaty of Northampton, his subjects were arming in violation of that treaty.

" It is remarkable, that, on the 24th March 1331-2, Edward appears to have known of the hostile association of the disinherited barons. His words are, ' Quia ex relatu accepimus plurimorum, quod diversi homines de regno nostro, et alii (meaning Baliol and his attendants), pacem inter nos, et Robertum de Brus, nuper Regem Scotorum, ininitam et confirmatam infringere machinantes, diversas congregationes hominum ad arma indies faciunt, et, per marchias regni nostri, dictam terram Scotiæ, ad eam modo guerrino impugnandum, ingredi intendunt; Fœdera, tom. iv. p. 511. And yet, on the 22d April following, he demanded restitution of the inheritance of Lord Wake, one of the barons in arms;'" *Fœdera*, tom. iv. p. 518.

Scotland. fortifications razed, by James Frazer, Simon Frazer, and Robert Keith. The earl of Fife was made prisoner, with his family and vassals. Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, who had directed the English to a ford on the river Earn, was put to death as a traitor. Such of the Scots as still adhered to the interest of their infant prince, chose Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell regent. He was a brave and active man, but had not as yet sufficient force to attempt any thing considerable.

<sup>241</sup>  
His shameful behaviour.

In the mean time, Baliol behaved in a most scandalous manner. At Roxburgh, he made a solemn surrender of the liberties of Scotland; acknowledged Edward for his liege-lord; and, as if this had not been sufficient, he became bound to put him in possession of the town, castle, and territory of Berwick, and of other lands on the marches, extending in all to the yearly value of 2000l. "on account," as the instrument bears, "of the great honour and emoluments which we have procured through the *sufferance* of our lord the king, and by the powerful and acceptable aid which we have received from his good subjects." He also proffered to marry the princess Johanna, whom he considered as only betrothed to David Bruce, and to add 500l. to her jointure; and this under the penalty of 10,000l. to be appropriated as a portion to the young lady, or otherwise disposed of for her behoof. He further engaged to provide for the maintenance of David Bruce as the king of England should advise; and, lastly, he became bound to serve Edward in all his wars, excepting in England, Wales, and Ireland, for the space of a year together, with 200 men at arms, and all at his own charges; and he bound his successors to perform the like service with 100 men at arms. But afterwards Edward having engaged to maintain him on the throne of Scotland, Baliol bound himself to serve him in all his wars whatever.

<sup>242</sup>  
Baliol surprised, and driven out of Scotland.

Though the greatest part of the nation submitted to this shameful treaty, it roused the indignation of those who wished well to the liberties of their country. John, the second son of Randolph, now earl of Meray by the death of his brother; Archibald, the youngest brother of the renowned Douglas; together with Simon Frazer, assembled a body of horsemen at Moffat in Annandale; and, suddenly traversing the country, assaulted Baliol unexpectedly at Annan. His brother Henry made a gallant resistance for some time; but was at last overpowered by numbers, and killed, together with several other persons of distinction. Baliol himself escaped almost naked, with scarcely a single attendant, and fled to England. After his departure, the Scots began to make depredations on the English frontiers. Edward issued a proclamation, in which he solemnly averred, that the Scots, by their hostile depredations, had violated the peace of Northampton. Baliol, in the mean time, being joined by some English barons, returned to Scotland; took and burnt a castle where Robert de Colville commanded; and, establishing his quarters in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, began to make preparations for besieging Berwick. Just after his arrival, Archibald Douglas, with 3000 men, invaded England by the western marches, plundered the country, and carried off much booty; in revenge for which, Sir Anthony de Lucy made an inroad into Scotland, defeated and took prisoner Sir William Dou-

glas, celebrated in history by the appellation of *the knight of Liddesdale*, whom Edward caused to be put in irons. About the same time, Sir Andrew Murray the regent attacked Baliol, with a view to discomfit him before the reinforcements which he expected out of England could arrive. A sharp conflict ensued at Roxburgh, in which the regent, attempting to rescue a soldier, was taken prisoner: and thus Scotland was at once deprived of its two ablest commanders.

<sup>243</sup>  
The Scots regent defeated and taken prisoner.

Archibald Douglas was now declared regent; and Edward prepared to invade Scotland, in order to take vengeance on its inhabitants, as he said, for the wrongs they had done, and to seek such redress as might seem good to himself. He ordered possession to be taken of the isle of Man in his own name; and soon after made it over to Sir William de Montague, who had some claim of inheritance in it. The chief design of Edward in this expedition, however, was to obtain possession of the town of Berwick, which had been already ceded to him by Baliol. This appeared to the Scots a place of no less importance than it did to Edward; and therefore they took all the precautions in their power to prevent the loss of it. The earl of March was appointed to command the castle, and Sir William Keith the town. The Scots made an obstinate defence; yet it was evident that they must soon have yielded if they had not been relieved. At length the regent, with a numerous army, appeared in the neighbourhood. He endeavoured to convey succours into the town, or to provoke the enemy to quit the advantage of the ground, and engage in battle. But all his efforts were in vain; the English obstructed every passage, and stood on the defensive.

<sup>244</sup>  
Berwick besieged by the English.

The regent then entered Northumberland, wasted the country, and even assaulted Bamborough-castle, where Philippa the young queen of England had her residence. He fondly imagined that Edward III. would have abandoned the siege of Berwick, after the example of his father, in circumstances not dissimilar. Edward, however, persevered in his enterprise.

<sup>245</sup>  
The Scots invade Northumberland in vain.

During a general assault, the town was set on fire, and in a great measure consumed. The inhabitants having experienced the evils of a siege, and dreading the greater evils of a storm, implored the earl of March and Sir William Keith to seek terms of capitulation. A truce was obtained; and it was agreed, that the town and castle should be delivered up on terms fair and honourable, unless succours arrived before the hour of vespers on the 19th July.

By the treaty, Sir William Keith was permitted to have an interview with the regent. He found him with his army in Northumberland; urged the necessity of his return; and showed him, that Berwick, if not instantly relieved, was lost for ever. Persuaded by his importunities, the regent resolved to combat the English, and either to save Berwick or lose the kingdom.

<sup>246</sup>  
The Scots resolve to come to an engagement.

On the afternoon of the 19th of July, the regent prepared for battle. He divided his army into four bodies. The first was led by John earl of Moray, the son of Randolph; but as he was young and inexperienced in war, James and Simon Frazer, soldiers of approved reputation, were joined with him in the command. The second body was led by the steward of Scotland, a youth of 16, under the inspection of his uncle Sir James Stewart of Rosyth. The third body was led

by

Scotland. by the regent himself, having with him the earl of Carrick and other barons of eminence. The fourth body, or reserve, appears to have been led by Hugh earl of Ross.

The numbers of the Scottish army on that day are variously reported by historians. The continuator of Hemingford, an author of that age, and Knyghton, who lived in the succeeding age, ascertain their numbers with more precision than is generally required in historical facts.

The continuator of Hemingford minutely records the numbers and arrangement of the Scottish army. He says, that, besides earls and other lords or great barons, there were 55 knights, 1100 men at arms, and 13,500 of the commons lightly armed, amounting in all to 14,655.

With him Knyghton appears to concur, when his narrative is cleared from the errors of ignorant or careless transcribers.

It is probable, however, that the servants who tended the horses of persons of distinction and of the men at arms, and the useless followers of the camp, were more numerous than the actual combatants.

The English were advantageously posted on a rising ground at Halidon, with a marshy hollow in their front. Of their particular disposition we are not informed, farther than that Baliol had the command of one of the wings.

247  
Battle of  
Halidon.

It had been provided by the treaty of capitulation, "That Berwick should be considered as relieved, in case 200 men at arms forced their passage into the town." This the Scottish men at arms attempted; but Edward, aware of their purpose, opposed them in person, and repulsed them with great slaughter. The Scottish army rushed on to a general attack; but they had to descend into the marshy hollow before mounting the eminences of Halydon. After having struggled with the difficulties of the ground, and after having been incessantly galled by the English archers, they reached the enemy. Although fatigued and disordered in their ranks, they fought as it became men who had conquered under the banners of Robert Bruce. The English, with equal valour, had great advantages of situation, and were better disciplined than their antagonists. The earl of Ross led the reserve to attack in flank that wing where Baliol commanded; but he was repulsed and slain. There fell with him Kenneth earl of Sutherland, and Murdoch earl of Menteith.

248  
The Scots  
defeated,  
and the  
regent  
killed.

In other parts of the field, the events were equally disastrous. The regent received a mortal wound, and the Scots everywhere gave way. In the field, and during a pursuit for many miles, the number of slain and prisoners was so great, that few of the Scottish army escaped.

Besides the earls of Ross, Sutherland, and Menteith, there were among the slain Malcolm earl of Lennox, an aged baron; he had been one of the foremost to repair to the standard of Robert Bruce, and his last exertions were for his country: Alexander Bruce earl of Carrick, who atoned for his short defection from the family of his benefactor; John Campbell earl of Athol, nephew of the late king; James Fraser, and Simon Fraser; John de Graham, and Alexander de Lindsey, Alan Stewart, and many other persons of eminent rank.

The Steward had two uncles, John and James. John was killed, and James mortally wounded and made prisoner.

Scotland.

The regent, mortally wounded, and abandoned on the field of battle, lived only to see his army discomfited and himself a prisoner.

This victory was obtained with very inconsiderable loss. It is related by the English historians, that on the side of their countrymen, there were killed one knight, one esquire, and twelve foot soldiers. Nor will this appear incredible, when we remember, that the English ranks remained unbroken, and that their archers, at a secure distance, incessantly annoyed the Scottish infantry.

According to capitulation the town and castle of Berwick surrendered, and the English king took 12 hostages, for securing the fidelity of the citizens.

249  
Berwick  
surrenders,  
and almost  
all Scotland  
submits.

Thus was the whole of Scotland reduced under the subjection of Baliol, excepting a few fortresses; so that it became necessary to provide for the safety of the young king and queen. Accordingly, they were conveyed to France, where they were honourably entertained. Meanwhile, Baliol employed himself in making new concessions to his liege lord Edward; and in 1334 the work of submission was completed by a solemn instrument drawn up by Baliol, in which he surrendered great part of the Scottish dominions, to be forever annexed to the crown of England. In this instrument Baliol said, that "he had formerly become bound to make a grant to Edward of lands on the marches, to the amount of *two thousand pound lands*; that the Scottish parliament had ratified his obligation; and that he had accordingly surrendered Berwick and its territory; and now, for completely discharging his obligation, he made an absolute surrender to the English crown of the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick; of the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, and Dumfries; together with the county of Edinburgh, and the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington." This extraordinary surrender was made with so much precipitation, that Baliol forgot to except his own private estate out of it. This, however, was generously restored to him by Edward; who proclaimed, that, "having already received satisfaction in full, he had too much reverence for GOD, justice, and good faith to man, to allow the cession to be prejudicial to the private rights of the king of Scots." At the same time, Baliol presented himself before his liege lord; did homage, and swore fealty, "for the whole kingdom of Scotland and the isles adjacent."

250  
Mean sub-  
missions of  
Baliol.  
An. 1334.

A quarrel now arose among the disinherited lords, to whom this revolution had been owing, which produced the worst consequences to the interest of Baliol. The brother of Alexander de Moubray died, leaving daughters, but no issue-male. Moubray having claimed a preference to the daughters of his brother, Baliol countenanced his suit, and, as it appears, put him in possession of the inheritance. Henry de Beaumont earl of Buchan, and David de Strathbolgie or Hastings, earl of Athol, espoused the cause of the heirs general; but perceiving that their solicitations were not heard, they left the court in disgust, and retired to their castles about the end of August 1334. Baliol soon perceived his error in offending these two powerful lords; and in order to regain their favour, dismissed Moubray, and

251  
A quarrel  
among the  
English dis-  
inherited  
lords.

Scotland. and conferred on David de Strathbolgie the whole estates of the young Steward of Scotland. Thus he alienated the affections of Moubray, and added to the power of the earl of Athol, who was by far too powerful before.

252  
Baliol's party every where defeated.

About this time Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, having regained his freedom, began to assemble the friends of liberty, and was immediately joined by Moubray. In a moment every thing was in confusion. Geoffrey de Moubray, governor of Roxburgh, revolted; Henry de Beaumont was besieged in his castle of Dundarg by Murray and Moubray, and forced to surrender, but obtained liberty to depart into England. Richard Talbot, endeavouring to pass into England with a body of troops, was defeated and taken prisoner by Sir William Keith of Galston. The Steward of Scotland, who had lain concealed in the isle of Bute ever since the battle of Halidon, now passed over to the castle of Dunbarton, which was one of the few forts remaining to King David. With the assistance of Dougal Campbell of Lochow, he made himself master of the castle of Dunoon in Cowal. His tenants of the isle of Bute attacked and slew Alan de Lile the governor, and presented his head to their master. John the son of Gilbert, governor of the castle of Bute, was made prisoner in the action. He ordered the garrison to surrender, and attached himself to the Scottish interest. Encouraged by these successes, the Steward entered his ancient inheritance of Renfrew, and compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge the sovereignty of David. Godfrey de Ross, the governor of Ayrshire, submitted to the Steward. The earl of Moray returned from France, whether he had fled after the battle of Halidon, and was acknowledged regent along with the Steward. The earl, having raised a body of troops, marched against the earl of Athol, compelled him to retire into Lochaber, and at last to surrender; after which he embraced the party of the conquerors. Baliol was now obliged to retire again into England, in order to solicit assistance from Edward; and this was readily granted. Edward himself took the field at a very unfavourable season for military enterprises. His army was divided into two parts. With the one Edward wasted Lothian, while Baliol did the like in Amandale with the other; and, in the mean time, Patrick earl of March, notwithstanding the unfavourable posture of affairs, renounced the allegiance he had sworn to England. His motive for this was, that though the kings of England had maintained him in an independency dangerous to Scotland, he was assured that they would never permit him to become formidable in a country which they themselves possessed.

253  
He retires into England, and obtains the assistance of Edward.

254  
Lochleven castle unsuccessfully besieged by the English.

An. 1335.

The year 1335 is remarkable for the siege of Lochleven castle by the English, under John de Strivelin. This fort is built on a small island, and very difficult of access. The English commander erected a fort in the cemetery of Kinrofs; and at the lower end of the lake, from whence runs the stream called the *Water of Leven*, he raised a strong and lofty bulwark, by means of which he hoped to lay the island under water, and oblige the garrison to surrender. But four of the Scots soldiers, having found means to approach the bulwark undiscovered, pierced it so dexterously, that the waters, rushing out with a prodigious force, overflowed part of the English camp; and the garrison,

fallying out under the confusion occasioned by this unexpected inundation, stormed and plundered the fort at Kinrofs. At this time the English commander, with many of his soldiers, happened to be absent at Dunfermline, celebrating the festival of St Margaret. On his return, he swore that he would never desist till he had taken the place, and put the garrison to the sword; but his utmost efforts were at last baffled, and he was obliged, notwithstanding his oath, to desist.

In the mean time, the regents assembled a parliament at Dairfy, near Cupar in Fife; but no plan of defence could be fixed on, by reason of the animosities and factions which prevailed among the barons. Through the mediation of the French, some terms of peace were proposed; but being rejected by the English, Edward again invaded Scotland, cruelly ravaging the country with one army, while Baliol and the earl of Warrene did the same with another. Soon after the invasion, Count Guy of Namur landed at Berwick with a considerable number of men at arms in the service of the English. He advanced to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; but was defeated and taken prisoner by the earls of March and Moray, and Sir Alexander Ramfay. In this engagement, one Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, was singled out by a combatant in the army of Count Guy, and both pierced each other with their spears; the stranger being stripped, was discovered to be a woman. The earl of Moray treated Guy with the greatest respect, not only allowing him and the remainder of his troops to depart from Scotland without molestation, but even attending him to the borders, accompanied by William Douglas and his brother James. On his return, William de Pressen, warden of the castle and forest of Jedburgh, attacked and defeated his party; James Douglas was killed, the earl himself taken prisoner, and carried into England.

255  
Count Guy of Namur defeated and taken prisoner.

256  
The Scots regent taken prisoner, in consequence of which a shameful treaty is concluded with England.

Thus was the Scottish nation once more reduced to the brink of ruin. Alexander de Moubray, Geoffrey de Mowbray, and some others, pretending powers from "the earl of Athol and Robert the Steward of Scotland," concluded a treaty with Edward at Perth; the substance of which was, that all the Scots should receive pardon, and have their fees, lands and offices restored, excepting those who by *common assent* in parliament should be excluded. The liberties of the church and the ancient laws and usages of Scotland were to remain in full force. All offices were to be filled with Scotsmen, excepting that the king should appoint whom he pleased within his regalities.

The earl of Athol now began to persecute with the utmost fury those who wished well to the cause of Scotland. With 3000 men he besieged the castle of Kil-drommey, which had hitherto been the great refuge of King David's party. Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell resolved at all events to attempt the rescue of his wife and family, who were shut up in this castle. With 1100 men he surprised Athol in the forest of Kilblain. The earl's men, seized with a panic, fled and dispersed themselves; on which their commander, refusing to accept of quarter, was killed. Sir Andrew Murray then assembled a parliament at Dunfermline, where he was immediately appointed regent.

In 1336 the king of England perceiving that the Scots were taken under the patronage of France, resolved to invade their country, and crush them at once,

258  
Edward again invades Scotland.  
before An. 1336.



Scotland. before they could have any assistance from their new allies. In this expedition he penetrated as far as Inverness; but the Scots, commanded by Sir Andrew Murray, avoided coming to a general action; so that Edward could not effect any thing of consequence. The inhabitants of Aberdeen attacked one Thomas Rotheme, who had landed at Dunnottar. They were defeated; but Rotheme fell in the action. Edward chastised the vanquished severely for their temerity, and laid the town in ashes. He then began to repair the castles whose fortifications had been demolished by King Robert. He put in a state of defence the castles of Dunottar, Kinclavin, Lawriefton, Stirling, Bothwell, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh; greatly augmented the fortifications of Perth, and left a considerable body of troops in the place. The Scots began to reduce these castles as soon as Edward was departed; and in 1337, under Sir Andrew Murray, invaded Cumberland. No great exploits, however, were now performed on either side. Edward being employed in preparations for invading France, had little leisure to attend to the affairs of Scotland; and the Scots, divided among themselves, and destitute of those leaders under whom they had acquired so much glory, could not now annoy their enemies as formerly. The most remarkable transaction was the siege of the castle of Dunbar, belonging to the earl of March. The English commander was the earl of Salisbury. The earl of March was absent; but his wife, the daughter of Randolph, from her complexion commonly called *Black Agnes*, undertook to defend it in her husband's absence. The English again employed that huge machine called a *sow*, formerly mentioned in our account of the siege of Berwick: it met with the same fate now as at that time; an huge stone, let fall upon it from the top of the walls, crushed it to pieces. The English, baffled in every attack, turned the siege into a blockade; but Sir Alexander Ramsay having found means to enter it with 40 resolute men, the garrison made a sally, and cut in pieces the advanced guard of the enemy. The English, disheartened by so many misfortunes, abandoned the enterprise.

259 Dunbar castle unsuccessfully besieged by the English. An. 1337.

In 1338, Sir Andrew Murray the regent died, and was succeeded in his office by Robert the Steward of Scotland. In 1339 he reduced the town of Perth and the castle of Stirling; and gained over to the Scottish interest William Bullock, governor of the castle of Coupar: after which, having expelled the enemy from every post to the northward of the Forth, he employed himself in settling the affairs of the nation as well as he could.

260 Exploits of Robert the Steward. An. 1339.

In 1341, the castle of Edinburgh was surprised by a device of Sir William Bullock. According to his appointment, one Walter Currie of Dundee privately received into his ship the knight of Liddesdale, with William Trafer, Joachim of Kinbuck, and 200 resolute men. Currie cast anchor in Leith road, pretending to be an English shipmaster, who had a cargo of wine and provisions, with which he proposed to furnish the commander of the castle. His barrels and hampers were brought to the castle-gate, and suddenly thrown down in such a manner as to obstruct the shutting of it. Currie and his men then slew the sentinels: and the knight of Liddesdale, with a party who lurked in the neighbourhood, rushed in, overpowered the garrison, and made themselves masters of the place.—On the 4th of March this

Scotland. year, the king and queen arrived from France, and landed at Inverbervie in Kincardineshire.

An. 1342.

In 1342, Sir Alexander Ramsay took the strong fortress of Roxburgh; for which important service the king bestowed on him the charge of sheriff of Teviotdale, at that time held by William Douglas knight of Liddesdale. The king's liberality proved fatal to Ramsay: from that time Douglas became his implacable and inveterate enemy; and having, after a pretended reconciliation, unexpectedly surprised him with three of his friends, he put them instantly to death, carrying off Ramsay himself to his castle of the Hermitage, where he caused him to be starved to death in a most barbarous manner. The unhappy man was confined in a room, over which was a heap of wheat; a few grains of which were let fall every day through a hole, not as many as would support life, but as would protract it for a time, and make him longer sensible of the agonies of hunger: and in this miserable situation he survived 17 days. About the same time Sir William Bullock was put to death by Douglas in a similar manner; nor was King David at that time in a capacity to punish such atrocious cruelties committed by so powerful a subject.

263 Miserable end of Sir Alexander Ramsay and Sir William Bullock.

264 David invades England, and behaves with the utmost cruelty.

In the mean time, David having raised a powerful army, prepared to take a severe revenge of the English, from whom he had suffered so much. Edward was at that time in France, but commanded Baliol to raise all the militia beyond the Trent: which order, however, produced but little effect; so much was this mean-spirited prince despised by the English. David invaded Northumberland without opposition, and ravaged the country; but was obliged to raise the siege of Newcastle, which was commanded by Sir John Nevil, an excellent officer. David, exasperated at this repulse, entered the bishopric of Durham, which he ravaged in the most cruel manner. However, on the approach of Edward with a powerful army, the Scots thought proper to retire; and a two years truce was agreed on.

265 Other invasions. An. 1345.

This pacification was but short-lived. In 1345 the Scots again prepared to invade England, while Edward took all necessary measures for opposing them: however, this year the Scots were successful, ravaging Westmoreland, and burning several towns. The year ended with a new truce between the two nations; and hostilities were not renewed till 1346, when David entered England with an army of 50,000 men. His first exploit was the taking of the fortress of Liddel, and massacring all whom he found in it. The commander, Sir Walter Selby, capitulated with a Scots knight for his life; but the bargain being disapproved of by David, he ordered two of Selby's sons to be strangled in his presence, and then the father's head to be cut off. From thence the Scots marched to Lancroft, which they plundered; then passing into Northumberland, they pillaged the priory of Hexham, but spared the town, that it might serve as a magazine. Three other towns, Corbridge, Durham, and Darlington, were spared for the same reason. In his march to Durham, it is said that he would have made the county a desert, had not some of the monks paid him a contribution of a thousand pounds to spare their estates: however, according to Knyghton, every Englishman who fell into David's hands was put to death, unless he could redeem his life by paying threepence.

266 Monstrous of David.

To put a stop to the cruelties of this barbarous invader,

Scotland. der, the queen of England, in her husband's absence, assembled a powerful army, which was divided into four bodies; the first commanded by Lord Henry Percy; the second by the archbishop of York; the third by the bishop of Lincoln, the lord Moubray, and Sir Thomas Rokeby; and the fourth and principal division was headed by Edward Baliol.—The king of Scotland headed a chosen battalion, composed of the flower of his nobility, and the auxiliaries with which he had been supplied by France. The high steward of Scotland headed the second line; and the third was commanded by the earls of Moray and Douglas. While the English were approaching, Lord Douglas and Sir David Graham skirmished with them, but were defeated with the loss of 500 of their men; which seemed an omen of the disaster that was about to ensue. The general engagement began between the archers on both sides; but the English being much superior in the use of the bow, the steward of Scotland advanced to the relief of his countrymen. The English archers, unable to bear his attack, fell back upon Lord Henry Percy's division, which was thus put in confusion, and would have been totally defeated, had not Baliol advanced to their relief with a body of 4000 horse. The steward was then obliged to retire; by which means the flank of that division commanded by David, and which was then engaged with another line of the English, was left exposed to an attack. Baliol perceived the advantage; and, without pursuing the steward, attacked the king's division, which was speedily cut in pieces or dispersed. David was left with about 80 noblemen and gentlemen, but still maintained the fight with obstinacy; nor would he yield even when wounded in the head with an arrow, expecting every moment to be relieved by the steward and that line of his army which was still entire under the lords Moray and Douglas. At last finding himself totally overpowered, he attempted to retreat, but was overtaken by a party under one John Copeland. This captain, endeavouring to seize the king, had two of his teeth struck out by a blow of his gauntlet; but at last, finding it in vain to resist, the king was obliged to give up his sword and surrender himself a prisoner.—After he was taken, Baliol attacked and totally routed that division of the Scottish army which had hitherto remained under the lords Moray and Douglas. In this battle the Scots lost a great number of their nobility, and 15,000 common soldiers. Many persons of the first distinction were also taken with the king; and had it not been that the escape of the Scots was favoured by the avarice of the English soldiers, who neglected the pursuit in order to plunder, scarcely a single soldier would have returned.

267  
The battle  
of Durham.  
An. 1346.

268  
The Scots  
defeated,  
and their  
king taken  
prisoner.

269  
Account of  
King David  
after the  
battle.

King David, after this unfortunate battle, was carried to the castle of Bamborough, where he was kept with so much privacy, that for some time it was not known where he was, or that he had been taken prisoner. As soon as the truth was known, the queen of England demanded the royal prisoner from Copeland; but the latter positively refused to part with him even to the queen, unless she could produce an order to that purpose under Edward's hand and seal. This resolute behaviour was resented by the queen, and a complaint made to the king; in consequence of which Copeland was summoned to appear before Edward, after having resigned David to the custody of Lord Nevil. The

English monarch, at that time in France, approved of all that he had done, rewarded him with 500l. a year, and sent him back to England with the honour of knighthood. David was then escorted by Copeland, attended, it is said, by 20,000 men, from the castle of Ogle in Northumberland, till the Lord Nevil, by indenture, delivered him into the hands of Sir Thomas Rokeby sheriff of Yorkshire. In the same pompous manner he was conducted all the way to London, which he entered on a black courser. He was received in the capital with the greatest solemnity by the lord mayor and other magistrates, the city-companies under arms lining all the streets through which he passed, the houses loaded with spectators, who expressed a generous concern for his captivity. Being arrived at the Tower, he was delivered, by indenture likewise, to the custody of the constable, the Lord John Darcy, on the 2d of January 1347.

Baliol now, encouraged by the misfortune of his rival, made an effort once more to establish himself on the throne of Scotland; and before the end of the year reduced the castles of Hermitage and Roxburgh, the forest of Ettric, the Merse, with the districts of Annandale, Teviotdale, and Tweeddale. The Scots continued faithful to the cause of their king, notwithstanding his misfortunes, and chose the Steward for the guardian of the kingdom. He behaved with a prudence equal to the high station which he filled: but the progress of Baliol was so rapid, that it is scarcely probable he could have maintained his ground, had not Edward again consented to a truce; which, however, seems to have been ill observed on the part of the Scots. In fact, though both Scots and English historians are silent as to particulars, we find, that about the end of the year 1348, all Scotland was recovered out of the hands of the English; excepting Berwick, Roxburgh, Hermitage, and Lamie, which was part of Baliol's hereditary estate, and defended by him with an army. The Scots historians inform us, that the English, in revenge for the damages done to their country by the breach of the peace, proclaimed a tournament and other military exercises at Berwick, to which they invited the Scots; but in their way thither the latter fell into an ambuscade, and were all cut in pieces.

The years 1349 and 1350 were remarkable only for a dreadful plague which invaded Scotland, after having ravaged the continent of Europe. According to Fordun, one-third of the people of Scotland perished at this time. The patient's flesh swelled exceedingly, and he died in two days illness; but the mortality affected chiefly the middling and lower ranks of people. The same dreadful calamity continued throughout the years 1351 and 1352; occasioning a cessation of arms not only in Scotland, but throughout all Europe.

All this time King David remained a prisoner in England; for though several treaties had been proposed, they had hitherto come to nothing, because the English monarch insisted upon being indemnified for the ravages which the Scots had committed in his territories. At last it was agreed, that the king of Scotland should be immediately set at liberty, on paying 90,000 merks for his ransom, by equal proportions, within the space of nine years: That 10,000 merks, being the first proportion, should be paid at the feast of Candlemas next to come, the second at Candlemas 1357, and so on till complete

Scotland.

270  
Baliol  
makes another  
attempt on  
the crown  
of Scotland.  
An. 1347.

271  
The Scots  
recover the  
greatest  
part of their  
country.  
An. 1348.

272  
Scotland  
invaded  
with a  
dreadful  
plague.  
An. 1349  
to 1352.

273  
Terms proposed  
for the  
ransom of the  
Scottish monarch.

Scotland. plete payment should be made of the whole: That, during the said space of nine years, there should be a truce between the two kingdoms: That 20 Scots gentlemen, of the best families in the kingdom, should remain in England as hostages and sureties for the said sum; and that, if any part thereof was not paid at the precise time appointed, then David should remain a prisoner in England till it was paid; or, if he was detained by any just cause, that the lord high steward, the lord Douglas, John of the Isles, and others of the highest rank, should come and supply his place.

274 Rejected by the nobility, and war recommenced. An. 1355. These terms were rejected by the Scots nobility; and, in 1355, war was recommenced with England, at the instigation of France, who sent 40,000 crowns to Scotland as a supply for defraying the expences.

275 Berwick taken by the Scots. With this sum the guardian, having raised any army, once more took the field; but not before the English that destroyed the Lothians and Duglasdale. A battle was fought on Nisbit-moor: in which the English being drawn into an ambuscade, were totally defeated. The next attempt of the Scots was against the town of Berwick, which they designed to surprize by an esca- lade. They met, however, with such a vigorous resistance, that many persons of distinction were killed. The attack proved successful; but the acquisition was of no great importance, as the castle still held out. Edward, in the mean time, hearing of the loss of the town, hurried back from France to London. Here he staid but three days, and marched northward to raise the siege. He reached Durham on the 23d of December 1355, where he appointed all his military tenants to meet him on the 1st of January 1356. On the 14th of the same month he arrived before Berwick, which was instantly retaken; but the Scots were allowed to depart for their own country. The reduction of this place produced an extraordinary effect: for Baliol now perceiving that Edward meant not to establish him on the throne of Scotland, but to retain in his own possession as many places of that country as he could, came at last to the resolution of giving up to the king of England the whole of Scotland. This indeed was no more than a form, because at that time he was not possessed of the kingdom. However, the ceremony was performed at Roxburgh; and Baliol presented his crown and some earth and stones by way of investiture. Baliol in return was to have a revenue of 2000 pounds a-year; and as Edward was at the head of an excellent army, he had little doubt of being able to force the Scots to submit.

276 Retaken by Edward. An. 1356. The affairs of Scotland were now in a very critical situation; and it was necessary to gain time. For this reason Edward was amused with a negotiation; and to this he the more willingly listened, as he was at that time waiting for his fleet, from which he had great expectations. A little time, however, discovered the deceit. The Scots plainly told Edward, that they would die rather than submit to his demands; and he, in return, threatened a most dreadful revenge. His fleet in the mean time arrived in the frith of Forth; the mariners destroyed and pillaged all that was within their reach, without sparing even the sacred edifices, carrying off the statues of the blessed virgin, loading the monks with chains, and committing every thing in those days called impiety and sacrilege. Edward had by this time marched as far as Haddington, but was obliged to re-

277 Baliol re- signs the kingdom of Scotland to Edward. ceive provisions all the way from his fleet; for the Scots had desolated the country through which he passed. During his march his army was harassed, and his foragers cut off, so that he was reduced to distress; and at last his fleet being totally destroyed by a storm, he was obliged to return to England without accomplishing any thing.

278 Who makes a furious invasion. In the mean time the prince of Wales, who had been left by his father to carry on the war in France, defeated and took prisoner John king of France at the battle of Poitiers. In this battle were 3000 Scots, who had gone over as auxiliaries to the French monarch, and who suffered extremely. However, the success of Edward, instead of rendering him haughty, seemed to have a contrary effect; and, by the mediation of Pope Innocent a truce for two years was concluded with France, in which the Scots were comprehended. During this interval, the ransom of the king of Scots was settled at 150,000 merks to be paid in ten years; for which 20 hostages were to be given as formerly. In consequence of this treaty, David at last obtained his liberty in 1358; and Edward laid aside all hopes of ever subduing Scotland. As for Baliol, he was now sunk in oblivion; and it is not known what became of him, or when he died.

Scotland. David, though now restored to liberty, found himself greatly embarrassed with the payment of such a large sum as had been stipulated for his ransom; the kingdom of Scotland being then in a most miserable and exhausted situation. After sending his queen, and going into England himself, he could obtain no greater favour than a respite of a few months for the payment of the second moiety; so that he was at last constrained to ask assistance from France. This could scarcely be expected in the distressed situation of that kingdom; however, it was at last agreed, that 50,000 marks should be paid to Scotland, in case the Scots would consent to renew the war the following year. Neither party, however, kept their word; and David, being still greatly distressed about the remainder of his ransom, at last entered into a very extraordinary negociation with Edward, by which he consented that the king of England should be his successor to the throne of Scotland. But this negociation was defeated through the invincible hatred which the Scots bore to an English governor. David then, being entirely unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom, was obliged to enter into a new treaty; by which the kingdom of Scotland became indebted to Edward the sum of 100,000 pounds Sterling, to be paid by equal proportions within the space of 25 years, during which there should be a truce between the two nations.

279 But is obliged to return without accomplishing any thing. From this time we meet with little more of any moment in the reign of King David. After the death of his queen Johanna, the sister of Edward, he married a Scots woman, of mean birth, named Margaret Logie; but by neither of his wives had he any children. Queen Margaret he divorced, on what pretence is not known; but she left the kingdom, and complained personally to the pope, who treated her as David's lawful wife, and enjoined her husband to receive her as such under the most severe penalties. What effect these threats had on the king is not known; but it is certain that Margaret never returned to Scotland; and, on the 22d of February 1371, David himself died, leaving the kingdom

280 David obtains his liberty. An. 1358. 281 Is embarrassed by the payment of his ransom. 282 Enters into a new treaty with Edward. 283 He dies, and is succeeded by Robert Stewart. An. 1371.

Scotland. to his nephew Robert Stewart, the first of that family who sat on the throne of Scotland (κ).

Some authors tell us, that at the accession of Robert II. his title was disputed by William earl of Douglas. If any such claim was preferred, an assembly of the states set it aside, and it was resolved that Robert should be crowned at Scone; and to take away for the future all disputes concerning the succession, a particular act was framed, by which the kingdom was secured to Robert and his heirs.

284  
Treaty with  
France.

The new king being thus established on the throne, endeavoured to renew the war with the English, in order to recover from them the town of Berwick, and some other places on the borders. In this, however, he failed; and as 56,000 pounds of David's ransom still remained unpaid, Robert bound himself to discharge it at the rate of 4000 merks every midsummer. He then proposed an alliance with France; but the terms demanded by that kingdom being, that Scotland should be obliged to make war with England whenever France should require it, Robert could not by any means be induced to consent to such a requisition, which would have obliged him to break through the most solemn treaties, whenever the king of France should think proper to break with England. A new treaty, therefore, was entered into, by which it was provided, that neither Scotland nor France should be obliged to make war with England; and by another clause, that the dispensation or authority even of the pope himself should never free the kings or kingdoms of France and Scotland from the obligations they lay under to assist one another, as often as required, in opposition to the kingdom of England. In case of a competition for the crown of Scotland, the king of France and his heirs were to take care that no English influence was used; but that the matter being by the greatest and best part of the nation decided conformably to the laws and establishments of Scotland, he should with all his power defend and assist the person so established. Lastly, it was agreed that no Frenchman should ever henceforth serve for wages, or otherwise, against Scotland, nor any Scotsman against France.

285  
War be-  
twixt the  
Scots and  
English  
borderers.

This last article occasioned a recal of all the Scots from the English armies, which Edward looked upon to be a prelude to an invasion. He accordingly issued writs for assembling all the militia in the north of England. At this time there subsisted between the neighbouring people of both nations an invincible hatred, which extended not only through the lower ranks, but had pervaded the higher classes also. The inhabitants of the borders, indeed, paid very little regard to the orders of their respective sovereigns; so that daily hostilities were committed by them upon each other when there was peace between the sovereigns. The inhabitants of these countries had established with one another certain conventions, which have since been collected, and go by the name of the *Border-laws*. The families of Douglas and Percy, whose estates lay contiguous to one another, were at perpetual variance. It had been common for the borderers of both kingdoms, during a truce, to frequent each others fairs; and a servant of the earl of

March had been killed in a fray at that of Roxburgh, Scotland. which was still in the hands of the English. Justice for this murder was demanded from Lord Percy; but he slighted the complaint. On this the earl of March, with his brother the earl of Moray, assembling their followers, entered the next fair that was held in Roxburgh, plundered and burnt the town, and killed all the English who fell into their hands. The English borderers were ordered to lay waste the lands of the earl of March; but, in their way thither, destroyed the estate of Sir John Gordon, a man of great property in the south of Scotland. Sir John in his turn invaded England, from whence he drove off a large booty in cattle, and a number of prisoners. In his retreat he was attacked by a body of fresh troops under Sir John Lisburn, at a place called *Caram*. An obstinate encounter followed. The Scots were five times repulsed; but at last they renewed the charge with such fury, that they made Lisburn, his brother, and several other persons of distinction, prisoners, together with all their surviving soldiers. On this Lord Percy with 7000 men encamped at Duns, in the south of Scotland; but was obliged to retire, probably for want of subsistence for his army. In the mean time, Musgrave, the governor of Berwick, who had been ordered to join Percy with a detachment from the garrison, was on his march intercepted, defeated, and taken prisoner by Sir John Gordon; after which the border war became general on both sides. The issue of these disturbances is but little known; however, in 1377, we find them raging with more violence than ever. The fair of Roxburgh was once more the scene of action, and the town was again burnt by the Scots. Lord Percy, who was now earl of Northumberland, resolved to take signal vengeance. He ravaged the Scots borders, particularly the earl of March's estate, for three days, at the head of 10,000 men. Some time after this, the Scots insurgents became powerful enough to surprise Berwick; which, however, was quickly retaken by the English, who soon after invaded Scotland. In this expedition, however, they succeeded so ill, that Percy thought proper to desist from his expedition. The Scots in the mean time began hostilities by sea, under one Mercer, an experienced sailor; but he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the English, with all his fleet. In 1379, England was afflicted with a dreadful plague, of which the Scots took advantage to invade the country. The English historians tell us that they behaved with the utmost barbarity, killing and plundering the defenceless inhabitants without mercy.

286  
Berwick  
taken and  
retaken.

This predatory war continued, generally to the disadvantage of the English, till the beginning of November 1380, when a truce was concluded, to continue for a year; which, however, related only to the borders. This truce, like the others, was but very indifferently observed; so that, in 1383, new negotiations were set on foot: but, in 1384, the war was renewed with greater fury than ever. In the spring, the earls of March and Douglas took the castle of Lochmaben, and intercepted a rich convoy which the English were sending Roxburgh; burnt to the ground the castle of Wark, and

An. 1380.

Scotland. and committed such devastations in the north of England, that several gentlemen offered to resign their estates to King Richard, because they were not able to defend them against the Scots. The duke of Lancaster entered Scotland at the head of an army; but the inhabitants had removed every thing valuable, so that he marched on to Edinburgh without accomplishing any thing of consequence. On his return, he was harassed by flying parties of Scots, who destroyed a considerable number of his men. This year also the French sent a body of auxiliaries into Scotland. The earls of Northumberland and Nottingham entered Scotland with an army of 10,000 horse and 6000 archers; but retired, after having committed some devastations in the southern counties. The Scots revenged themselves by laying waste all the northern part of England to the gates of Newcastle. Berwick was taken by the Scots, and soon after surrendered for the sum of 2000 merks. A truce was then, as usual, concluded; but in the mean time King Robert was meditating a most severe blow against the English.

287  
Formidable  
invasion of  
England  
projected.

The duke of Burgundy having come to the possession of the estate of his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, claimed the sovereignty of the town of Ghent; but they refused to submit to him, and in this refusal were protected by King Richard II. of England. On this the duke of Burgundy proposed to the French court to invade England in concert with the Scots.—This being agreed to, a fleet was fitted out at Sluys; on board of which John de Vienne, the French admiral, embarked, carrying along with him 50,000 pounds in gold, which the duke of Burgundy advanced in order to be distributed in Scotland, where the admiral arrived safe with a considerable reinforcement, together with supplies of all kinds of military stores. Two thousand auxiliaries, of whom 500 were men-at-arms, arrived with this fleet; and 400 suits of complete armour were brought along with them, in order to be distributed among the bravest of the Scots.

288  
But comes  
to nothing.

The Scots were for a short time elated with the great attention which had been paid them by the French king; but, in the mean time, the Flemings having revolted, the French abandoned the Scots to sustain the whole weight of the English resentment, that they themselves might employ their arms in Flanders. King Richard took the field with a more numerous army than had ever been mustered in England before. Hostilities were begun by the Scots, who, according to custom, invaded the northern parts of England, and carried off a considerable booty: however, in their retreat, they were in the utmost danger of being cut off by the duke of Lancaster, who had been sent with an army to intercept them. The English army proceeded northwards; but could accomplish nothing, on account of the country being desolated, till they came to Edinburgh, which they laid in ashes. Being, however, incessantly harassed by parties of the enemy, they were obliged to retreat.

Nothing remarkable happened till the year 1388, when, after a short truce, the war was renewed with fresh fury. Northumberland and Westmoreland were ravaged by the earls of Fife and Douglas, and Lord Nithsdale defeated a body of 3000 English; after which he formed the plan of invading Ireland, the inhabitants

of which had of late been very active against the Scots. In 1388, Douglas obtained permission to raise a body of forces for this invasion; and having landed in safety, defeated the Irish, plundered the town of Carlingford, and loaded 15 ships with the booty. From thence the Scots failed to the isle of Man, which in like manner was plundered and laid waste; after which they returned with their booty to Loch Rian in Scotland.

Encouraged by this success, Robert determined to proceed on a more enlarged plan. Having assembled a parliament at Aberdeen, a double invasion of England was resolved upon. Two armies were raised; the one consisting of 25,000 men, commanded by the earls of Mentieth and Fife, Douglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindsay; the other army, consisting of the like number, was commanded by the earls of Douglas, March, Crawford, Moray, the lord high constable of Scotland, and other persons of distinction. The former entered Cumberland, and the latter Northumberland, both which countries they laid waste, and both armies were to meet within ten miles of Newcastle. The English were thrown into the greatest consternation. Newcastle was defended by the earl of Northumberland, whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of taking the field; but his place was abundantly supplied by his two sons Henry and Ralph, the former of whom is known in English history by the name of *Hotspur*. The town was garrisoned by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, as well as the inhabitants of the adjacent countries, who had fled thither for refuge. Douglas selected 2000 foot and 300 horsemen out of the two armies, and encamped on the north side of the town, with a view, according to the Scots historians, of storming it next day. In the mean time, he was challenged by Hotspur to fight him hand to hand, with sharp ground spears, in sight of both armies. Douglas accepted the challenge, and Percy was unhorsed the first encounter, and obliged to take refuge within the portcullis or gate of the town; from whence Douglas brought off his antagonist's lance, with a pennon affixed to it, and swore in his hearing that he would carry it into Scotland. Next day Douglas attempted to storm the town; but, being repulsed in the attack, he decamped in the night. Percy, breathing furious revenge, pursued and overtook the Scots at Otterburn. His arrival was quite unexpected, so that the principal commanders of the Scottish army were sitting down to supper unarmed. The soldiers, however, were instantly prepared for battle; but in the hurry necessarily attending a surprise of this kind, Douglas forgot to put on his cuirass. Both leaders encouraged their men by the most animating speeches; and both parties waited for the rise of the moon, which happened that night to be unusually bright. The battle being joined on the moon's first appearance, the Scots began to give ground; but, being rallied by Douglas, who fought with a battle-axe, the English, though greatly superior in number, were totally routed. Twelve hundred were killed on the spot; and 100 persons of distinction, among whom were the two Percies, were made prisoners by Keith marshal of Scotland. On the side of the Scots the greatest loss was that of the brave Earl Douglas, who was killed in consequence of going to battle without his armour, as above related. It was this single combat

Scotland?

289  
England  
invaded by  
two Scots  
armies at  
once.

An. 1388.

290  
Single combat  
between  
Earl Douglas  
and  
Henry Percy.

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291  
Battle of  
Otterburn.

292  
The English  
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and Earl  
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bat

Scotland. bat between Douglas and Percy, and the subsequent battle, which gave rise to the celebrated battle of Chevy Chase.

In the mean time the bishop of Durham was marching towards Newcastle with an army of 10,000 men; but was informed by the runaways of Percy's defeat, which happened on the 21st of July 1388. In a council of war it was resolved to pursue the Scots, whom they hoped easily to vanquish, as being wearied with the battle of the preceding day, and laden with plunder. The earl of Moray, who commanded in chief, having called a consultation of his officers, resolved to venture a battle. The prisoners were almost as numerous as the whole Scots army; however, the generals required no more of them than their words of honour that they should continue inactive during the battle, and remain prisoners still. This condition being complied with, the Scots drew out their army for battle.—Their rear was secured by marshes, and their flanks by large trees which they had felled. In short, their appearance was so formidable, that the English, dreading to encounter a resolute enemy so strongly secured, retired to Newcastle, leaving the Scots at liberty to continue their march to their own country.

Robert being now oppressed with age, so that he could no longer endure the fatigues of government, the administration of affairs devolved on his second son the earl of Fife; for his eldest son was by nature indolent, and besides lame by an unlucky blow he had received from a horse. Early in the spring of 1389, he invaded England with success: but the same year a truce was concluded, to last from the 19th of June 1389 to the 16th of August 1392; in which the allies of both crowns were included. This truce was violently opposed by the nobility, who suspected their king of being too much under French influence. Upon this the court of France thought proper to send over ambassadors to persuade the nobility to comply; informing them, that in case of a refusal, they could expect no assistance either of men or money from the continent. With difficulty they prevailed, and peace between England and Scotland was once more restored. Scarcely, however, was this truce finished, when the peace of the nation was most scandalously violated by Robert's fourth son Alexander, the earl of Buchan, commonly called the *wolf of Badenoch*, from his savage disposition. This prince having a quarrel with the bishop of Murray, burnt the fine cathedral of Elgin, which has been called by historians the lantern and ornament of the north of Scotland. The king for this crime caused his son to be imprisoned; and a civil war would have been the consequence, had it not been for the veneration which the Scots retained for their old king. However, they did not long enjoy their beloved monarch; for he died on the 19th of April 1390, in the 75th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign.

<sup>293</sup>  
Robert II. dies, and is succeeded by Robert III.

An. 1390.

On the death of Robert II. the crown devolved upon his eldest son John; but the name being thought unlucky in Scotland, he changed it for that of Robert, though he was still called by the commonalty *Robert John Fernzieir*. He had been married to Annabella, the daughter of Sir John Drummond, ancestor to the noble family of Perth; and was crowned along with his consort at Scone, on the 13th of August 1390. He confirmed the truce which had been entered into with

England, and renewed the league with France; but the beginning of his reign was disturbed by the wars of the petty chieftains with each other. Duncan Stewart, son to Alexander earl of Buchan, who had died in prison for burning the cathedral of Elgin, assembling his followers under pretence of revenging his father's death, laid waste the county of Angus. Walter Ogilvy, the sheriff of Angus, attempting to repel the invaders, was killed, with his brother and 60 of their followers. The king then gave a commission to the earl of Crawford to suppress them; which he soon did, and most of them were either killed or executed. The followers of the earl of Buchan were composed of the wildest Highlanders, distinguished by the title of *Catterenes*, which answered to that of banditti. That such a race of people existed is certain from the records of Scotland; but it is not easy to determine how they obtained their subsistence, being void of the knowledge of agriculture and of every civil art. There is some reason to believe that many of them came from the Western isles; and that they or their ancestors had emigrated from the eastern parts of Ireland. The lands which they inhabited were never cultivated till towards the middle of the 17th century; and, according to the most authentic accounts, they lived entirely upon animal food.

Scotland. <sup>294</sup> Rebellion of the earl of Buchan.

<sup>295</sup> Account of the Catterenes.

The earl of Crawford's success against the followers of Buchan encouraged Robert to intrust him with a commission for subduing other insurgents by whom the peace of the country was disturbed. The most remarkable of these were the *Clan Chattan* and *Clan Kay*. As both these tribes were numerous and brave, Crawford was not without apprehensions that they might unite against him as a common enemy, and defeat him if he attempted to suppress them by force. He proposed, therefore, that the two rival clans should each choose 30 men, to determine their differences by the sword, without being allowed the use of any other weapon. The king and his nobility were to be spectators of the combat; the conquered clan were to be pardoned for all their former offences, and the conquerors honoured with the royal favour. This proposal was readily accepted by both parties, and the north inch of Perth was to be the scene of action. But, upon mustering the combatants, it was found that one of them, belonging to the clan Chattan, had absented himself. It was proposed to balance this difference by withdrawing one of the combatants from the clan Kay; but not one of them could be prevailed on to resign his place. At last one Henry Wynd, a saddler, though no way connected with either party, offered to supply the place of him that was absent, on condition of his receiving a French crown of gold (about 7s. 6d. of our money); which was immediately paid him. The combat then began with incredible fury; but at last, through the superior valour and skill of Henry Wynd, victory declared in favour of the clan Chattan. Only ten of the conquerors, besides Wynd, were left alive; and all of them desperately wounded. Of the clan Kay only one remained; and he having received no hurt escaped by swimming across the Tay.

<sup>296</sup> Battle between the champions of the clan Chattan and clan Kay.

While these internal broils were going on, the truce which had lately been concluded with England was so ill observed, that it became necessary to enter into fresh negotiations. These, like others which had taken place before, had very little effect. The borderers on both

sides

Scotland. sides had been so accustomed to ravage and plunder, that they could not live in quiet. King Robert also was thought to be too much attached to the king of England. He had introduced the new title of *duke*, which he bestowed first on the prince royal, whom he created duke of Rothesay; but making an offer of that honour to one of the heads of the Douglas family, it was rejected with disdain. That powerful family had never lost sight of an ancient claim they had upon the castle of Roxburgh, which was still in the possession of the English; and this year the son of the earl of Douglas, Sir William Stewart, and others, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, plundered the town, and destroyed the forage and corn there and in the neighbouring country. The English applied for satisfaction; but obtained none, as the confusion which involved the kingdom by the deposition of Richard II. and the accession of Henry IV. prevented them from having recourse to arms, the only argument to which the Scots patriots in those days would listen.

An. 1398. No sooner was the catastrophe of Richard known in Scotland than they resolved to avail themselves of it; and invading the north parts of England, demolished the castle of Wark, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. The situation of Henry's affairs did not admit of his resenting this insult. He contented himself with nominating the earl of Westmoreland, to treat with the Scots about a truce or peace; or, if that could not be obtained, to make a mutual agreement, that the towns of Dumfries in Scotland, and Penrith in England, should be free from hostilities during the war. To this proposal the Scots paid no regard; and being encouraged by the court of France, who resented the deposition of Richard, they renewed their ravages in England. In 1400, the king of England called a parliament, in order to consult on the most proper means of repelling the Scottish invasions; and in this he was greatly assisted by the divisions of the Scots among themselves. The duke of Rothesay, the heir-apparent of the crown, was now grown up to man's estate, and it was thought proper to provide a suitable consort for him. The king is said to have scandalously put up his son's marriage at auction, and offered him to the lady whose father could give him the highest price. The earl of March was the highest bidder; and advanced a considerable sum in ready money, on condition that his daughter should become the royal bride.—This sordid match was opposed by Douglas, who proposed his own daughter the lady Margery. So degenerate was the court of Scotland at this time, that neither the king nor the duke of Rothesay opposed this proposal of a new match, because it was to be purchased with a cash sum; and they even refused to indemnify the earl of March for the money he had already advanced.

As the duke of Albany sided with Douglas, a council of the nobility was privately assembled, which annulled the contract of the lady Elizabeth Dunbar, the earl of March's daughter, in favour of the lady Margery, daughter to the earl of Douglas; but without taking any measures for repaying the money to the earl of March. The continuator of Fordun informs us, that the earl of Douglas paid a larger sum for his daughter's fortune than that which had been advanced by the earl of March, and that the earl of Douglas's daughter was married to the duke of Rothesay: that

before the marriage was celebrated, March demanded that the money he had advanced should be reimbursed; but receiving an unsatisfactory answer, he declared, that as the king had not fulfilled his bargain, he would bring unexpected calamities upon the country. Accordingly he fled into England, leaving his castle of Dunbar to the custody of his nephew Robert Maitland, who soon after put it into the hands of the earl of Douglas, called in history *Archibald the Grim*, from the sternness of his visage.

As soon as Robert heard of the revolt of the earl of March, he sent ambassadors demanding back his subject; but the request was disregarded. On the other hand, the earl of March demanded repossession of the castle of Dunbar, pleading, that he had committed no act of treason, but had come to England under a safe conduct from King Henry, on purpose to negotiate his private affairs: but this request was disregarded; on which he sent for all his family and followers to England, where they joined him in great numbers. This produced a war between the two kingdoms. The earl of March, with Henry Percy furnished, invaded Scotland, penetrating as far as Haddington, and carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. Thence they went to Peebles, and then to Linton, ravaging the country as they passed along. They next besieged the castle of Hales, and took several of the neighbouring forts; but Archibald the Grim, or rather his son, having raised an army against them, they were struck with terror, and fled to Berwick, to the gates of which they were pursued by the Scots. At this time the Scottish admiral, Sir Robert Logan, was at sea with a squadron; but miscarried in an attempt he made on some English ships of war that protected their fleet while fishing on the coast of Scotland. After this the English plundered the Orkney islands; which, though belonging to the crown of Norway, were at that time governed, or rather farmed, by Sinclair the Scots earl of Orkney and Caithness.

All this time the earl of March continued under the protection of the king of England. He had received repeated invitations to return to his allegiance; but all of them being rejected, he was proclaimed a traitor; and the Scottish governor made a formal demand of him from King Henry. With this the latter not only refused to comply, but renewed his league with the lord of the isles. He pretended also, that at this time he had intercepted some letters from the Scottish regency, which called him "a traitor in the highest degree;" and he alleged this as a reason why he protected not only the earl of March, but the lord of the isles.

On the 25th of July 1400, the earl of March renounced his homage, fealty, and service, to the king of Scotland, and transferred them to Henry by a formal indenture. For this the earl was rewarded with a pension of 500 merks sterling, and the manor of Clipestone in Sherwood forest. Henry now began to revive the claim of homage from the kings of Scotland, and even projects the conquest of the kingdom. He had indeed many reasons to hope for success; the principal of which were, the weakness of the Scottish government, the divided state of the royal family, and the dissensions among the chief nobility. For this purpose he made great

297  
Title of  
duke intro-  
duced into  
Scotland.

An. 1398.

An. 1400.

298  
Mercenary  
behaviour  
of Robert  
with regard  
to his son's  
marriage.

299  
Earl of  
March re-  
volts.

Scotland.

300  
Invasion of  
Scotland by  
Henry Percy.

301  
Henry IV.  
projects the  
conquest of  
Scotland.

Scotland. great preparations both by sea and land; but before he set out on his journey, he received a letter from the duke of Rothesay, full of reproaches on account of the presumptuous letters which Henry had addressed to Robert and his nobility. The letter was addressed by the duke to his adversary of England, as the Scots had not yet recognized the title of Henry to the crown of England. Towards the end of it the duke, according to the custom of the times, desired Henry, in order to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, to fight him in person with two, three, or a hundred noblemen on a side. But this challenge produced no other answer from Henry, than that "he was surpris'd that the duke of Rothesay should consider noble blood as not being *Christian*, since he desired the effusion of the one, and not of the other." Henry arrived at Leith on the very day on which he had appointed the Scottish nobility to meet him and pay their homage, and conclude a peace between the two crowns. In all probability, he expected to have been joined by great numbers of the discontented Scots; and he flattered the English with a promise of raising the power and glory of their country to a higher pitch than it had ever yet known. Under this pretext, he seized on the sum of 350,000 pounds in ready money, besides as much in plate and jewels, which had been left by Richard in the royal treasury. He raised also vast contributions on the clergy and nobility, and on the principal towns and cities. At last, finding that neither his vast preparations, nor the interest of the earl of March, had brought any of the Scots to his standard, he laid siege to Edinburgh castle, which was defended by the duke of Rothesay, and, as some say, by the earl of Douglas. The duke of Albany, brother to King Robert, was then in the field with an army, and sent a letter to King Henry, promising, that if he would remain where he was for six days, he would give him battle, and force him to raise the siege, or lose his life. When this was written, the duke was at Calder muir; and Henry was so much pleased with the letter, that he presented the herald who delivered it with his upper garment, and a chain of gold; promising, on his royal word, that he would remain where he was until the appointed day. On this occasion, however, the duke forfeited his honour; for he suffered six days to elapse without making any attempt on the English army.

302  
But fails  
in his at-  
tempt.

Henry, in the mean time, pushed on the siege of Edinburgh castle; but met with such a vigorous resistance from the duke of Rothesay, that the hopes of reducing it were but small. At the same time he was informed that the Welsh were on the point of rebellion under the famous chieftain *Owen Glendower*. He knew also that many of the English were highly dissatisfied with his title to the crown; and that he owed his peaceable possession of it to the moderation of Mortimer, also called the earl of March, who was the real heir to the unfortunate Richard, but a nobleman of no ambition. For these reasons he concluded it best to raise the siege of Edinburgh castle, and return to England. He then agreed to a truce for six weeks, but which was afterwards prolonged, probably for a year, by the commissioners of the two crowns, who met at Kelfo.

In 1401, Scotland suffered a great loss by the death of Walter Trail, the archbishop of St Andrew's, a most

exemplary patriot, and a person of great influence. Archibald Douglas the Grim had died some time before, and his loss was now severely felt; for the king himself, naturally feeble, and now quite disabled by age and infirmities, was sequestered from the world in such a manner, that we know not even the place of his residence during the last invasion of Scotland by the English. This year also Queen Anabella died, so that none remained who were able to heal those divisions which prevailed among the royal family. Robert duke of Albany, a man of great ambition, was an enemy to the duke of Rothesay, the heir-apparent to the crown; and endeavoured, for obvious reasons, to impress his father with a bad opinion of him. This prince, however, appears to have been chargeable with no misdemeanour of any consequence, except his having debauched, under promise of marriage, the daughter of William Lindsay of Rossy. But this is not supported by any credible evidence; and, though it had been true, could never have justified the horrid treatment he met with, and which we are now to relate.

One Ramorgny, a man of the vilest principles, but an attendant on the duke of Rothesay, had won his confidence; and, perceiving how much he resented the conduct of his uncle the duke of Albany, had the villainy to suggest to the prince the dispatching him by assassination. The prince rejected this infamous proposal with such horror and displeasure, that the villain, being afraid he would disclose it to the duke of Albany, informed the latter, under the seal of the most inviolable secrecy, that the prince intended to murder him; on which the duke, and William Lindsay of Rossy his associate in the treason, resolved on the prince's death. By practising on the doating king, Lindsay and Ramorgny obtained a writ directed to the duke of Albany, empowering him to arrest his son, and to keep him under restraint, in order for his amendment. The same traitors had previously possessed the prince with an apprehension that his life was in danger, and had persuaded him to seize the castle of St Andrew's, and keep possession of it during the vacancy of that see. Robert had nominated one of his bastard brethren, who was then deacon of St Andrew's, to that bishopric: but being a person no way fitted for such a dignity, he declined the honour, and the chapter refused to elect any other during his lifetime; so that the prince had a prospect of possessing the castle for some time. He was riding thither with a small attendance, when he was arrested between the towns of Nidi and Strairum (according to the continuator of Fordun), and hurried to the very castle of which he was preparing to take possession.

The duke of Albany, and the earl of Douglas, who was likewise the prince's enemy, were then at Culross, waiting the event of their detestable conspiracy; of which they were no sooner informed, than they ordered a strong body of ruffians to carry the royal captive from the castle of St Andrew's; which they did, after clothing him in a russet cloak, mounting him on a very sorry horse, and committing him to the custody of two execrable wretches, John Selkirk and John Wright, who were ordered by the duke of Albany to starve him to death. According to Buchanan, his fate was for some time prolonged by the compassion of one of his keeper's daughters, who thrust thin oaten cakes through the chinks

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who is  
starved to  
death.



Scotland. chinks of his prison-walls, and by a woman who, being a wet nurse, found means to convey part of her milk to him through a small tube. Both these charitable females were detected, and put to death; the young lady's inhuman father being himself the prosecutor. The prince himself died a few days after, on Easter-eve, his hunger having impelled him to devour part of his own flesh.

In the mean time, Robert, being yet ignorant of the murder of his son, had renewed, or rather consented to renew, hostilities with England. On the expiration of the truce, Henry had sent a commission to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to offer the Scots any terms they could reasonably desire; but every offer of this kind being rejected, there was a necessity for renewing hostilities. The earl of March had received another pension from Henry, on condition of his keeping on foot a certain number of light troops to act against the Scots. This had been done; and so effectually did these now annoy their enemies, that the earl of Douglas was obliged to take the field against them. By dividing his men into small parties, he repressed the depredations of these invaders; and Thomas Haliburton, the commander of one of the Scottish parties, made incursions into England as far as Bamborough, from whence he returned with a considerable booty. This encouraged another chieftain, Patrick Hepburn, to make a similar attempt: but being elated with his success, he remained too long in the enemy's country; so that the earl of March had time to send a detachment to intercept him on his return. This produced a desperate encounter, in which Hepburn was killed; the flower of the youth of Lothian, who had attended in this expedition, were cut off, and scarcely a single Scotman remained unwounded.

On the news of this disaster, the earl of Douglas applied to the duke of Albany for assistance. He was immediately furnished with a considerable army, according to some, consisting of 10,000; according to others of 13,000; and according to the English historians, of 20,000 men. Murdoc, the son of the duke, attended the earl on this expedition, as did also the earls of Moray, Angus, Orkney, and many others of the chief nobility, with 80 knights. The Scots on this occasion conducted themselves with the same imprudence as before. Having penetrated too far into the country they were intercepted by the English on their return, and obliged to engage at a place called *Homeldon*, under great disadvantages. The consequence was, that they were utterly defeated, and almost the whole army either killed or taken.

Henry Hotspur, to whom chiefly this victory was owing, resolving to pursue the advantage he had gained, entered the southern parts of the kingdom, and laid siege to a castle called *Cocklawys*, on the borders of Teviotdale. The castle was for some time bravely defended: but at last the governor entered into a treaty, by which he agreed to deliver up the castle, in case it was not relieved by the king or governor in six weeks; during which time no additional fortifications were to be made. But while the English were retiring, one of Percy's soldiers pretended that the Scots had broken the capitulation, by introducing a mattock into the place. The governor, hearing of this charge, offered to fight any Englishman who should engage to make it good.

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A champion was accordingly singled out, but was defeated by the Scotsman; and the English army retired according to agreement. The matter then being debated in the Scottish council, it was resolved to send relief to the castle. Accordingly the duke of Albany, with a powerful army, set out for the place; but before he came there, certain news were received of the defeat and death of Hotspur, at Shrewsbury, as related under the article ENGLAND, N<sup>o</sup> 182.

In the year 1404, King Henry, exceedingly desirous of a peace with Scotland, renewed his negotiations for that purpose. These, however, not being attended with success, hostilities were still continued, but without any remarkable transaction on either side. In the mean time, King Robert was informed of the miserable fate of his eldest son the duke of Rothesay; but was unable to resent it by executing justice on such a powerful murderer. After giving himself up to grief, therefore, for some time, he resolved to provide for the safety of his second son James, by sending him into France. This scheme was not communicated to the duke of Albany; and the young prince took shipping with all imaginable secrecy at the Bass, under the care of the earl of Orkney. On his voyage he was taken by an English privateer off Flamborough-head, and brought before Henry. The English monarch having examined the attendants of the prince, they told him that they were carrying the prince to France for his education. "I understand the French tongue (replied Henry), and your countrymen ought to have been kind enough to have trusted me with their prince's education." He then committed the prince and his attendants close prisoners to the tower of London. The news of this disaster arrived at the castle of Rothesay in the isle of Bute (the place of Robert's residence) while the king was at supper. The news threw him into such an agony of grief, that he died in three days, the 29th of March 1405, after having reigned nearly 15 years.

By the death of Robert, and the captivity of the prince, all the regal power devolved on the duke of Albany, who was appointed regent by a convention of the states assembled at Scone. The allegiance of the people, however, to their captive prince could not be shaken; so that the regent was obliged to raise an army for the purpose of rescuing him. Henry summoned all his military tenants, and made great preparations: but, having agreed to treat of a final peace with Ireland and the lord of the Isles, the regent laid hold of this as a pretence for entering into a new negotiation with the English monarch; and a truce was concluded for a year, during which time all differences were to be settled. In consequence of this agreement, Rothesay, king at arms, was appointed commissary-general for the king and kingdom of Scotland; and in that quality repaired to the court of England. At the time when the prince of Scotland was taken, it seems there existed a truce, however ill observed on both sides, subsisting between the two nations. Rothesay produced the record of this truce, which provided that the Scots should have a free navigation; and in consequence of this, he demanded justice of the captain and crew of the privateer who had taken the prince. Henry ordered the matter to be inquired into: but the English brought their complaints as well as the Scots; and the

305  
A body of  
Scots cut  
off by the  
English.

306  
Their de-  
feat at Ho-  
meldon.  
An. 1402.

307  
Cocklawys  
castle be-  
sieged by  
the English.

Scotland.

An. 1404.

308  
The Scot-  
tish prince,  
James, sent  
to France,  
but is taken  
by the Eng-  
lish.

309  
Robert dies  
of grief.  
An. 1405.

310  
The duke  
of Albany  
regent.

Scotland. claims of both were so intricate, that the examination fell to the ground, but at the same time the truce was prolonged.

311  
Schemes of  
Henry  
against  
Scotland.  
An. 1410.

In the end of the year 1409, or the beginning of 1410, the war was renewed with England, and Henry prepared to strike a fatal blow which he had long meditated against Scotland. He had, as we have seen, entered into a league with the lord of the Isles, where a considerable revolution then happened. Walter Lesley had succeeded to the estate and honours of the earl of Ross, in right of his wife, who was the heir. By that marriage, he had a son named *Alexander*, who succeeded him; and a daughter, Margaret, who was married to the lord of the Isles. This Alexander had married one of the regent's daughters; and dying young, he left behind him an only daughter, Euphane, who was deformed, and became a nun at North Berwick. Her grandfather, the regent, procured from her a resignation of the earldom of Ross, to which she was undoubtedly heir, in favour of John earl of Buchan, but in prejudice of Donald lord of the isles, who was the son of Margaret, sister to the earl Alexander, and consequently the nearest heir to the estate after the nun. Donald applied for redress; but his suit being rejected, he, with his brother John, fled into England, where he was most graciously received by King Henry. According to the instructions given him by the English monarch, Donald returned to his own dominions in the isles, where he raised an army, and passing over into Ross-shire, violently seized on the estate in dispute. In a short time he found himself at the head of 10,000 Highlanders; with whom he marched into the province of Moray, and from thence to Strathbogie and Garioch, which he laid under contribution. Advancing towards Aberdeen, with a view to pay his troops with the plunder of that city, which was then a place of considerable trade, he was met by the earl of Marr, whom the regent had employed to command against him, at a village called *Harlaw*, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. A fierce engagement ensued, in which great numbers were killed on both sides, and the victory remained uncertain: but Donald, finding himself in the midst of an enemy's country, where he could raise no recruits, began to retreat next day; and the shattered state of the royal army preventing him from being pursued, he escaped to his own dominions, where in a short time he submitted, and swore allegiance to the crown of Scotland.

312  
Battle of  
Harlaw.

313  
The earl of  
March re-  
turns to his  
allegiance  
to Scot-  
land.

In the mean time, Henry continued the war with Scotland, and refused to renew the truce, though frequently solicited by the Scots. He had now, however, sustained a great loss by the defection of the earl of March, who had gone over to the Scots, though the historians have not informed us of his quarrel with the English monarch. On his return to Scotland, he had been fully reconciled to the Douglas family, and now strove to distinguish himself in the cause of his country. This, with the countenance shown the Scots by the court of France, a bull published by the pope in their favour, and the vigorous behaviour of the regent himself, contributed to reduce Henry to reason; and we hear of no more hostilities between the two nations till after the death of the English monarch, which happened in the year 1413.

An. 1415. In 1415, the truce being either broken or expired,

the Scots made great preparations for besieging Berwick. The undertaking, however, came to nothing; all that was done during the campaign being the burning of Penrith by the Scots, and of Dumfries by the English. Next year a truce was agreed on, and a treaty entered into for the ransom of King James; which was so far advanced, that the English king agreed to his visiting Scotland, provided he engaged to forfeit 100,000 pounds sterling, in case of his failure to return by a certain day. For reasons now unknown, this treaty was broken off, and vast preparations were made for a new invasion of Scotland; which, however, was executed with so little success, that it became known among the common people of Scotland by the name of the *fule raid*, or the foolish expedition.

Scotland.

314  
Unsuccess-  
ful expedi-  
tion of  
Henry.

In 1420, died Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, at the age of 80; and such was the veneration which the Scots had for his memory, that his post of regent was conferred upon his eldest son Murdoch, though a person no way qualified for that station.— The war with England was now discontinued; but in France Henry met with the greatest opposition from the Scots auxiliaries, inasmuch, that at last he proclaimed all the Scots in the service of the dauphin to be rebels against their lawful sovereign, and threatened to treat them as such wherever he found them. It was not long before he had an opportunity of putting this menace in execution; for the town and castle of Melun being obliged through famine to capitulate, one of the articles of capitulation was, that all the English and Scots in the place should be resigned to the absolute disposal of the king of England; and, in consequence of his resolution above-mentioned, caused twenty Scots soldiers who were found in the place to be hanged as traitors. In 1421, Henry returned to England, and with him James the Scots king. On his arrival there, he was informed that the Scots, under the earl of Douglas, had made an irruption into England, where they had burned Newark, but had been forced to return to their own country by a pestilence, though a new invasion was daily expected. Instead of resenting this insult, Henry invited the earl of Douglas to a conference at York; in which the latter agreed to serve him during life, by sea and land, abroad or at home, against all living, except his own liege-lord the king of Scotland, with 200 foot and as many horse, at his own charges; the king of England, in the meantime, allowing an annual revenue of 200l. for paying his expence in going to the army by sea or land.

315  
His cruelty  
to the Scots  
in France.

At the same time, a new negotiation was set on foot for the ransom of King James; but he did not obtain his liberty till the year 1424. Henry V. was then dead; and none of his generals being able to supply his place, the English power in France began to decline. They then became sensible how necessary it was to be at peace with Scotland, in order to detach such a formidable ally from the French interest. James was now highly caressed, and at his own liberty, within certain bounds. The English even consulted him about the manner of conducting the treaty for his ransom; and one Dougal Drummond, a priest, was sent with a safe-conduct for the bishop of Glasgow chancellor of Scotland, Dunbar earl of March, John Montgomery of Ardrossan, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Bele, Sir Robert Lawder of Ed-  
rington,

316  
Treaty for  
the liberty  
of James.

Scotland d. rington, Sir William Borthwic of Borthwic, and Sir John Forrester of Corstorphin, to have an interview, at Pomfret, with their master the captive king of Scotland, and there to treat respecting their common interests. Most of these noblemen and gentlemen had before been nominated to treat with the English about their king's return; and Dougal Drummond seems to have been a domestic favourite with James. Hitherto the Scottish king had been allowed an annual revenue of 700l.: but while he was making ready for his journey, his equipages and attendants were increased to those befitting a sovereign; and he received a present from the English treasury of 100l. for his private expences. That he might appear with a grandeur every way suitable to his dignity, at every stage were provided relays of horses, and all manner of fish, flesh, and fowl, with cooks and other servants for furnishing out the most sumptuous royal entertainment. In this meeting at Pomfret, James acted as a kind of a mediator between the English and his own subjects, to whom he fully laid himself open; but, in the mean time, the English regency issued a commission for settling the terms upon which James was to be restored, if he and his commissioners should lay a proper foundation for such a treaty. The English commissioners, were the bishops of Durham and Worcester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Nevil, Cornwall, and Chaworth, with master John Wodeham, and Robert Waterton. The instructions they received form one of the most curious passages of this history; and we shall here give them, as they are necessary for confirming all we have said concerning the dispositions of the two courts at this juncture.

First, To make a faint opposition to any private conference between the king of Scotland and the Scotch commissioners.

Secondly, To demand that, before the said king shall have his full liberty, the kingdom of Scotland should pay to the English government at least thirty-six thousand pounds as an equivalent, at two thousand pounds a year, for the entertainment of King James, who was maintained by the court of England, and not to abate any thing of that sum; but if possible to get forty thousand pounds.

Thirdly, That if the Scots should agree to the payment of the said sum, the English commissioners should take sufficient security and hostages for the payment of the same; and that if they should not (as there was great reason for believing they would) be so far mollified, by such easy terms, as to offer to enter upon a negotiation for a final and perpetual peace between the two people, that then the English should propose the same in the most handsome manner they could. Farther, that if such difficulties should arise as might make it impracticable immediately to conclude such perpetual peace, that the English ambassadors should, under pretence of paving a way for the same, propose a long truce.

Fourthly, That if the English commissioners should succeed in bringing the Scots to agree to the said truce, they should further urge, that they should not send to Charles of France, or to any of the enemies of England, any succours by sea or land. Farther, that the said English commissioners should employ their utmost endeavours to procure the recal of the troops already furnished by the Scots to France. The English are

commanded to insist very strenuously upon this point, Scotland. but with discretion.

Fifthly, If the Scots should, as a further bond of amity between the two nations, propose a marriage between their king and some noblewoman of England, the English commissioners are to make answer, "That the king of Scots is well acquainted with many noblewomen, and even those of the blood-royal, in England; and that if the king of the Scots shall please to open his mind more freely on that head, the English commissioners shall be very ready to enter upon conferences thereupon." But (continues the record) in case the Scotch commissioners should make no mention of any such alliance by marriage, it will not appear decent for the English to mention the same, because the women of England, at least the noblewomen, are not used to offer themselves in marriage to men.

Sixthly, If there should be any mention made concerning reparation of damages, that the commissioners should then proceed upon the same as they should think most proper; and that they should have power to offer safe-conduct to as many of the Scots as should be demanded, for to repair to the court of England. Those instructions are dated at Westminster, July 6th 1423.

Nothing definitive was concluded at this treaty, but that another meeting should be held at York instead of Pomfret. This meeting accordingly took place. The English commissioners were, Thomas bishop of Durham, chancellor of England, Philip bishop of Winchester, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and Mr John Wodeham. Those for Scotland were, William bishop of Glasgow, George earl of March, James Douglas of Balveny, his brother Patrick abbot of Cambuskenneth, John abbot of Balmerino, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Bele, Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington, George Borthwic archdeacon of Glasgow, and Patrick Houston canon of Glasgow. On the 10th of September, after their meeting, they came to the following agreement:

First, That the king of Scotland and his heirs, as an equivalent for his entertainment while in England, should pay to the king of England and his heirs, at London, in the church of St Paul, by equal proportions, the sum of 40,000l. sterling.

Secondly, That the first payment, amounting to the sum of ten thousand merks, should be made six months after the king of Scotland's entering his own kingdom; that the like sum should be paid the next year, and so on during the space of six years, when the whole sum would be cleared; unless, after payment of forty thousand merks, the last payment of ten thousand should be remitted, at the intreaty of the most illustrious prince Thomas duke of Exeter.

Thirdly, That the king of Scotland, before entering his own kingdom, should give sufficient hostages for performance on his part. But, in regard that the Scots plenipotentiaries had no instructions concerning hostages, it was agreed,

Fourthly, That the king of Scotland should be at Branspath, or Durham, by the first of March next, where he should be attended by the nobles of his blood, and other subjects, in order to fix the number and quality of the hostages.

Fifthly, That, to cement and perpetuate the amity of the two kingdoms, the governor of Scotland should

Scotland. fend ambassadors to London, with power to conclude a contract of marriage between the king of Scotland and some lady of the first quality in England.

It is probable that James had already fixed his choice upon the lady Joan, daughter to the late earl of Somerset, who was son to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by his second marriage; but he made his people the compliment, not only of consulting their opinion, but of concluding the match. The commissioners, after their agreement at York, proceeded towards London; and Thomas Somerville of Carnwath, with Walter Ogilvy, were added to their number. Being arrived at that capital, they ratified the former articles, and undertook for their king, that he should deliver his hostages to the king of England's officers, in the city of Durham, before the last day of the ensuing month of March; that he should also deliver to the said officers four obligatory letters, for the whole sum of 40,000*l.* from the four burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen; that he should give his obligatory letter to the same purpose, before removing from Durham, and should renew the same four days after his arrival in his own kingdom; that the hostages might be changed from time to time for others of the same fortune and quality; that if any of them should die in England, others should be sent thither in their room; and that while they continued to stay in England, they should live at their own charges.

317  
Marriage  
of King  
James.  
An. 1424.

The marriage of James with the lady Joan Beaufort was celebrated in the beginning of February 1424. The young king of England presented him with a suit of cloth of gold for the ceremony; and the next day he received a legal discharge of 10,000 pounds, to be deducted from the 40,000 at which his ransom was fixed, and which sum was given as the marriage-portion of the lady. The ceremony being performed, the king and queen set out for Durham, where the hostages were waiting; and arrived at his own dominions, along with the earl of Northumberland and the chief of the northern nobility, who attended him with great pomp. On the 20th of April the same year, he was crowned at Scone; after which ceremony, he followed the example practised by other sovereigns at that time, of knighting several noblemen and gentlemen.

During the dependence of the treaty for James's release, the Scots had emigrated to France, in such numbers, that no fewer than 15,000 of them now appeared in arms under the duke of Touraine; but as the history of the war in that country has already been given under the article FRANCE, we shall take no farther notice of it, but return to the affairs of Scotland.

318  
He reforms  
several abu-  
ses in Scot-  
land.

On his return James found himself in a disagreeable situation. The great maxim of the duke of Albany, when regent, had been to maintain himself in power by exempting the lower class of people from taxes of every kind. This plan had been continued by his son Murdoch; but as the latter was destitute of his father's abilities, the people abused their happiness, and Scotland became such a scene of rapine, that no commoner could say he had a property in his own estate. The Stewart family, on their accession to the crown of Scotland, possessed a very considerable patrimonial estate, independent of the standing revenues of the crown, which consisted chiefly of customs, wards, and reliefs. The revenues of the paternal estate belonging to James, had

Scotland. they been regularly transmitted to him, would have more than maintained him in a splendour equal to his dignity, while he was in England; nor would he in that case have had any occasion for an allowance from the king of England. But as the duke of Albany never intended that his nephew should return, he parcelled out among his favourites the estates of the Stewart family, in such a manner that James on his return found all his patrimonial revenues gone, and many of them in the hands of his best friends; so that he had nothing to depend on for the support of himself and his court but the crown-revenues above-mentioned, and even some of these had been mortgaged during the late regency. This circumstance, of itself sufficiently disagreeable, was attended with two others, which tended to make it more so. The one was, that the hostages which had been left for the king's ransom in England, being all persons of the first rank, were attended by their wives, families, children, and equipages, which rivalled those of the same rank in England, and drew a great deal of ready money out of the nation. The other circumstance arose from the charge of the Scots army in France; where Charles, who had never been in a condition to support it, was now reduced to the utmost necessity: while the revenues of James himself were both scanty and precarious. To remedy these inconveniences, therefore, the king obtained from his parliament an act obliging the sheriffs of the respective counties to inquire what lands and estates had belonged to his ancestors David II. Robert II. and Robert III.; and James formed a resolution of resuming these lands wherever they could be discovered, without regard to persons or circumstances. On this occasion many of the most illustrious personages in the kingdom were arrested: the duke of Albany, his two sons, and the earl of Lennox the duke's father-in-law, were put to death, though their crimes are not specified by historians.

319  
Several of  
the nobility  
executed.

James now proceeded with great spirit to reform the abuses which had pervaded every department of the state, protected and encouraged learning and learned men, and even kept a diary in which he wrote down the names of all the learned men whom he thought deserving of his encouragement. James himself wrote some poetry; and in music, was such an excellent composer, that he is with good reason looked upon as the father of Scots music, which has been so much admired for its elegant simplicity. He introduced organs into his chapels, and a much better style of architecture into all buildings whether civil or religious. Nor did he confine his cares to the fine arts, but encouraged and protected those of all kinds which were useful to society; and, in short, he did more towards the civilization of his people than had been done by any of his predecessors.

In the mean time the truce continued with England. James, however, seemed not to have any inclination to enter into a lasting alliance with that kingdom. On the contrary, in 1428, he entered into a treaty with France; by which it was agreed, that a marriage should be concluded between the dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI. and the young princess of Scotland; and so great was the necessity of King Charles for troops at that time, that he demanded only 6000 forces as a portion for the princess.

The rest of the reign of James was spent in reforming

Scotland.  
320  
The king  
murdered.  
An. 1437.

ing abuses, curbing the authority of the great barons, and recovering the royal estates out of the hands of usurpers. In this, however, he used so much severity, that he was at last murdered, in the year 1437. The perpetrators of this murder were the earl of Athol; Robert Grahame, who was connected with the earl, and who was discontented on account of his losing the estate of Strathern, which had been re-annexed to the crown; and Robert, grand-child and heir to the earl of Athol, and one of the king's domestics. The king had dismissed his army, without even reserving to himself a body-guard, and was at supper in a Dominican convent in the neighbourhood of Perth. Grahame had for some time been at the head of a gang of outlaws, and is said to have brought a party of them to Perth in the dead of the night, where he posted them near the convent. Walter Straton, one of the king's cup-bearers, went to bring some wine to the king while at supper; but perceiving armed men standing in the passage, he gave the alarm, and was immediately killed. Catharine Douglas, one of the queen's maids of honour, ran to bolt the outer door; but the bar was taken away by Robert Stuart, in order to facilitate the entrance of the murderers. The lady thrust her arm into the staple; but it was instantly broken, and the conspirators rushed in upon the king. Patrick Dunbar, brother to the earl of March, was killed in attempting to defend his sovereign, and the queen received two wounds in attempting to interpose herself betwixt her husband and the daggers of the assassins. James defended himself as long as he could; but at last expired under the repeated strokes of his murderers, after having received 28 wounds.

321  
Review of  
his reign.

In the reign of James I. several important regulations were made for the improvement of the internal polity of the kingdom. James's long residence in England, then a great and happy nation, had taught him, that the prosperity of a people depended much on the wisdom of the legislature, in enacting salutary laws, and on the activity of the chief magistrates in putting them in execution. In his third parliament, was passed an act, which affords the first appearance of a College of Justice in Scotland. By this it was ordained, that the king might appoint the chancellor, and three discreet persons of the three estates, to act as the *Sessio*, whenever the king should think fit, three times in the year, for determination of such causes as had before been adjudged by the king and his council. In 1425, it was enacted, that six wise men of the three estates should examine the books of law, which then consisted of what were called *Regiam Majestatem* and *Quoniam Archiamenta*, and should amend what needed amendment. Various statutes were made, called the *Black Acts*, for preserving domestic tranquillity, diminishing the exorbitant power of the nobles, and promoting religious worship. Happy would it have been for Scotland if so wise a monarch had lived to execute strictly what had been enacted in so many parliaments for the general good of a wretched nation.

322  
Succeeded  
by James  
II.  
20th March  
1437.

After the murder of James I. the crown devolved on his son James II. at that time only seven years of age. A parliament was immediately called by the queen-mother, at which the most cruel punishments were decreed to the murderers of the late king. The crime, no doubt, deserved an exemplary punishment; but the

barbarities inflicted on some of those wretches are shocking to relate. Within less than six weeks after the death of the king, all the conspirators were brought to Edinburgh, arraigned, condemned, and executed. The meaner sort were hanged; but on the earl of Athol and Robert Graham the most cruel torments were inflicted, such as pinching with hot irons, dislocation of the joints, &c. The earl of Athol, had, besides, a crown of red-hot iron put on his head; and was afterwards cut up alive, his heart taken out, and thrown into a fire. In short, so dreadful were these punishments, that Æneas Sylvius, the pope's nuncio, who beheld them, said, that he was at a loss to determine whether the crime committed by the regicides, or the punishment inflicted upon them, was the greater.

As the late king had prescribed no form of regency in case of his death, the settlement of the government became a matter of great difficulty as well as importance. Archibald earl of Douglas, who had been created duke of Touraine in France, was by far the greatest subject in the kingdom; but as he had not been a favourite in the preceding reign, and the people were now disgusted with regencies, he was not formally appointed to the administration, though by his high rank he in fact enjoyed the supreme power as long as he lived; which, however, was but a short time. He died the same year (1438); and Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callendar was appointed to succeed him as governor of the kingdom, that is, to have the executive power, while William Crichton, as chancellor, had the direction of the civil courts. This was a most unfortunate partition of power for the public. The governor and chancellor quarrelled; the latter took possession of the king's person and the castle of Edinburgh, to neither of which he had any right; but the former had on his side the queen-mother, a woman of intrigue and spirit. Her son was shut up in the castle of Edinburgh; and in a short time there was no appearance either of law or government in Scotland. The governor's edicts were counteracted by those of the chancellor under the king's name, and those who obeyed the chancellor were punished by the governor; while the young earl of Douglas, with his numerous followers and dependents, was a declared enemy of both parties, whom he equally sought to destroy.

The queen-mother demanded access to her son, which Crichton could find no pretext for denying her; and she was accordingly admitted with a small train into the castle of Edinburgh. She played her part so well, and dissembled with so much art, that the chancellor, believing she had become a convert to his cause, treated her with unbounded confidence, and suffered her at all hours to have free access to her son's person. Pretending that she had vowed a pilgrimage to the white church of Buchan, she recommended the care of her son's person, till her return, to the chancellor, in the most pathetic and affectionate terms: but, in the mean time, she secretly sent him to Leith, packed up in a clothes-chest; and both she and James were received at Stirling by the governor before the escape was known. As every thing had been managed in concert with Livingstone, he immediately called together his friends; and laying before them the tyrannical behaviour of the chancellor, it was resolved to besiege him in the castle of Edinburgh, the queen promising to open her own granaries.

Scotland.

323  
Supreme  
power divided  
between the  
governor  
and chan-  
cellor of the  
kingdom.

324  
The queen-  
mother sets  
her son at  
liberty.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> for the use of the army. The chancellor foresaw the storm that was likely to fall upon him, and sought to prevent it by applying to the earl of Douglas. That haughty nobleman answered him in the terms already mentioned, and that he was preparing to exterminate both parties. The siege of Edinburgh castle being formed, the chancellor demanded a parley, and a personal interview with the governor; to which the latter, who was no stranger to the sentiments of Douglas, readily agreed. Common danger united them in a common cause; and the chancellor resigning to the other the custody of the castle and the king's person, with the highest professions of duty and loyalty, the two competitors swore an inviolable friendship for each other. Next day the king cemented their union, by confirming both of them in their respective charges.

<sup>325</sup>  
Inteittine  
broils.

The lawless example of the earl of Douglas encouraged the other great landholders to gratify their private animosities, sometimes at the expence of their honour as well as their humanity. A family difference happened between Sir Allan Stuart of Darnley, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; but it was concluded that both parties should come to a peaceable agreement at Polmaisthorn, between Linlithgow and Falkirk, where Stuart was treacherously murdered by his enemy. Stuart's death was revenged by his brother, Sir Alexander Stuart of Beilmouth, who challenged Boyd to a pitched battle, the principals being attended by a retinue which carried the resemblance of small armies. The conflict was fierce and bloody, each party retiring in its turn, and charging with fresh fury; but at last victory declared itself for Stuart, the bravest of Boyd's attendants being cut off in the field. About this time, the islanders, under two of their chieftans, Lauchlan Maclean and Murdoc Gibson, notorious freebooters, invaded Scotland, and ravaged the province of Lenox with fire and sword. They were opposed by John Colquhoun of Luss, whom they slew, some say treacherously, and others, in an engagement at Lochlomond, near Inchmartin. After this, the robbers grew more outrageous than ever, not only filling all the neighbouring country with rapine, but murdering the aged, infants, and the defenceless of both sexes. At last, all the labouring hands in the kingdom being engaged in domestic broils, none were left for agriculture; and a dreadful famine ensued, attended, as usual, by a pestilence. James was now about ten years of age; and the wisest part of the kingdom agreed, that the public distresses were owing to a total disrespect of the royal authority. The young earl of Douglas never had fewer than 1000, and sometimes 2000 horse in his train; so that none was found hardy enough to controul him. He pretended to be independent of the king and his courts of law; that he had a right of judicature upon his own large estates; and that he was entitled to the exercise of royal power. In consequence of this he issued his orders, gave protections to thieves and murderers, affected to brave the king, made knights, and, according to some writers, even noblemen, of his own dependents, with a power of sitting in parliament.

The queen-mother was not wholly guiltless of those abuses. She had fallen in love with and married Sir James Stuart, who was commonly called the *Black knight*

<sup>Scotland.</sup> of Lorn, brother to the lord of that title, and a descendant of the house of Darnley. Affection for her husband caused her to renew her political intrigues; and not finding a ready compliance in the governor, her interest inclined towards the party of the Douglasses. The governor sought to strengthen his authority by restoring the exercise of the civil power, and the reverence due to the person of the sovereign.

The conduct of the lord Callendar was in many respects not so defensible, either as to prudence or policy. When the queen expressed her inclinations that her husband might be admitted to some part of the administration, the governor threw both him and his brother the lord Lorn into prison, on a charge of undutiful practices against the state, and abetting the earl of Douglas in his enormities. The queen, taking fire at her husband's imprisonment, was herself confined in a mean apartment within the castle of Stirling; and a convention of the states was called, to judge in what manner she was to be proceeded against. The case was unprecedented and difficult; nor is it credible that the governor would have carried matters to such extremity, had he not had strong evidences of her illegal behaviour. She was even obliged to dissemble her resentment, by making an open profession before the states, that she had always been entirely innocent of her husband's practices, and that she would for the future behave as a peaceable and dutiful subject to the laws and the sovereign. Upon making this purgation (as Lindsay calls it), she was released, as also her husband and his brother, being bailed by the chancellor and the lord Gordon, who became sureties for their good behaviour in the penalty of 4000 merks. The governor was afterwards accused of many arbitrary and partial acts of power: and indeed, if we consider his situation, and the violence of the parties which then divided Scotland, it was almost impossible, consistently with his own safety, to have exerted the virtues either of patriotism or moderation.

The chancellor was exceedingly vexed at the small regard which the governor paid to his person and dignity, and secretly connected himself with the queen-mother; but in the mean time he remained at Edinburgh. The king and his mother continued all this time at Stirling; where the governor, on pretence of consulting the public safety, and that of the king's person, maintained a strong guard, part of which attended James in his juvenile exercises and diversions. The queen-mother did not fail to represent this to her son as a restraint on his liberty; and obtained his consent to put himself into the chancellor's hands. The latter, who was a man of activity and courage, knew well how to avail himself of this permission; and crossing the Forth in the dark with a strong body of horse, they surrounded the king as he was hunting next morning by break of day. It was easy to perceive from the behaviour of James, that he was no stranger to the chancellor's attempt; but some of the king's guard offering to dispute the possession of his person, Sir William Livingston, the governor's eldest son, restrained them, and suffered the king to depart quietly. This surprisal happened on a day when the governor was absent from Stirling; and the chancellor, to make sure of his royal acquisition, entered Edinburgh

<sup>326</sup>  
The queen-  
mother and  
her hus-  
band im-  
prisoned.

<sup>327</sup>  
But are re-  
leased.

<sup>328</sup>  
The chan-  
cellor gets  
the king's  
person into  
his hands.

<sup>Scotland</sup> burgh at the head of 4000 horse, where the king and he were received by the citizens with loud acclamations of joy.

<sup>329</sup>  
Rebellious  
behaviour  
of the earl  
of Douglas.

The governor showed no emotion at what had happened; on the contrary, he invited the chancellor to an interview, and settled all differences with him in an amicable manner. The young lord Douglas, however, continued to brave both parties. As if he had been a sovereign prince, he demanded by his ambassadors, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Allan Lawder, the investiture of the sovereignty of Touraine from Charles the seventh of France; which being readily granted him, served to increase his pride and insolence. The first-fruits of the accommodation between the two great officers of state was the holding of a parliament at Edinburgh, for redressing the public disorders occasioned by the earl of Douglas; and encouragement was given to all persons who had been injured to make their complaints. The numbers which on that occasion resorted to Edinburgh were incredible; parents, children, and women, demanding vengeance for the murder of their relations, or the plunder of their estates; till, by the multiplicity of their complaints, they became without remedy, none being found bold enough to encounter the earl of Douglas, or to endeavour to bring him to a fair trial. The parties therefore were dismissed without relief, and it was resolved to proceed with the haughty earl in a different manner. Letters were written to him by the governor and chancellor, and in the name of the states, requesting him to appear with his friends in parliament, and to take that lead in public affairs to which they were intitled by their high rank and great possessions. The manner in which those letters were penned made the thoughtless earl consider them as a tribute due to his greatness, and as proceeding from the inability of the government to continue the administration of public affairs without his countenance and direction. Without dreaming that any man in Scotland would be so bold as to attack him, even single or unarmed, he answered the letters of the chancellor and governor, by assuring them that he intended to set out for Edinburgh: the chancellor, on pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to quiet his suspicions, met him while he was on his journey; and inviting him to his castle of Crichton, he there entertained him for some days with the greatest magnificence and appearance of hospitality. The earl of Douglas believed all the chancellor's professions of friendship, and even sharply checked the wisest of his followers, who counselled him not to depend too much on appearances, or to trust his brother and himself at the same time in any place where the chancellor had power. The latter had not only removed the earl's suspicion, but had made him a kind of convert to patriotism, by painting to him the miseries of his country, and the glory that must redound to him and his friends in removing them. It was in vain for his attendants to remind him of his father's maxim, never to risk himself and his brother at the same time: he without hesitation attended the chancellor to Edinburgh; and being admitted into the castle, they dined at the same table with the king. Towards the end of the entertainment, a bull's head, the certain prelude of immediate death, was served up. The earl and his brother started to their

feet, and endeavoured to make their escape: but armed men rushing in, overpowered them, and tying their hands and those of Sir Malcolm Fleming with cords, they were carried to the hill and beheaded. The young king endeavoured with tears to procure their pardon; for which he was severely checked by the unrelenting chancellor.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>  
<sup>330</sup>  
Is put to  
death with  
his brother.

In 1443, the king being arrived at the age of 14, <sup>A. 1443.</sup> declared himself out of the years of minority, and took upon himself the administration of affairs. He appears to have been a prince of great spirit and resolution; and he had occasion for it. He had appointed one Robert Sempil of Fulwood to be chief governor of the castle of Dumbarton; but he was killed by one Galbraith (a noted partizan of the earl of Douglas), who seized upon the government of the castle. The popularity of the family of Douglas having somewhat subsided, and the young earl finding himself not supported by the chief branches of his family, he began to think, now that the king was grown up, his safest course would be to return to his duty. He accordingly repaired to the king at Stirling; and voluntarily throwing himself at his majesty's feet, implored pardon for all his transgressions, and solemnly promised that he would ever after set a pattern of duty and loyalty to all the rest of his subjects. The king, finding that he insisted on no terms but that of pardon, and that he had unconditionally put himself into his power, not only granted his request, but made him the partner of his inmost councils.

<sup>331</sup>  
The young  
earl submits  
to the king,  
and is re-  
ceived into  
favour.

James had always disliked the murder of the earl of Douglas and his brother; and the chancellor, perceiving the ascendancy which this earl was daily gaining at court, thought it high time to provide for his own safety. He therefore resigned the great seal, and retired to the castle of Edinburgh, the custody of which he pretended had been granted to him by the late king during his life, or till the present king should arrive at the age of 21; and prepared it for a siege. The lord Callendar, who knew himself equally obnoxious as <sup>332</sup> Crichton was to the earl of Douglas, and that he could not maintain his footing by himself, resigned likewise all his posts, and retired to one of his own houses, but kept possession of the castle of Stirling. As both that and the castle of Edinburgh were royal forts, the two lords were summoned to surrender them; but instead of complying, they justified their conduct by the great power of their enemies, who sought their destruction, and who had been so lately at the head of robbers and outlaws: but promised to surrender themselves to the king as soon as he was of lawful age, (meaning, we suppose, either 18 or 21). This answer being deemed contumacious, the chancellor and the late governor, with his two sons Sir Alexander and Sir James Livingston, were proclaimed traitors in a parliament which was summoned on purpose to be held at Stirling. In another parliament held at Perth the same year, an act passed, that all the lands and goods which had belonged to the late king should be possessed by the present king to the time of his lawful age, which is not specified. This act was levelled against the late governor and chancellor, who were accused of having alienated to their own uses, or to those of their friends, a great part of the royal effects and jewels; and their estates being confiscated, the execution

<sup>Great di-  
sturbances  
in Scot-  
land.</sup>

Scotland. execution of the sentence was committed to John Forrester of Corstorphin, and other adherents of the earl of Douglas.

This sentence threw all the nation into a flame. The castle of Crichton was besieged; and being surrendered on the king's summons and the display of the royal banner, it was levelled with the ground. It soon appeared that the governor and chancellor, the latter especially, had many friends; and in particular Kennedy archbishop of St Andrews, nephew to James the first, who sided with them from the dread and hatred they bore to the earl of Douglas and his family. Crichton thus soon found himself at the head of a body of men; and while Forrester was carrying fire and sword into his estates and those of the late governor, his own lands and those of the Douglasses were overrun. Corstorphin, Abercorn, Blacknefs, and other places, were plundered; and Crichton carried off from them more booty than he and his adherents had lost. Particular mention is made of a fine breed of mares which Douglas lost on this occasion. That nobleman was so much exasperated by the great damages he had sustained, that he engaged his friends the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy of Innerquharity, to lay waste the lands of the archbishop of St Andrew's, whom he considered as the chief support of the two ministers. This prelate was not more considerable by his high birth, than he was venerable by his virtue and sanctity; and had, from a principle of conscience, opposed the earl of Douglas and his party. Being conscious he had done nothing that was illegal, he first admonished the earl of Crawford and his coadjutor to desist from destroying his lands; but finding his admonitions ineffectual, he laid the earl under an excommunication.

That nobleman was almost as formidable in the northern, as the earl of Douglas had been in the southern, parts of Scotland. The Benedictine monks of Aberbrothwic, who were possessed of great property, had chosen Alexander Lindfay, his eldest son, to be the judge or bailiff of their temporalities; as they themselves, by their profession, could not fit in civil or criminal courts. Lindfay proved so chargeable to the monks, by the great number of his attendants, and his high manner of living, that their chapter removed him from his post, and substituted in his place Alexander Ogilvy of Innerquharity, guardian to his nephew John Ogilvy of Airley, who had an hereditary claim on the bailiwick. This, notwithstanding their former intimacy, created an irreconcilable difference between the two families. Each competitor strengthened himself by calling in the assistance of his friends; and the lord Gordon taking part with the Ogilvies, to whom he was then paying a visit, both parties immediately muttered in the neighbourhood of Aberbrothwic. The earl of Crawford, who was then at Dundee, immediately posted to Aberbrothwic, and placing himself between the two armies, he demanded to speak with Ogilvy; but, before his request could be granted, he was killed by a common soldier, who was ignorant of his quality. His death exasperated his friends, who immediately rushed on their enemies; and a bloody conflict ensued, which ended to the advantage of the Lindfays, that is, the earl of Crawford's party. On that of the Ogilvies were killed Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgy, John Forbes of

Pitligo, Alexander Barclay of Gartley, Robert Maxwell of Teling, Duncan Campbell of Campbelfether, William Gordon of Burrowfield, and others. With those gentlemen, about 500 of their followers are said to have fallen; but some accounts diminish that number. Innerquharity himself, in flying, was taken prisoner, and carried to the earl of Crawford's house at Finhaven, where he died of his wounds; but the lord Gordon (or, as others call him, the earl of Huntley) escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

This battle seems to have let loose the fury of civil discord all over the kingdom. No regard was paid to magistracy, nor to any description of men but that of clergy. The most numerous, fiercest, and best allied family, wreaked its vengeance on its foes, either by force or treachery; and the enmity that actuated the parties, stifled every sentiment of honour, and every feeling of humanity. The Lindfays, secretly abetted and strengthened by the earl of Douglas, made no other use of their victory than carrying fire and sword through the estates of their enemies; and thus all the north of Scotland presented scenes of murder and devastation. In the west, Robert Boyd of Dunchal, governor of Dumbarton, treacherously surprised Sir James Stuart of Achmynto, and treated his wife with such inhumanity, that she expired in three days under her confinement in Dumbarton castle. The castle of Dunbar was taken by Patrick Hepburn of Hales. Alexander Dunbar dispossessed the latter of his castle of Hales; but it was retaken by the partisans of the earl of Douglas, whose tenants, particularly those of Annandale, are said to have behaved at that time with peculiar fierceness and cruelty. At last, the gentlemen of the country, who were unconnected with those robbers and murderers, which happened to be the case with many, shut themselves up in their several houses; each of which, in those days, was a petty fortress, which they victualled, and provided in the best manner they could for their own defence. This wise resolution seems to have been the first measure that composed the public commotions.

The earl of Douglas, whose power and influence at court still continued, was sensible that the clergy, with the wiser and more disinterested part of the kingdom, considered him as the source of the dreadful calamities which the nation suffered; and that James himself, when better informed, would be of the same opinion. He therefore sought to avail himself of the juncture, by forming secret but strong connections with the earls of Crawford, Ross, and other great noblemen, who desired to see their feudal powers restored to their full vigour. The queen-dowager and her husband made little or no figure during this season of public confusion: she had retired to the castle of Dunbar, while it was in Hepburn's possession, where she died soon after. She left by her second husband three sons; John, who in 1455 was made earl of Athol, by his uterine brother the king; James, who under the next reign, in 1469, was created earl of Buchan; and Andrew, who afterwards became bishop of Murray. As the earl of Douglas was an enemy to the queen dowager's husband, the latter retired to England, where he obtained a pass to go abroad, with 20 in his train; but being taken at sea by the Flemish pirates, he died in confinement.

The great point between the king and Sir William Crichton,



Scotland. Crichton, whether the latter should give up the castle to his majesty, remained still undecided; and by the advice and direction of the earl of Douglas, who had been created lord-lieutenant of the kingdom, it had now suffered a nine months siege. Either the strength of the castle, or an opinion entertained by Douglas that Crichton would be a valuable acquisition to his party, procured better terms for the latter than he could otherwise have expected; for he and his followers were offered a full indemnity for all past offences, and a promise was made that he should be restored not only to the king's favour, but to his former post of chancellor. He accepted the conditions; but refused to act in any public capacity till they were confirmed by a parliament, which was soon after held at Perth, and in which he was restored to his estate and honours. By this reconciliation between Douglas and Crichton, the former was left at full liberty to prosecute his vengeance against the lord Callendar, the late governor, his friends and family. That vengeance was exercised with rigour. The governor himself, Sir James Dundas of Dundas, and Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, were forced to save their lives by the loss of their estates; but even that could not preserve their liberty, for they were sent prisoners to the castle of Dumbarton. The fate of Alexander, the governor's eldest son, and of two other gentlemen of his name and family, was still more lamentable; for they were condemned to lose their heads. These severities being inflicted after the king had in a manner readmitted the sufferers into his favour, swelled the public outcry against the earl of Douglas. We have in Lindsay an extract of the speech which Alexander Livingston, one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time, made on the scaffold, in which he complained, with great bitterness, of the cruel treatment which his father, himself, and his friends, had undergone; and that he suffered by a packed jury of his enemies.

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Invasion of  
Scotland  
by the Eng-  
lish.  
An. 1447.

The king being now about 18 years of age, it was thought proper that a suitable consort should be provided for him; and, after various consultations, Mary, the daughter of Arnold duke of Gueldres, was chosen, at the recommendation of Charles king of France, though the marriage was not completed till some time after. This produced an immediate rupture with England. The earls of Salisbury and Northumberland entered Scotland at the head of two separate bodies. The former burnt the town of Dumfries, as the latter did that of Dunbar; while Sir John Douglas of Balveny made reprisals by plundering the county of Cumberland, and burning Alnwic. On the return of the English armies to their own country, additional levies were made, and a fresh invasion of Scotland was resolved on under the earl of Northumberland, who had with him a lieutenant, whom the Scots of those days, from the bushiness and colour of his beard, called *Magnus with the red mane*. He was a soldier of fortune, but an excellent officer, having been trained in the French wars; and he is said to have demanded no other recompense for his services from the English court, but that he should enjoy all he could conquer in Scotland. The Scots, in the mean time, had raised an army commanded by George Douglas earl of Ormond, and under him by Wallace of Craigie, with the lords Maxwell and Johnston. The English having passed Solway frith,

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ravaged all that part of the country which belonged to the Scots; but hearing that the earl of Ormond's army was approaching, called in their parties, and fixed their camp on the banks of the river Sark. Their advanced guard was commanded by Magnus; their centre by the earl of Northumberland; and the rear, which was composed of Welch, by Sir John Pennington, an officer of courage and experience.

The Scots drew up in three divisions likewise. Their right wing was commanded by Wallace, the centre by the earl of Ormond, and their left wing by the lords Maxwell and Johnston. Before the battle began, the earl of Ormond harangued his men, and inspired them with very high resentment against the English, who, he said, had treacherously broken the truce. The signal for battle being given, the Scots under Wallace rushed forward on their enemies: but, as usual, were received by so terrible a discharge from the English archers, that their impetuosity must have been stopped, had not their brave leader Wallace put them in mind, that their forefathers had always been defeated in distant fights by the English, and that they ought to trust to their swords and spears; commanding them at the same time to follow his example. They obeyed, and broke in upon the English commanded by Magnus, with such fury, as soon fixed the fortune of the day on the side of the Scots, their valour being suitably seconded by the other two divisions. The slaughter (which was the more considerable as both parties fought with the utmost animosity) fell chiefly upon the division commanded by Magnus, who was killed, performing the part of a brave officer; and all his body-guard, consisting of picked soldiers, were cut in pieces.

The battle then became general: Sir John Pennington's division, with that under the earl of Northumberland, was likewise routed; and the whole English army, struck by the loss of their champion, fled towards the Solway, where, the river being swelled by the tide, numbers of them were drowned. The loss of the English in slain amounted to at least 3000 men. Among the prisoners were Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Harrington, and the earl of Northumberland's eldest son the lord Percy, who lost his own liberty in forwarding his father's escape. Of the Scots about 600 were killed; but none of note, excepting the brave Wallace, who died three months after of the wounds he had received in this battle. The booty that was made on this occasion is said to have been greater than any that had fallen to the Scots since the battle of Bannockburn.

The remaining history of this turbulent reign consists almost entirely of a relation of the cabals and conspiracies of the great men. The earl of Douglas had entered into a confederacy with the earls of Crawford, Moray, and Ross, and appeared on all occasions with such a train of followers as bade defiance to royal power itself. This insolence was detested by the wiser part of the nation; and one Maclellan, who is called the *Tutor of Bomby*, and was nephew to Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's guard, refused to give any attendance on the earl, or to concur in his measures, but remained at home as a quiet subject. This inoffensive behaviour was by the earl considered as treason against himself; and violently seizing on Maclellan's house and person, he sent him close prisoner to the castle of Douglas. As

Scotland. Maclellan was a gentleman of great worth and reputation, his uncle Gray applied earnestly to James in his favour; and such was that prince's regard for Maclellan, that he wrote and signed a letter for his release, addressed to the earl of Douglas. Upon Gray's delivering this letter to Douglas at his castle, the latter seemed to receive it with the highest respect, and to treat Gray with the greatest hospitality, by inviting him to dinner; but, in the mean time, he gave private orders that Maclellan's head should be struck off, and his body exposed upon the green before the castle covered with a linen cloth. After dinner, the earl told Gray, that he was ready to obey the king's commands; and conducting him to the green, he showed him the lifeless trunk, which he said Gray might dispose of as he pleased. Upon this, Gray mounted his horse, and trusted to his swiftness for his own safety; for he was pursued by the earl's attendants to the gates of Edinburgh.

The conspiracy against James's government was now no longer a secret. The lords Balveny and Hamilton, with such a number of other barons and gentlemen, had acceded to it, that it was thought to be more powerful than all the force the king could bring into the field. Even Crichton advised James to dissemble. The confederates entered into a solemn bond and oath never to desert one another during life; and, to make use of Drummond's words, "That injuries done to any one of them should be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; neither should they desist, to their best abilities, to revenge them: that they should concur indifferently against whatsoever persons within or without the realm, and spend their lives, lands, goods, and fortunes, in defence of their debates and differences whatsoever." All who did not enter into this association were treated as enemies to the public; their lands were destroyed, their effects plundered, and they themselves imprisoned or murdered. Drummond says, that Douglas was then able to bring 40,000 men into the field; and that his intention was to have placed the crown of Scotland on his own head. How far he might have been influenced by a scene of the same nature that was then passing between the houses of York and Lancaster in England, we shall not pretend to determine; though it does not appear that his intention was to wear the crown himself, but to render it despicable on his sovereign's head. It is evident, from his behaviour, that he did not affect royalty; for when James invited him to a conference in the castle of Stirling, he offered to comply provided he had a safe-conduct. This condition plainly implied, that he had no reliance on the late act of parliament, which declared the proclamation of the king's peace to be a sufficient security for life and fortune to all his subjects; and there is no denying that the safe-conduct was expedited in the form and manner required.

This being obtained, the earl began his march towards Stirling with his usual great retinue; and arrived there on Shrove-Tuesday. He was received by the king as if he had been the best of his friends, as well as the greatest of his subjects, and admitted to sup with his majesty in the castle, while his attendants were dispersed in the town, little suspecting the catastrophe that followed. The entertainment being over, the king told the earl with an air of frankness, "That as he was

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Interview  
between  
King James  
and the earl  
of Dou-  
glas.

now of age, he was resolved to be the father of all his people, and to take the government into his own hands; that his lordship, therefore, had no reason to be under any apprehensions from his old enemies Callendar and Crichton; that there was no occasion to form any confederacies, as the law was ready to protect him; and that he was welcome to the principal direction of affairs under the crown, and to the first place in the royal confidence; nay, that all former offences done by himself and his friends should be pardoned and forgotten."

This speech was the very reverse of what the earl of Douglas aimed at. It rendered him, indeed, the first subject of the kingdom; but still he was controulable by the civil law. In short, on the king's peremptorily putting the question to him, he not only refused to dissolve the confederacy, but upbraided the king for his government. This produced a passionate rejoinder on the part of James; but the earl represented that he was under a safe-conduct, and that the nature of his confederacy was such, that it could not be broken but by the common consent of all concerned. The king insisted on his setting the example; and the earl continuing more and more obstinate, James stabbed him with his dagger; and armed men rushing into the room, finished the atrocious deed.

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The king  
kills him  
with his  
own hands.

After the death of the earl of Douglas, the confederacy came to nothing. The insurgents excused themselves as being too weak for such an enterprise; and were contented with trailing the safe-conduct at a horse's tail, and proclaiming, by trumpets and horns, the king a perjured traitor. They proceeded no farther; and each departed to his own habitation, after agreeing to assemble with fresh forces about the beginning of April. James lost no time in improving this short respite; and found the nation in general much better disposed in his favour than he had reason to expect. The intolerable oppressions of the great barons made his subjects esteem the civil, far preferable to the feudal, subjection: and even the Douglasses were divided among themselves: for the earl of Angus and Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith were among the most forward of the royalists. James at the same time wrote letters to the earl of Huntly, and to all the noblemen of his kingdom who were not parties in the confederacy, besides the ecclesiastics, who remained firmly attached to his prerogative. Before the effect of those letters could be known, the insurgents had returned to Stirling (where James still wisely kept himself on the defensive); repeated their insolences, and the opprobrious treatment of his safe-conduct; and at last they plundered the town, and laid it in ashes. Being still unable to take the castle, partly through their own divisions, and partly through the diversity of the operations they were obliged to carry on, they left Stirling, and destroyed the estate of Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, whom they considered as a double traitor, because he was a Douglas and a good subject. They then besieged his castle: but it was so bravely defended by Patrick Cockburn, a gentleman of the family of Langton, that they raised the siege; which gave the royal party farther leisure for humbling them.

All this time the unhappy country was suffering the most cruel devastations; for matters were now come to such extremity, that it was necessary for every man to be

Scotland. a royalist or a rebel. The king was obliged to keep on the defensive; and though he had ventured to leave the castle of Stirling, he was in no condition to face the rebels in the field. They were in possession of all the strong passes by which his friends were to march to his assistance; and he even consulted with his attendants on the means of escaping to France, where he was sure of an hospitable reception. He was diverted from that resolution by Archbishop Kennedy and the earl of Angus, who was himself a Douglas, and prevailed on to wait for the event of the earl of Huntly's attempts for his service. This nobleman, who was descended from the Seatons, but by marriage inherited the great estates of the Gordons in the north, had raised an army for James, to whose family he and his ancestors, by the Gordons as well as the Seatons, had been always remarkably devoted. James was not mistaken in the high opinion he had of Huntly; and in the mean time he issued circular letters to the chief ecclesiastics and bodies-politic of his kingdom, setting forth the necessity he was under of proceeding as he had done, and his readiness to protect all his loyal subjects in their rights and privileges against the power of the Douglases and their rebellious adherents. Before these letters could have any effect, the rebels had plundered the defenceless houses and estates of all who were not in their confederacy, and had proceeded with a fury that turned to the prejudice of their cause.

339  
Battle of  
Brechin,  
where the  
rebels are  
defeated.

The indignation which the public had conceived against the king, for the violation of his safe-conduct, began now to subside; and the behaviour of his enemies in some measure justified what had happened, or at least made the people suspect that James would not have proceeded as he did without the strongest provocation. The forces he had assembled being unable, as yet, to act offensively, he resolved to wait for the earl of Huntly, who by this time was at the head of a considerable army, and had begun his march southwards. He had been joined by the Forbesses, Ogilvies, Leslie's, Grants, Irvings, and other relations and dependants of his family; but having advanced as far as Brechin, he was opposed by the earl of Crawford, the chief ally of the earl of Douglas, who commanded the people of Angus, and all the adherents of the rebels in the neighbouring counties, headed by foreign officers. The two armies joining battle on the 18th of May, victory was for some time in suspense; till one Coloss of Bonny-moon, on whom Crawford had great dependence, but whom he had imprudently disoblinded, came over to the royalists with the division he commanded, which was the strongest part of Crawford's army, armed with battle-axes, broadswords, and long spears. His defection gave the fortune of the day to the earl of Huntly, as it left the centre flank of Crawford's army entirely exposed to the royalists. He himself lost one of his brothers; and fled with another, Sir John Lindsay, to his house at Finhaven, where it is reported that he broke out into the following ejaculation: "That he would be content to remain seven years in hell, to have in so timely a season done the king his master that service the earl of Huntly had performed, and carry that applause and thanks he was to receive from him."

No author informs us of the loss of men on either side, though all agree that it was very considerable on the whole. The earl of Huntly, particularly, lost

two brothers, William and Henry; and we are told, Scotland. that, to indemnify him for his good services, as well as for the rewards and presents which he had made in lands privileges to his faithful followers, the king bestowed on him the lands of Badenoch and Lochaber.

The battle of Brechin was not immediately decisive in favour of the king, but proved so in its consequences. The earl of Moray, a Douglas likewise, took advantage of Huntly's absence to harass and ravage the estates of all the royalists in the north; but Huntly returning from Brechin with his victorious army, drove his enemy into his own county of Moray, and afterwards expelled him even from thence. James was now encouraged by the advice of his kinsman Kennedy archbishop of St Andrew's, to whose firmness and prudence he was under great obligations, to proceed against the rebels in a legal manner, by holding a parliament at Edinburgh, to which the confederated lords were summoned; and upon their non-compearance, they were solemnly declared traitors. This proceeding seemed to make the rebellion rage more fiercely than ever; and at last, the confederates, in fact, disowned their allegiance to James. The earls of Douglas, Crawford, Ormond, Moray, the lord Balveny, Sir James Hamilton, and others, signed with their own hands public manifestoes, which were pasted on the doors of the principal churches, importing, "That they were resolved never to obey command or charge, nor answer citation for the time coming; because the king, so far from being a just master, was a bloodsucker, a murderer, a transgressor of hospitality, and a surpriser of the innocent." It does not appear that these atrocious proceedings did any service to the cause of the confederates. The earl of Huntly continued victorious in the north; where he and his followers, in revenge for the earl of Moray's having burnt his castle of Huntly, seized or ravaged all that nobleman's great estate north of the Spey. When he came to the town of Forres, he burned one side of the town, because it belonged to the earl, and spared the other, because it was the property of his own friends. James thought himself, from the behaviour of the earl of Douglas and his adherents, now warranted to come to extremities; and marching into Annandale, he carried fire and sword through all the estates of the Douglases there. The earl of Crawford, on the other hand, having now recruited his strength, destroyed the lands of all the people of Angus and of all others who had abandoned him at the battle of Brechin; though there is reason to believe, that he had already secretly resolved to throw himself upon the king's mercy.

Nothing but the most obstinate pride and resentment could have prevented the earl of Douglas, at this time, from taking the advice of his friends, by returning to his duty; in which case, James had given sufficient intimations that he might expect pardon. He coloured his contumacy with the specious pretext, that his brother's fate, and those of his two kinsmen, sufficiently instructed him never to trust to James or his ministers; that he had gone too far to think now of receding; and that kings, when once offended, as James had been, never pardoned in good earnest. Such were the chief reasons, with others of less consequence, which Drummond has put into the mouth of Douglas at this time. James, after his expedition into Annandale, found the

340  
The rebel-  
lion sup-  
pressed.

341  
New affo-  
ciation a-  
gainst the  
king by  
the earls of  
Douglas,  
Crawford,  
&c.

Scotland. season too far advanced to continue his operations; and returning to Edinburgh, he marched northwards to Angus, to reduce the earl of Crawford, who was the second rebel of power in the kingdom. That nobleman had hitherto deferred throwing himself at the king's feet, and had resumed his arms, in the manner related, only in hopes that better terms might be obtained from James for himself and his party. Perceiving that the earl of Douglas's obstinacy had cooled some other lords of the confederacy, and had put an end to all hopes of a treaty, he resolved to make a merit of breaking the confederacy, by being the first to submit. James having arrived in Angus, was continuing his march through the country, when the earl and some of his chief followers fell on their knees before him on the road, bare-headed and barefooted. Their dreary looks, their suppliant postures, and the tears which streamed abundantly from the earl, were expressive of the most abject contrition, which was followed by a penitential speech made by the earl, acknowledging his crimes, and imploring forgiveness.

342  
Broken by  
the earl of  
Crawford,

343  
who is re-  
ceived into  
favour.

344  
Earl Dou-  
glas sub-  
mits, but  
rebels a-  
gain.  
An. 1454.

James was then attended by his chief counsellors, particularly Archbishop Kennedy, who, he resolved, should have some share in the favour he meant to extend to the earl. He asked their advice; which proving to be on the merciful side, James promised to the earl and his followers the restitution of all their estates and honours, and full pardon for all that had passed. The earl, as a grateful return for this favour, before the king left Angus, joined him with a noble troop of his friends and followers; and attending him to the north, was extremely active in suppressing all the remains of the rebellion there.

The submission of the earl of Crawford was followed by that of the earl of Douglas; which, however, continued only for a short time. This powerful nobleman soon resumed his rebellious practices; and, in the year 1454, raised an army to fight against the king. The king erected his standard at St Andrew's; marched from thence to Falkland; and ordered all the forces of Fife, Angus, and Strathern, with those of the northern parts, to rendezvous by a certain day at Stirling; which they did to the number of 30,000. Douglas assembled his forces, which amounted to 40,000, some say 60,000 men, on the south side of the river Carron, about half way between Stirling and Abercorn. Notwithstanding this superiority of force, however, the earl did not think it proper to fight his sovereign. Archbishop Kennedy, the prelate of St Andrew's, had advised the king to divide his enemies by offering them pardon separately; and so good an effect had this, that in a few days the earl found himself deserted by all his numerous army, except about 100 of his nearest friends and domestics, with whom he retired towards England. His friends had indeed advised him to come to a battle immediately; but the earl, for reasons now unknown, refused. In his journey southward, however, he raised a considerable body of forces, consisting of his own tenants, of outlaws, robbers, and borderers, with whom he renewed his depredations on the loyal subjects of the king. He was opposed by the earl of Angus, who, though of the name of Douglas, continued firm in the royal cause. An engagement ensued at Ancram muir; where Douglas was entirely defeated, and he himself with great difficulty escaped to an adjacent wood.

345  
He is en-  
tirely de-  
feated.

What his fate was after this battle does not appear; but it is certain that his estates were afterwards forfeited to the king. Scotland.

The rest of the reign of James II. was spent in making proper regulations for the good of his people. In 1460 he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle, by the bursting of a cannon, to which he was too near when it was discharged. This siege he had undertaken in favour of Margaret queen of England, who, after losing several battles, and being reduced to distress, was obliged to apply to James for relief. The nobility who were present concealed his death, for fear of discouraging the soldiers, and in a few hours after his queen appeared in the camp, and presented her son, James III. as their king.

James III. was not quite seven years of age at his accession to the crown. The administration naturally devolved on his mother; who pushed the siege of Roxburgh castle with so much vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in a few days; after which the army ravaged the country, and took and dismantled the castle of Wark.—In 1466, negotiations were begun for a marriage between the young king and Margaret princess of Denmark; and, in 1468, the following conditions were stipulated. 1. That the annual rent hitherto paid for the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland should be for ever remitted and extinguished. 2. That King Christiern, then king of Denmark, should give 60,000 florins of gold for his daughter's portion, whereof 10,000 should be paid before her departure from Denmark; and that the islands of Orkney should be made over to the crown of Scotland, by way of pledge for the remainder; with this express proviso, that they should return to that of Norway after complete payment of the whole sum. 3. That King James should, in case of his dying before the said Margaret his spouse, leave her in possession of the palace of Linlithgow and castle of Down in Menteith, with all their appurtenances, and the third part of the ordinary revenues of the crown, to be enjoyed by her during life, in case she should choose to reside in Scotland. 4. But if she rather chose to return to Denmark, that in lieu of the said liferent, palace, and castle, she should accept of 120,000 florins of the Rhine; from which sum the 50,000 due for the remainder of her portion being deduced and allowed, the islands of Orkney should be reannexed to the crown of Norway as before.

When these articles were agreed on, Christiern found himself unable to fulfil his part of them. Being at that time engaged in an unsuccessful war with Sweden, he could not advance the 10,000 florins which he had promised to pay down as part of his daughter's fortune. He was therefore obliged to apply to the plenipotentiaries to accept of 2000, and to take a farther mortgage of the isles of Shetland for the other 8000. The Scottish plenipotentiaries, of whom Boyd earl of Arran was one, gratified him in his request; and this concession is thought to have proved fatal to the earl. Certain it is, that his father was beheaded for treasonable practices alleged to have been committed long before, and for which he in vain produced a parliamentary indemnity: the earl himself was divorced from his wife the king's sister, and obliged to live in perpetual exile, while the countess was married to another.

In

346  
King Ja. II.  
killed by  
accident.  
An. 1460.

347  
James III.

348  
Marriage-  
treaty with  
the princess  
of Denmark.  
An. 1468.

349  
Disgrace of  
the earl of  
Arran's fa-  
mily.

Scotland.

Scotland.

In 1476, those misfortunes began to come on James which afterwards terminated in his ruin. He had made his brother, the duke of Albany, governor of Berwick; and had entrusted him with very extensive powers on the borders, where a violent propensity for the feudal law still continued. The Humes and the Hepburns, then the most powerful subjects in those parts, could not brook the duke of Albany's greatness, especially after he had forced them, by virtue of a late act, to part with some of the estates which had been inconsiderately granted them in this and the preceding reign. The pretended science of judicial astrology, by which James happened to be incredibly infatuated, was the easiest as well as most effectual engine that could aid their purposes. One Andrew, an infamous impostor in that art, had been brought over from Flanders by James; and he and Schevez, the archbishop of St Andrew's, concurred in persuading James that the Scotch lion was to be devoured by his own whelps; a prediction that, to a prince of James's turn, amounted to a certainty.

The condition to which James reduced himself by his belief in judicial astrology, was truly deplorable. The princes on the continent were smitten with the same infatuation; and the wretches who besieged his person had no safety but by continuing the delusion in his mind. According to Lindsay, Cochran, who had some knowledge of architecture, and had been introduced to James as a master-mason, privately procured an old woman, who pretended to be a witch, and who heightened his terrors by declaring that his brother intended to murder him. James believed her; and the unguarded manner in which the earl of Mar treated his weakness, exasperated him so much, that the earl giving a farther loose to his tongue in railing against his brother's unworthy favourites, was arrested, and committed to the castle of Craig Miller; from which he was brought to the Canongate, a suburb of Edinburgh, where he suffered death.

The duke of Albany was at the castle of Dunbar when his brother the earl of Mar's tragedy was acted; and James could not be easy without having him likewise in his power. In hope of surprising him, he marched to Dunbar: but the duke, being apprized of his coming, fled to Berwick, and ordered his castle of Dunbar to be surrendered to the lord Evendale, though not before the garrison had provided themselves with boats and small vessels, in which they escaped to England. He ventured to come to Edinburgh; where James was so well served with spies, that he was seized, and committed close prisoner to the castle, with orders that he should speak with none but in the presence of his keepers. The duke had probably suspected and provided against this disagreeable event; for we are told that he had agents, who every day repaired to the

castle, as if they had come from court, and reported the state of matters between him and the king, while his keepers were present, in so favourable a light, that they made no doubt of his soon regaining his liberty, and being readmitted to his brother's favour. The seeming negotiation, at last, went on so prosperously, that the duke gave his keepers a kind of a farewell entertainment, previous to his obtaining a formal deliverance; and they drank so immoderately, that being intoxicated, they gave him an opportunity of escaping over the castle wall, by converting the sheets of his bed into a rope. Whoever knows the situation of that fortress, must be amazed at the boldness of this attempt; and we are told that the duke's valet, the only domestic whom he was allowed, making the experiment before his master, broke his neck: on which the duke, lengthening the rope, slid down unhurt; and carrying his servant on his back to a place of safety, he went on board a ship which his friends had provided, and escaped to France.

In 1482, the king began to feel the bad consequences of taking into his favour men of worthless characters, which seems to have been one of this prince's chief foibles. His great favourite at this time was Cochran, whom he had raised to the dignity of earl of Mar. All historians agree that this man made a most infamous use of his power. He obtained at last a liberty of coinage, which he abused so much as to endanger an insurrection among the poor people: for he issued a base coin, called *black money* by the common people, which they refused to take in payments. This favourite's skill in architecture had first introduced him to James; but he maintained his power by other arts: for knowing that his master's predominant passion was the love of money, he procured it by the meanest and most oppressive methods. James, however, was inclined to have relieved his people by calling in Cochran's money; but he was diverted from that resolution, by considering that it would be agreeable to his old nobility. Besides Cochran, James had other favourites whose professions rendered them still less worthy of the royal countenance; James Hommil a taylor, Leonard a blacksmith, Torfisan a dancing master, and some others. The favour shown to these men gave so much offence to the nobility, that, after some deliberation, they resolved to remove the king, with some of his least exceptionable domestics (but without offering any violence to his person) to the castle of Edinburgh: but to hang all his worthless favourites over Lawder-bridge, then the common place of execution. Their deliberation was not kept so secret but that it reached the ears of the favourites; who, suspecting the worst, awakened James before day-break, and informed him of the meeting. He ordered Cochran to repair to it, and to bring him an account of its proceedings (L). According to Lind-

say,

(L) Lindsay's description of this upstart's magnificence is very particular, and may serve to give the reader an idea of the finery of that age. "Cochran (says he), the earl of Mar, came from the king to the council (which council was holden in the kirk of Lawder for the time), who was well accompanied with a band of men of war, to the number of 300 light axes, all clad in white livery, and black bands thereon, that they might be known for Cochran the earl of Mar's men. Himself was clad in a riding-pie of black velvet, with a great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of 500 crowns; and four blowing horns, with both the ends of gold and silk, set with precious stones. His horn was tipped with fine gold at every end, and a precious stone, called a *beryl*, hanging in the

midst,

350  
Beginning  
of James's  
misfor-  
tunes.  
An. 1476.

351  
Is infatua-  
ted with  
the belief  
of astrology.

352  
Death of  
the king's  
brother the  
earl of Mar.

353  
Duke of  
Albany ar-  
rested, but  
escapes.

An. 1482.

354  
Cochran,  
the king's  
great fa-  
vourite.

Scotland. <sup>355</sup> He is seized and put to death, say, who seems to have had very minute information as to this event, Cochran rudely knocked at the door of the church, just after the assembly had finished their consultation; and upon Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven (who was appointed to watch the door) informing them that the earl of Mar demanded admittance, the earl of Angus ordered the door to be thrown open; and rushing upon Cochran, he pulled a massy gold chain from his neck, saying, that a rope would become him better; while Sir Robert Douglas stripped him of a costly blowing horn he wore by his side, as was the manner of the times, telling him he had been too long the hunter of mischief. Cochran, with astonishment, asked them whether they were in jest or earnest; but they soon convinced him they were in earnest, by pinning down his arms with a common halter, till he should be carried to execution.

<sup>356</sup> with others of the king's favourites. The earl of Angus, with some of the chief lords, attended by a detachment of troops, then repaired to the king's tent, where they seized his other favourites, Thomas Preston, Sir William Rogers, James Hommil, William Torrifan, and Leonard: and upbraided James himself, in very rude terms, with his misconduct in government, and even in private life, in not only being counselled by the above minions, but for keeping company with a lady who was called the *Daisy*. We know of no resistance made by James. He only interceded for the safety of a young gentleman, one John Ramsay of Balmain. Cochran, with his other worthless favourites, were hanged over Lawder-bridge before his eyes; and he himself was conducted, under an easy restraint, to the castle of Edinburgh.

<sup>357</sup> James confined in the castle of Edinburgh. James, though confined, behaved with great spirit; and even refused to pardon those who had confined him, or who had any hand in the execution at Lawder. At last, however, he was relieved by the duke of Albany, who, at the queen's desire, undertook to deliver her husband from confinement. This he accomplished, as some say, by surprising the castle of Edinburgh; though, according to others, the gates were opened, on a formal requisition made for that purpose by two heralds at arms. After he had obtained his liberty, the king repaired to the abbey of Holyroodhouse with his brother, who now acted as his first minister. All the lords who were near the capital came to pay him their compliments; but James was so much exasperated at what had happened, that he committed 16 of them prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. After his release, James granted a patent to the citizens of Edinburgh, and enlarged their privileges.

<sup>359</sup> Secret negotiations with Henry VII. of England. In 1487, James finished some secret negotiations in which he had been for some time engaged with Henry VII. king of England. The principal articles agreed on between the two monarchs were, That King James's second son should marry Catherine the third daughter of Edward IV. and sister to the princess Elizabeth, now queen of England; and that James himself, who was now a widower, should marry Queen Elizabeth. A third marriage was also to be concluded between the

duke of Rothefay and another daughter of Edward IV. That in order to these treaties, and for ending all controversies concerning the town of Berwick, which the king of Scotland desired so much to possess, a congress should be held the ensuing year.

But in the mean time a most powerful confederacy was formed against the king; the origin of which was as follows. James was a great patron of architecture; and being pleased with the situation of Stirling castle, he resolved to give it all the embellishments which that art could bestow; and about this time he made it the chief place of his residence. He raised within it a hall, which at that time was deemed a noble structure; and a college, which he called the chapel-royal. This college was endowed with an archdean who was a bishop, a subdean, a treasurer, a chanter and subchanter, with a double set of other officers usually belonging to such institutions. The expences necessary for maintaining these were considerable, and the king had resolved to assign the revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham to that purpose. This priory had been generally held by one of the name of Hume; and that family, through length of time, considered it as their property: they therefore strongly opposed the king's intention. The dispute seems to have lasted for some years; for the former parliament had passed a vote, annexing the priory to the king's chapel royal; and the parliament of this year had passed a statute, strictly forbidding all persons, spiritual and temporal, to attempt any thing, directly or indirectly, contrary or prejudicial to the said union and annexation. The Humes resented their being stripped of so gainful a revenue, the loss of which affected most of the gentlemen of that name; and they united themselves with the Hepburns, another powerful clan in that neighbourhood, under the lord Hales. An association was soon formed; by which both families engaged to stand by each other, and not to suffer any prior to be received for Coldingham, if he was not of one of their surnames. The lords Gray and Drummond soon joined the association; as did many other noblemen and gentlemen, who had their particular causes of discontent. Their agents gave out, that the king was grasping at arbitrary power; that he had acquired his popularity by deep hypocrisy; and that he was resolved to be signally revenged on all who had any hand in the execution at Lawder. The earl of Angus, who was the soul of the confederacy, advised the conspirators to apply to the old earl of Douglas to head them: but that nobleman was now dead to all ambition, and instead of encouraging the conspirators, he pathetically exhorted them to break off all their rebellious connections, and return to their duty; expressing the most sincere contrition for his own past conduct. Finding he could not prevail with them, he wrote to all the numerous friends and descendants of his family, and particularly to Douglas of Cavers, sheriff of Teviotdale, dissuading them from entering into the conspiracy; and some of his original letters to that effect are said to be still extant. That great man survived this application but a short time;

midst. This Cochran had his heumont borne before him, overgilt with gold; so were all the rest of his horns, and all his pallions (pavilions or tents) were of fine canvas of silk, and the cords thereof fine twined silk; and the chains upon his pallions were double overgilt with gold."

Scotland.

362  
Extinction  
of the  
principal  
branch of  
the family  
of Douglas.  
An. 1448.

363  
Puffillani-  
mous beha-  
viour of  
James.

time; for he died without issue at Lindores, on the 15th of April 1488; and in him ended the first branch of that noble and illustrious house. He was remarkable for being the most learned of all the Scots nobility, and for the comeliness of his person.

James appears to have been no stranger to the proceedings of the conspirators; but though he dreaded them, he depended on the protection of the law, as they did on his pusillanimity. His degeneracy in this respect is remarkable. Descended from a race of heroes, he was the first of his family who had been branded with cowardice. But his conduct at this time fully justifies the charge. Instead of vigorously supporting the execution of the laws in his own person, he shut himself up in his beloved castle of Stirling, and raised a body guard; the command of which he gave to the lord Bothwell, master of his household. He likewise issued a proclamation, forbidding any person in arms to approach the court; and Bothwell had a warrant to see the same put in execution. Though the king's proceedings in all this were perfectly agreeable to law, yet they were given out by his enemies as so many indications of his aversion to the nobility, and served only to induce them to parade, armed, about the country in more numerous bodies.

The connections entered into by James with Henry VII. of England, alarmed the conspirators, and made them resolve to strike the great blow, before James could avail himself of an alliance that seemed to place him above all opposition either abroad or at home. The acquisition of Berwick to the crown of Scotland, which was looked on to be as good as concluded; the marriage of the duke of Rothesay with the daughter of the dowager and sister to the consort queen of England; and, above all, the strict harmony which reigned between James and the states of his kingdom, rendered the conspirators in a manner desperate. Besides the earl of Angus, the earls of Argyle and Lenox favoured the conspirators. When the whole of James's convention with England is considered, and compared with after-events, nothing can be more plain, than that the success of the conspirators was owing to his English connections; and that they made use of them to affirm, that Scotland was soon to become a province of England, and that James intended to govern his subjects by an English force.—Those specious allegations did the conspirators great service, and inclined many, even of the moderate party, to their cause. They soon took the field, appointed their rendezvous, and all the south of Scotland was in arms. James continued to rely on the authority of his parliament; and summoned, in the terms of law, the insurgents to answer at the proper tribunals for their repeated breaches of the peace. The conspirators, far from paying any regard to his citations, tore them in pieces, buffeted and otherwise maltreated the messengers, and set the laws of their country at open defiance. Even north of the Forth, the heads of the houses of Gray and Drummond spread the spirit of disaffection through the populous counties of Fife and Angus; but the counties north of the Grampians continued firm in their duty.

The duke of Rothesay was then a promising youth about fifteen years of age; and the subjecting the kingdom of Scotland to that of England being the chief, if not the only cause urged by the rebels for

their appearing in arms, they naturally threw their eyes upon that prince, as his appearance at their head would give strength and vigour to their cause; and in this they were not deceived. James, in the mean time, finding the inhabitants of the southern provinces either were engaged in the rebellion, or at best observed a cold neutrality, embarked on board a vessel which was then lying in the frith of Forth, and passed to the north of that river, not finding it safe to go by land to Stirling. Arriving at the castle, he gave orders that the duke of Rothesay (as if foreseeing what afterwards happened) should be put under the care of one Schaw of Sauchie, whom he had made its governor, charging him not to suffer the prince on any account to depart out of the fort. The rebels giving out that James had fled to Flanders, plundered his equipages and baggage before they passed the Forth; and they there found a large sum of money, which proved to be of the utmost consequence to their affairs. They then surprised the castle of Dunbar, and plundered the houses of every man to the south of the Forth whom they suspected to be a royalist.

James was all this time making a progress, and holding courts of justice, in the north, where the great families were entirely devoted to his service, particularly the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Marshal.—Every day brought him fresh alarms from the south, which left him no farther room either for delay or deliberation. The conspirators, notwithstanding the promising appearance of their affairs, found, that in a short time their cause must languish, and their numbers dwindle, unless they were furnished with fresh pretexts, and headed by a person of the greatest authority. While they were deliberating who that person should be, the earl of Angus boldly proposed the duke of Rothesay; and an immediate application was made to Schaw, the young prince's governor, who secretly favoured their cause, and was prevailed on by a considerable sum of money to put the prince into their hands, and to declare for the rebels.

James having ordered all the force in the north to assemble, hurried to Perth (then called St John's town), where he appointed the rendezvous of his army, which amounted to 30,000 men. Among the other noblemen who attended him was the famous lord David Lindsay of the Byres (an officer of great courage and experience, having long served in foreign countries), who headed 3000 foot and 1000 horse, raised chiefly in Fifeshire. Upon his approaching the king's person, he presented him with a horse of remarkable spirit and beauty, and informed his majesty, that he might trust his life to his agility and sure-footedness. The lord Ruthven, who was sheriff of Strathern, and ancestor (if we mistake not) to the unfortunate earls of Gowrie, joined James at the head of 3000 well armed men.—

The whole army being assembled, James proceeded to Stirling; but he was astonished, when he was not only denied entrance into the castle, but saw the guns pointed against his person, and understood, for the first time, that his son was at the head of the rebels. Schaw pretended that the duke of Rothesay had been carried off against his will: but the king's answer was, "Fye, traitor, thou hast deceived me; and if I live I shall be revenged on thee, and thou shalt be rewarded as thou hast deserved." James lay that night in the town of Stirling,

Scotland.

365  
The duke  
of Rothe-  
say put into  
confinement.

366  
Success of  
the rebels.

367  
They are  
headed by  
the duke of  
Rothesay.

368  
James as-  
sembles his  
army.

364  
Is set at de-  
fiance by  
the conspi-  
rators.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> Stirling, where he was joined by all his army; and understanding that the rebels were advancing, he formed his line of battle. The earl of Athol his uncle, who was trusted by both parties, proposed an accommodation; which was accordingly effected, if we are to believe Abercromby and other historians; but we know not the terms, for none are mentioned on either side.— James is said to have failed on his part; but had there been any grounds for such a charge against him, there can scarcely be a doubt that the rebels would have published them. That a treaty was entered into is past dispute; and the earl of Athol surrendered himself as a hostage into the hands of the rebels.

James was sensible of the advantage which public clamour gave to his enemies; and he applied to the kings of France and England, and the pope, for their interposition. His holiness named Adrian de Castello for his nuncio on that occasion; and the two kings threatened to raise troops for the service of James.— He, by a fatality not uncommon to weak princes, left the strong castle of Edinburgh, where he might have been in safety, till his friends, who had dispersed themselves upon the faith of the late negotiation, could be reassembled; and crossing the Forth, he made another attempt to be admitted into the castle of Stirling; but was disappointed, and informed that the rebels were at Torwood in the neighbourhood, and ready to give him battle. He was in possession of the castle of Blackness; his admiral, Wood, commanded the Forth; and his loyal subjects in the north were upon their march to join him. Hawthornden says, that the rebels had made a show of dismissing their troops, that they might draw James into the field; and that while he remained at Blackness, he was attended by the earls of Montrose, Glencairn, and the lords Maxwell and Ruthven. To give his northern troops time to join him, he proposed a negotiation; but that was soon at an end, on the rebels peremptorily requiring him to resign his crown to his son, or rather to themselves.

369  
Is required  
by the re-  
bels to re-  
sign his  
crown.

The rebels had been inured to war. They consisted chiefly of borderers, well armed and disciplined; in which they had the advantage of the king's Lowland subjects, who had not been accustomed to arms. What the numbers on both sides were does not clearly appear; but it is probable that the forces of James were superior to the rebels. They were then at Falkirk; but they soon passed the Carron, encamped above the bridge near Torwood, and made such dispositions as rendered a battle unavoidable, unless James would have dispersed his army, and gone on board Wood's ships: but he did not know himself, and resolved on a battle. He was encamped at a small brook named Sauchie burn, near the same spot of ground where the great Bruce had defeated the English under Edward the second. The earl of Menteith, the lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Maxwell, commanded the first line of the king's army. The second was commanded by the earl of Glencairn, who was at the head of the Westland and Highland men. The earl of Crawford, with the lord Boyd and Lindsay of Byres, commanded the rear, wherein the king's main strength consisted, and where he himself appeared in person, completely armed, and mounted upon the fine horse which had been presented to him by Lindsay.

370  
Comes to a  
battle with  
them.

The first line of the royalists obliged that of the re-

bels to give way; but the latter being supported by the Annandale men and borderers, the first and second line of the king's army were beat back to the third. The little courage James possessed had forsaken him at the first onset; and he had put spurs to his horse, intending to gain the banks of the Forth, and to go on board one of Wood's ships. In passing through the village of Bannockburn, a woman who was filling her picher at the brook, frightened at the sight of a man in armour galloping full speed, left it behind her; and the horse taking fright, the king was thrown to the ground, and carried, bruised and maimed, by a miller and his wife, into their hovel. He immediately called for a priest to make his confession; and the rustics demanding his name and rank, "I was (said he incautiously) your king this morning." The woman, overcome with astonishment, clapped her hands, and running to the door called for a priest to confess the king. "I am a priest (said one passing by), lead me to his majesty." Being introduced into the hovel, he saw the king covered with a coarse cloth; and kneeling by him, he asked James whether he thought he could recover, if properly attended by physicians? James answering in the affirmative, the villain pulled out a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart. Such is the dark account we are able to give of this prince's unhappy end. The name of the person who murdered him is said to have been Sir Andrew Borthwick, a priest, one of the pope's knights. Some pretend that the lord Gray, and others that Robert Stirling of Keir, was the regicide; and even Buchanan (the tenor of whose history is a justification of this murder), is uncertain as to the name of the person who gave him the fatal blow.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>  
371  
Abandons  
his army,  
and flies.

372  
Is thrown  
from his  
horse, and  
murdered,  
11th June,  
An. 1488.

It is probable that the royalists lost the battle through the cowardice of James. Even after his flight his troops fought bravely; but they were damped on receiving the certain accounts of his death. The prince, young as he was, had an idea of the unnatural part he was acting, and before the battle he had given a strict charge for the safety of his father's person. Upon hearing that he had retired from the field, he sent orders that none should pursue him; but they were ineffectual, the rebels being sensible that they could have no safety but in the king's death. When that was certified, hostilities seemed to cease; nor were the royalists pursued. The number of slain on both sides is uncertain; but it must have been considerable, as the earl of Glencairn, the lords Sempil, Erskine, and Ruthven, and other gentlemen of great eminence, are mentioned. As to the duke of Rothsay, who was now king, he appeared inconsolable when he heard of his father's death; but the rebels endeavoured to efface his grief, by the profusion of honours they paid him when he was recognized as king.

373  
Grief of his  
son for his  
death.

The remorse and anguish of the young king, on reflecting upon the unnatural part which he had acted, was inexpressible; and the noblemen who had been engaged in the rebellion became apprehensive for their own safety. The catastrophe of the unfortunate James III. however, was not yet become public; and it was thought by many that he had gone aboard one of the ships belonging to the Scottish admiral Sir Andrew Wood. James, willing to indulge hope as long as it was possible, desired an interview with the admiral; but the latter refused to come on shore, unless he had sufficient



Scotland. sufficient hostages for his safety. These being delivered, Sir Andrew waited on the king at Leith. He had again and again, by messages, assured him that he knew nothing of the late king; and he had even offered to allow his ships to be searched; yet such was the anxiety of the new king, that he could not be satisfied till he had examined him in person. Young James had been long a stranger to his father, so that he could not have distinguished him easily from others. When Wood, therefore, entered the room, being struck with his noble appearance, he asked him, "Are you my father?" "I am not," replied Wood, bursting into tears; "but I was your father's true servant, and while I live I shall be the determined enemy of his murderers." This did not satisfy the lords, who demanded whether he knew where the king was. The admiral replied, that he knew not; and upon their questioning him concerning his manœuvres on the day of battle, when his boats were seen plying backwards and forwards, he told them, that he and his brother had determined to assist the king in person; but all they could do was to save some of the royalists in their ships. "I would to God, (says he), my king was there safely, for I would defend and keep him skaitheless from all the traitors who have cruelly murdered him: for I think to see the day to behold them hanged and drawn for their demerits." This spirited declaration, and the freedom with which it was delivered, struck the guilty part of the council with dismay; but the fear of sacrificing the hostages procured Wood his freedom, and he was suffered to depart to his ships. When he came on board, he found his brother preparing to hang the two lords who had been left as hostages; which would certainly have been their fate, had the admiral been longer detained.

Wood had scarcely reached his ships, when the lords, calling the inhabitants of Leith together, offered them a large premium if they would fit out a sufficient force to destroy that bold pirate and his crew, as they called Wood; but the townsmen, who, it seems, did not much relish the service, replied, that Wood's ships were a match for any ten ships that could be fitted out in Scotland. The council then removed to Edinburgh, where James IV. was crowned on the 24th of June 1488.

375  
Review of  
the reign of  
James III.

If we were to form an opinion of the manners of these times from the statutes enacted by the Scottish parliament during the reign of James III. we should suppose them to have been more refined than is evinced by the actions which we have just related. By those statutes the rights of the church were again confirmed, yet we have seen, from events, how little effect religion had produced on the morals of the age. One of the first acts of this reign was, to give the king the right of presentation to all benefices of ecclesiastical patronage, while the episcopal sees were vacant. The king was empowered to hold plea of any matter personally, at his empleasance, as it was wont to be of before. The parliament again delegated to a few of its members the whole legislative power, yet was it not felt in that age, as begetting contempt, and consequently disobedience. The *leges burgorum* were declared to be part of the law, and the books of *regiam majestatem* were called his majesty's laws. In these declarations we may perceive that the legislators of those times were not very accurate antiquaries, yet did the estates display a just anxiety for the preservation of their rolls and registers, by directing

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that they should be entered in books. With an allusion, perhaps, to the atrocities of that period, the three estates declared that murder and assassinations were not to be entitled to sanctuary. During this terrible reign, the parliament displayed more zeal than knowledge for promoting the agriculture and fishery, and for regulating the trade, coinage, and shipping of a people who still wanted credit, capital, and circulation, for the enjoyment of an active and profitable commerce. The legislative acts of this reign shew, to an inquisitive eye, some progress towards civilization, though the history of its political events attests that there had been little improvement in the morality of the national character, or in the refinements of domestic life.

In the month of October this year, the nobility and others who had been present at the king's coronation, converted themselves into a parliament, and passed an act by which they were indemnified for their rebellion against their late sovereign; after which, they ordered the act to be exemplified under the great seal of Scotland, that it might be producible in their justification if called for by any foreign prince. They next proceeded to the arduous task of vindicating their rebellion in the eyes of the public; and so far did they gain on the king by force of flattery, that he consented to summon the lords who had taken part with his father, before the parliament, to answer for their conduct. In consequence of this not fewer than 28 lords were cited to appear at Edinburgh in the space of 40 days. The first on the list was the lord David Lindsay, whose form of arraignment was as follows. "Cruel David Lindsay of the Byres, answer for the lord coming against the king at Bannockburn with his father, giving him counsel to have devoured the king's grace here present; and, to that effect, gave him a sword and a good horse, to fortify him against his son. Your answer hereto." Lord Lindsay was remarkable for the bluntness of his conversation and the freedom of his sentiments; and being irritated by this charge, he delivered himself in such a manner concerning the treason of the rebellious lords, as abashed the boldest of his accusers. As they were unable to answer him, all they could do was to press him to throw himself on the king's clemency; which he refused, as being guilty of no crime. His brother, Patrick Lindsay, undertook to be his advocate, and apologized on his knees for the roughness of his behaviour, and at last observed an informality in the proceedings of the court; in consequence of which Lindsay was released, on entering into recognizance to appear again at an appointed day: but he was afterwards sent prisoner by the king's order, for a whole year, to the castle of Rothesay in the isle of Bute.

The regicides now endeavoured to gain the public favour by affecting a strict administration of justice. The king was advised to make a progress round the kingdom, attended by his council and judges; while, in the mean time, certain noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to exercise justice, and to suppress all kinds of disorders in their own lands and in those adjoining to them, till the king came to the age of 21. The memory of the late king was branded in the most opprobrious manner. All justices, sheriffs, and stewards, who were possessed of heritable offices, but who had taken up arms for the late king, were either deprived of them for three years, or rendered incapable of enjoying them

Scotland.

376  
The regicides assemble a parliament.

377  
Trial of Lord David Lindsay of Byres.

378  
Who is imprisoned.

379  
The new parliament affects popularity.

Scotland. for ever after. All the young nobility who had been disinherited by their fathers for taking arms against the late king, were, by act of parliament, restored to their several successions in the most ample manner. At last, in order to give a kind of proof to the world that they intended only to resettle the state of the nation, without prejudice to the lower ranks of subjects, who did no more than follow the examples of their superiors, it was enacted, "That all goods and effects taken from burghesses, merchants, and those who had only personal estates, or, as they are called, *unlanded men*, since the battle of Stirling, were not only to be restored, but the owners were to be indemnified for their losses; and their persons, if in custody, were to be set at liberty. Churchmen, who were taken in arms, were to be delivered over to their ordinances, to be dealt with by them according to the law." The castle of Dunbar was ordered to be demolished; and some statutes were enacted in favour of commerce, and for the exclusion of foreigners.

380  
Act relative to the king's marriage.

381  
They are opposed by the pope.  
An. 1489.

382  
Attempts to revenge the death of James III.

These last acts were passed with a view to recompense the boroughs, who had been very active in their opposition to the late king. Before they dissolved their parliament, the lords thought it necessary to give some public testimony of their disapproving the late king's connection with England. It was therefore enacted, "That as the king was now of an age to marry a noble princess, *born and descended of a noble and worshipful house*, an honourable embassy should be sent to the realms of France, Brittany, Spain, and other places, in order to conclude the matter." This embassy was to be very splendid. It was to consist of a bishop, an earl, or lord of parliament, a secretary, who was generally a clergyman, and a knight. They were to be attended by 50 horsemen; 5000*l.* was to be allowed them for the discharge of their embassy, and they were empowered to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland; and, in the mean time, a herald, or, as he was called, a *trusty squire*, was sent abroad to visit the several courts of Europe, in order to find out a proper match for the king. One considerable obstacle, however, lay in the way of this embassy. The pope had laid under an interdict all those who had appeared in arms against the late king; and the party who now governed in Scotland were regarded by all the powers of Europe as rebels and murderers. The embassy was therefore suspended for a considerable time; for it was not till the year 1491 that the pope could be prevailed on to take off the interdict, upon the most humble submissions and professions of repentance made by the guilty parties.

In the mean time, the many good qualities which discovered themselves in the young king began to conciliate the affections of his people to him. Being considered, however, as little better than a prisoner in the hands of his father's murderers, several of the nobility made use of that as a pretence for taking arms. The most forward of these was the earl of Lenox, who with 2000 men attempted to surprize the town of Stirling; but, being betrayed by one of his own men, he was defeated, taken unawares, and the castle of Dumbarton, of which he was the keeper, taken by the opposite party. In the north, the earls Huntly and Marshal, with the lord Forbes, complained that they had been deceived, and declared their resolution to revenge the

late king's death. Lord Forbes having procured the bloody shirt of the murdered prince, displayed it on the point of a lance, as a banner under which all loyal subjects should enlist themselves. After the defeat of Lenox, however, the northern chieftains found themselves incapable of marching southwards, and were therefore obliged to abandon their enterprise. The cause of the murdered king was next undertaken by Henry VII. of England, who made an offer to Sir Andrew Wood of five ships to revenge it. The admiral accepted the proposal; but the English behaving as pirates, and plundering indiscriminately all who came in their way, he thought proper to separate himself from them, yet without offering to attack or oppose them. Upon this, James was advised to send for the admiral, to offer him a pardon, and a commission to act against the English freebooters. Wood accepted the king's offer; and being well provided with ammunition and artillery, he, with two ships only, attacked the five English vessels, all of which he took, and brought their crews prisoners to Leith, for which he was nobly rewarded by his majesty.

Scot. and.  
383  
Henry VII. sends five ships for this purpose.

384  
Who act privately, and are all taken by Sir Andrew Wood.

This conduct of Wood was highly resented by the king of England, who immediately vowed revenge. The Scottish admiral's ships had been fitted out for commerce as well as war, and Henry commanded his best sea-officer, Sir Stephen Bull, to intercept him on his return from Flanders, whither he had gone upon a commercial voyage. Wood had not more than two ships with him: the English admiral had three; and these much larger, and carrying a greater weight of metal, than the Scottish vessels. The English took their station at the island of May, in the mouth of the frith of Forth, and, having come unawares upon their enemies, fired two guns as a signal for their surrendering themselves. The Scottish commander encouraged his men as well as he could; and finding them determined to stand by him to the last, began the engagement in sight of numberless spectators who appeared on both sides of the frith. The fight continued all that day, and was renewed with redoubled fury in the morning; but, in the mean time, the ebb-tide and a south wind had carried both squadrons to the mouth of the Tay. Here the English fought under great disadvantages, by reason of the sand-banks; and before they could get clear of them, all the three were obliged to submit to the Scots, who carried them to Dundee. Wood treated his prisoners with great humanity; and having afterwards presented them to King James, the latter dismissed them not only without ransom, but with presents to the officers and crews, and a letter to King Henry. To this Henry returned a polite answer, a truce was concluded, and all differences for the present were accommodated.

385  
Sir Stephen Bull sent against the Scottish admiral.

386  
But is taken with all his ships.

James all this time had continued to display such moderation in his government, and appeared to have the advantage of his subjects so much at heart, that they became gradually well affected to his government, and in 1490 all parties were fully reconciled. We may hence date the commencement of the reign of James IV.; and the next year the happiness of his kingdom was completed, by taking off the pope's interdict, and giving the king absolution for the concern he had in his father's death.

An. 1490.

Tranquillity being thus restored, the negotiations concerning the king's marriage began to take place, but met with several interruptions. In 1493, Henry VII. proposed

An. 1493.

Scotland. proposed a match between the king of Scotland and his cousin the princess Catharine. James was too much attached to France to be fond of English connections, and probably thought this match below his dignity; in consequence of which the proposal was treated with contempt. Notwithstanding this ill success, however, <sup>387</sup> Henry made another offer of alliance with James; and, in 1495, proposed a marriage betwixt him and his eldest daughter Margaret. This proposal was accepted: but the match seems not to have been at all agreeable to James; for, at the very time in which he was negotiating the marriage, he not only protected Perkin Warbeck, the avowed enemy and pretender to the crown of Henry, but invaded England on his account. This conduct was highly resented by the English parliament; but Henry himself forgave even this gross insult, and the marriage negotiations were once more resumed. The bride was no more than ten years and six months old; and being only the fourth degree of blood from James, it was necessary to procure a dispensation from the pope. This being obtained, a treaty of perpetual peace was concluded between the two nations, on the 1st of July 1503, being the first that had taken place for 170 years, since the peace of Northampton concluded between Robert I. and Edward III.

<sup>388</sup> A firm peace with that nation. An. 1503.

<sup>389</sup> Magnificence of the royal nuptials.

One of the great ends which Henry had in view in promoting this marriage, was to detach James from the French interest: no sooner, therefore, was the treaty signed, than he wrote to his son-in-law to this purpose; who, however, politely declined to break with his ancient ally. On the 16th of June, the royal bride set out from Richmond in Surrey, in company with her father, who gave her convoy as far as Collewston, the residence of his mother the countess of Richmond. After passing some days there, the king resigned his daughter to the care of the earls of Surrey and Northumberland, who proceeded with her to the borders of Scotland. Here many of the company were permitted to take their leave; but those who remained still made a royal appearance. At Lamberton-church they were met by James, attended by a numerous train of his no-

bility and officers of state. From Lamberton they proceeded to Dalkeith, and next day to Edinburgh; where the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest splendor. On this occasion, it is said that the Scots surpassed all their guests in extravagance and luxury; a circumstance which must be imputed to the great intercourse and commerce which James and his subjects maintained with foreign courts and countries.

After the celebration of the nuptials, James appears to have enjoyed a tranquillity unknown almost to any of his predecessors; and began to make a considerable figure among the European potentates. But the magnificence of his court and embassies, his liberality to strangers and to learned men, his costly edifices, and, above all, the large sums he laid out in ship-building, had now brought him into some difficulties; and he so far attended to the advice and example of his father-in-law, that he supplied his necessities by reviving dormant penal laws, particularly with regard to wardships and old titles of estates, by which he raised large sums. Though he did this without assembling his parliament, yet he found agents who justified those proceedings, in the same manner as Epsom and Dudley, did those of Henry, under the sanction of law. At last, however, touched with the sufferings of his subjects, he ordered all prosecutions to be stopped. He even went farther: for, sensible of the detestation into which his father-in-law's avarice had brought himself and his administration, he ordered the ministers who had advised him to those shameful courses to be imprisoned; and some of them, who probably had exceeded their commission, actually died in their confinement.

About this time, James applied himself, with incredible assiduity, to the building of ships; one of which, the *St Michael*, is supposed to have been the largest then in the world (M). He worked with his own hands in building it; and it is plain, from his conduct, that he was aspiring to maritime power, in which he was encouraged by the excellent seamen which Scotland then produced. The first essay of his arms by sea was in favour of his kinsman John king of Denmark. This

Scotland.

<sup>390</sup> James becomes a powerful monarch.

<sup>391</sup> Applies himself to maritime affairs.

(M) Of this ship we have the following account by Lindsay of Pitcottie. "In the same year, the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the *Great Michael*, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France. For this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wanted all the woods in Fife, which was oak-wood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norway; for she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her: but it was a year and day ere she was complete); to wit, she was twelve score foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the wall, outted jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every side, so stark and so thick, that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors effering thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, by all the rest of her orders; to wit, she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand and battret-falcon, and quarter-falcon, slings, pestilent serpetens, and double-dogs, with hagtor and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six score of gunners to use her artillery; and had a thousand men of war, by her captain, shippers, and quarter-masters.

"When this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay her if she was wight; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little skaith. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardin, and there, after the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quarter-master of her; and Robert Bartyne, who was master-shipper."

Scotland. prince was brother to the queen dowager of Scotland; and had partly been called to the throne of Sweden, and partly possessed it by force. He was opposed by the administrator, Sture, whom he pardoned after he was crowned. Sture, however, renewing his rebellion, and the Norwegians revolting at the same time, John found himself under such difficulties, that he was forced to return to Denmark; but he left his queen in possession of the castle of Stockholm, which she bravely defended against Sture and the Swedes. This heroic princess became a great favourite with James; and several letters that passed between them are still extant. The king of Denmark, next to the French monarch, was the favourite ally of James; who, early in his reign, had compromised some differences between them. It likewise appears, from the histories of the north, that both James and his father had given great assistance to his Danish majesty in reducing the Norwegians; and he resolved to become a party in the war against the Swedes, and the Lubeckers who assisted them, if the former continued in their revolt. Previous to this, he sent an ambassador to offer his mediation between John and his subjects. The mediation was accordingly accepted, and the negotiations were opened at Calmar. The deputies of Sweden not attending, John prevailed with those of Denmark and Norway to pronounce sentence of forfeiture against Sture and all his adherents. In the mean time, the siege of the castle of Stockholm was so warmly pressed, that the garrison was diminished to a handful, and those destitute of all kinds of provisions; so that the brave queen was forced to capitulate, and to surrender up the fortrefs, on condition that she might be suffered to depart for Denmark; but the capitulation was perfidiously broken by Sture, and she was confined in a monastery.

392  
James as-  
sists Den-  
mark a-  
gainst Swe-  
den.

It was on this occasion that James resolved to employ his maritime power. He wrote a letter, conceived in the strongest terms, to the archbishop of Upsal, the primate of Sweden, exhorting him to employ all his authority in favour of the king; and another letter to the Lubeckers, threatening to declare war against them, as well as the Swedes, if they jointly continued to assist the rebels. According to Hollinshed, James, in consequence of King John's application, gave the command of an army of 10,000 men to the earl of Arran, who replaced John upon his throne. Though this does not appear to be strictly truth, yet it is certain, that, had it not been for James, John must have sunk under the weight of his enemies. Sture, whose arms had made great progress, hearing that a considerable armament was fitting out in Scotland, and knowing that James had prevailed with the French king to assist John likewise, agreed to release the queen, and to conduct her to the frontiers of Denmark; where he died. By this time, James's armament, which was commanded by the earl of Arran, had set sail; but perceiving that all matters were adjusted between John and the Swedes, the ships returned sooner than James expected, "which (says he, in a very polite letter he wrote to the queen upon the occasion) they durst not have done, had they not brought me an account that her Danish majesty was in perfect health and safety." The severity of John having occasioned a fresh revolt, James again sent a squadron to his assistance, which appeared before Stockholm, and obliged the Lubeckers to conclude a new treaty.

James, having thus honourably discharged his engagements with his uncle the king of Denmark, turned his attention towards the Flemings and Hollanders, who had insulted his flag, on account of the assistance he had afforded the duke of Gueldres, as well as from motives of rapaciousness, which distinguished those traders, who are said not only to have plundered the Scots ships, but to have thrown their crews overboard to conceal their villany. James gave the command of a squadron to Barton; who put to sea, and, without any ceremony, treated all the Dutch and Flemish traders who fell into his hands as pirates, and sent their heads in hogheads to James. Soon after, Barton returned to Scotland, and brought with him a number of rich prizes, which rendered his reputation as a seaman famous all over Europe.—James was then so much respected on the continent, that we know of no resentment shown either by the court of Spain, whose subjects those Netherlanders were, or of any other power in Europe, for this vigorous proceeding.

Scotland.  
393  
Chaftises  
the Flem-  
ings and  
Hollanders.

The peace with England continued all the remaining part of the reign of Henry VII. nor did his son Henry VIII. though he had not the same reason as his father to keep well with the Scots, for some time shew any disposition to break with them. A breach, however, at length took place, and was never afterwards thoroughly made up.

394  
Cause of  
quarrel  
with Eng-  
land.

About 30 years before, one John Barton (a relation, probably, to the famous Barton) commanded a trading vessel, which was taken by two Portuguese sea-captains in the port of Sluys; and the captain, with several Scotchmen, were killed in endeavouring to defend their property. The action was esteemed cowardly as well as piratical, because it was done under the protection of a large Portuguese squadron. The ship, and the remaining part of the crew, with the cargo, were carried to Portugal, whence no redress could be obtained; and James III. granted letters of marque to John and Robert Bartons, heirs to the Barton who had been murdered. Upon the accession of James IV. to the crown of Scotland, the letters of marque were recalled, and a friendly correspondence was entered into between James and his Portuguese majesty. No redress, however, was to be had from the latter; and Robert Barton being made prisoner, and his ship a prize, he was detained in Zealand, till James procured his deliverance, by applying in his favour to the emperor Maximilian. Sir Andrew Barton took part in the quarrel; and having obtained a like letter of marque, he made dreadful depredations on the Portuguese trade, and, according to English authors, he plundered many English ships, on pretence of their carrying Portuguese property, and made the navigation of the narrow seas dangerous to Englishmen. The court of London received daily complaints of Barton's depredations; but Henry being at this time very averse to quarrel with James, these complaints were heard with great coldness at his council-board. The earl of Surrey had then two sons, gallant noblemen; and he declared to Henry's face, that while he had an estate that could furnish out a ship, or a son who was capable of commanding one, the narrow seas should not be infested. Henry could not discourage this generous offer; and letters of marque were accordingly granted to the two young noblemen, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard. The prizes that Barton had taken.

Scotland. taken had rendered his ships immensely rich, consequently they were heavy laden, and unfit for fighting; while we may easily suppose, that the ships of the Howards were clean, and of a superior force in every respect to those of Barton. After encountering a great deal of foul weather, Sir Thomas Howard came up with the Lyon, which was commanded by Sir Andrew Barton in person; and Sir Edward fell in with the Unicorn, Barton's other ship. The event was such as might be expected from the inequality of the match. Sir Andrew Barton was killed, while he was animating, with his whistle, his men to hold out to the last; and both the Scotch ships being taken, were carried in triumph to London, with their crews prisoners.

James could never forgive Henry for the loss of his brave officer. He sent to demand satisfaction; but all the answer he received was, that Barton and his crews were lawless pirates, and that what had been done against them ought never to have been resented amongst sovereign princes. James asserted, that Barton was no pirate, because he bore his commission; and that he ought to have been convicted of piratical acts before he was treated as being guilty of them. Henry intimated to James, that he was willing to accommodate the affair by way of negotiation; but James thought himself affronted by the proposal.

Various negotiations took place concerning this and other affairs till the year 1513; when James, though he had for some time before been fully resolved on a war with England, thought it highly necessary that it should have the sanction of his parliament, which he assembled for that purpose. The young nobility were not only inspired with the sentiments of James, but had been won over by the French; and the majority of them, as well as of the clergy (which was somewhat extraordinary, as James was, in effect, to fight against the pope and his allies), were keen for a war with England. The old counsellors, on the other hand, who saw the flourishing state of Scotland, arising from a long peace and commerce protected by a fleet, dreaded the ruinous consequences of the war. The queen naturally headed this party; and she was joined by the earl of Angus and the wisest part of the nobility. Their arguments made no impression upon James, who had received a present from Louis of four ships laden with wine and flour, and two ships of war completely equipped, one of them carrying 34 pieces of brass ordnance. He promised to the French queen, upon his honour, that he would take the field against the English; and he had sent him a fresh letter, gently reproaching him for want of gallantry, and for not being so good as his word. In short, the reasonings of the wisest and best part of the nobility were overruled, and the expedition against England was resolved on.

The earl of Hume, who was chamberlain of Scotland, was, at this juncture, at the head of 7000 or 8000 men, with whom he committed prodigious devastations on the English borders. Henry's queen, Catharine of Spain, whom he had left regent of his dominions, issued a commission of array, directed to Sir Thomas Lovel, knight of the garter, for assembling the militia of the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester, Stafford, Rutland, Northampton, and Lincoln. The management of the war, however, was chiefly committed to the earl of Surrey, who assembled the militia

of Chester, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the bishopric of Durham. The earl of Hume had by this time laid great part of Northumberland waste; and his men were returning home laden with booty. The earl of Surrey, resolving to intercept them, ordered Sir William Bulmer to form an ambush with 1000 archers, at a place called *Broomhouse*, which was extremely convenient for that purpose, as the Scots were obliged to pass that way. As the latter expected nothing of that kind, Bulmer executed his orders with great success. The archers assaulted the Scots all at once, and made so good use of their arrows, that their main body was put to flight, 500 were killed, and 400 taken, with the lord Hume's standard, which he left on the field of battle; the greatest part of the plunder being recovered at the same time. The commonalty of Scotland termed this expedition of the lord Hume's the *Ill road*.

James was more exasperated than ever by this defeat, and continued his preparations for invading England with additional vigour. His queen did all that became a wife and prudent wife to divert him from his fatal purpose. She endeavoured to work on his superstition, by recounting to him her ominous dreams and boding apprehensions. James treating these as mere illusions and fictions of the brain, she had recourse to other arts. While James was waiting at Linlithgow for the arrival of his army from the north and the Highlands, he assisted one afternoon at the vespers in the church of St Michael. Being placed in one of the canon's seats, a venerable comely man, of about 52 years of age, entered, dressed in a long garment of an azure colour, and girded round with a towel or roll of linen, his forehead bald, and his yellow locks hanging down his shoulders; in short, he was dressed and formed to appear like St Andrew, the apostle of Scotland, as he is represented in painting and sculpture. The church being crowded, this personage, with some difficulty, made his way to the king's seat; and leaning over it, he spoke to the following purpose: "Sir (said he), I am sent hither to intreat you for this time to delay your expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended journey: for if you do, you shall not prosper in your enterprise, nor any of your followers. I am further charged to warn you, if ye be so refractory as to go forward, not to use the acquaintance, company, or counsel of women, as ye tender your honour, life, and estate." After delivering these words, he retired through the crowd, and was no more seen, though, when the service was ended, James earnestly inquired after him.

That this scene was acted, seems to be past dispute; for Sir David Lindsay, who was then a young man, and present in the church, reported it both to Buchanan and Lindsay the historian. It is, however, equally certain, that the whole was a contrivance of the queen, to whose other afflictions the stings of jealousy were now added. In one of the Scotch inroads into England, one Heron, the proprietor of the castle of Ford, had been taken prisoner, and sent to Scotland; where he was detained on a charge of murder, of which he seems to have been innocent. The English historians mention this as having passed after James entered England: but from the latter part of the supposed phantom's speech, it is probable that it happened before;

and

Scotland.

397

The queen endeavours to dissuade James from his design.

398

A phantoma appears to him.

399

James deludes by his mistress.

Scotland.

395  
James resolves to invade England.  
An. 1513.

396  
The Scots defeated.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> and that Heron's wife and beautiful daughter had been for some time soliciting James for his deliverance. Be that as it may, it is too probable that James was smitten with the charms of the daughter; and that her mother, who was a most artful woman, knew how to avail herself of the conquest. Pretending that she had interest enough to procure the release of the lord Johnston and Alexander Home, who were prisoners in England, she was permitted by James to keep a constant correspondence with the earl of Surrey, to whom she is said to have betrayed all James's secrets and measures. The rendezvous of James's army was at the Burrow-moor, to which James repaired; and having given orders for the march of his artillery, he lodged at the abbey of Holyroodhouse. While he was there, another attempt was made to divert him from his purpose of invading England: but James, deaf to all the solicitations and inventions of his queen, mustered his army; and on the 22d of August he passed the Tweed, encamping that night near the banks of the Twissel. On his arrival at Twisselhaugh on the 14th, he called an assembly of his lords together, and made a declaration, that the heirs of all such as should die in the army, or be killed by the enemy during his stay in England, should have their wards, relief, and marriages of the king; who, upon that account, dispensed with their age. This is said to have been the crisis of that prince's fate. Abandoned to his passion for his English mistress, she prevailed with him, at her mother's instigation, to trifle away his time for some days; during which interval, the junction of the English army was formed. The earl of Surrey, the English general, was then at Pomfret: but ordered the landholders of the neighbouring counties to certify to him in writing what number of men each could furnish, charging them to be ready at an hour's warning; and he laid his plan so as not to bring his army into the field till James had advanced so far into England as to render it very difficult for him to retire without a general battle. This precaution assisted the lady Ford (as she is called) in persuading James that there was no danger in the delay, because the English had not the face of an army in the field.

In the mean time, the earl of Surrey ordered the governors of Berwick and Norham, the two strongest places on the frontiers of England, to prepare for a vigorous resistance in case they were attacked; and directed them to certify how long they could hold out, in hopes, that if they made a resolute defence, James would march on, and leave them in his rear. The governor of Norham's answer was, that his castle was so well provided, as to leave him no doubt, in case of a siege, to be able to defend it till King Henry should return from abroad, and relieve it in person. James, however, besieged it on the 25th of August, and battered it so furiously, that he took it by capitulation the sixth day after. James then proceeded to the castle of Etal belonging to the family of Manners (now duke of Rutland); which he took and demolished likewise, as he also did Wark, and arrived before the castle of Ford. The Scotch army is generally allowed to have consisted of at least 50,000 men when it passed the Tweed. At this time it was encamped on the heights of Cheviot, in the heart of a country naturally barren, and now desolate through the precautions taken by the English ge-

400  
The Scots  
take the  
castles of  
Norham,  
Etal, and  
Wark.

neral. Being obliged to extend their quarters for the benefit of subsistence, the mercenary part of them had acquired a considerable plunder, with which, as usual, they retired to their own country, as many more did for want of subsistence. The earl of Surrey knew their situation, and ordered the rendezvous of his army, first at Newcastle, and then near Norham, having certain intelligence of the vast desertions daily happening in the Scotch army, which had reduced it greatly. The wetness of the season rendered his march, especially that of the artillery, extremely difficult; but being joined by several persons of distinction, he marched on the 3d of September to Alnwick, where he was reinforced by 5000 hardy veteran troops, sent from the English army on the continent, under the command of his son the lord-admiral of England; so that, as the English authors admit, his army consisted of 26,000 men, all completely armed and provided for the field. James having, in the manifesto which he dispersed on his entering England, given the death of Barton as one of the causes of his invasion, the lord-admiral had prevailed with Henry to send him upon this service; and he informed James by a letter, that he intended to justify the death of that pirate in the front of the English army.

By this time the army of James was, by desertion and other causes, reduced to less than half its numbers; but the chief misfortune attending it was his own conduct. His indolence and inactivity, joined to the scandalous example of his amours, at such a season, had disgusted several of his greatest men and best friends; and some of them more than suspected a correspondence between the English lady and the earl of Surrey. James was deaf to all their remonstrances; and the earl of Angus declared, that he was resolved to return home, as he foresaw that the ruin of the army was inevitable through the obstinacy of James. He accordingly withdrew to Scotland, but left behind him his two sons. The lord Hume and the earl of Huntly were likewise discontented. The former had brought his men into the field; but according to some Scotch historians, with a design rather to betray than to serve James; but Huntly, though he disliked his master's conduct, remained firmly attached to his person.

The defection or backwardness of those great men seemed to make no impression upon James. He had chosen a strong camp in the neighbourhood of Ford, on the side of a mountain called Flodden-hill; and he was separated from the English army by the river Till. This advantageous situation put the earl of Surrey under great difficulties; for it rendered the Scotch army inaccessible, as it was fortified by artillery, and was now well supplied with provisions by the change of its situation. The earl drew up a manifesto, with which he charged Rouge Croix herald, who was attended by a trumpet. It contained some proposals for an exchange of prisoners, which seems to have been calculated to give the lady Ford the more credit with James; but concluded with reproaches for his perfidious invasion of England, and a defiance to James to fight him in a general battle. The herald was farther charged with a verbal commission to acquaint James, that the earl of Surrey had issued orders that no quarter should be given to any of the Scotch army but the king himself.

A council of war was called on this occasion; in which the earl of Huntly and others made strong remonstrances.

Scotland.

401  
James dis-  
gusts several of his nobility.

402  
Encamps  
in an ad-  
vantageous  
situation.

Scotland. monstresances against a general engagement. They shewed how fatal it must be to Scotland, should it prove unsuccessful; and that the wisest course James could follow was to return home, where, if he was pursued by the enemy, he could fight to great advantage. The earl of Huntly, however, added, that his opinion should be determined by that of the king and council; and that he was equally ready to share in his majesty's danger as his glory.

403  
Resolves  
to fight,  
contrary to  
the opi-  
nion of all  
his officers.

Huntly and the other noblemen were opposed by the French ambassador, who represented a retreat as disgraceful to the nobility of Scotland and the arms of James; and used many romantic arguments of the same kind, which but too well suited with the king's disposition. According to Drummond, the council were of opinion that the king should immediately besiege Berwick; but the majority of them declared that it was beneath the dignity of James to fight the earl of Surrey at that nobleman's requisition, and that James could lose no honour by returning home. Patrick Lord Lindsay of Byres, mentioned on a former occasion, and who was president of the council, expressed himself so strongly on that head, that James, in a passion, is said by the historian Lindsay to have sworn, that if ever he lived to return to Scotland, he would hang that nobleman at his own gate. He ordered Rouge Croix to be called in; and after treating him with great politeness, he sent a message to the earl of Surrey by one of his own heralds (Islay), importing, that he would give the English battle on the Friday following; and that had he received such a message from the earl even in his own castle of Edinburgh, he would have left that, and all other business, to fight him. With this message, a small manifesto, in vindication of James's conduct, was sent by the same herald.

The earl of Surrey, who was then so infirm that he was carried about in a sedan or chariot, had foreseen that James would return an answer by one of his own heralds; but, unwilling that he should obtain any knowledge of the situation of the English camp, he ordered proper persons to receive him at two miles distance, where soon after he attended himself in person. Islay executed his commission, without paying much respect to the person of the English general; who dismissed him, after bestowing great compliments on the honour and courage of James. The earl then ordered his army to march in the line of battle towards Wollershaugh. There he was joined by Rouge Croix, his herald, who gave him an account of the strong situation of the Scottish camp; but the advanced posts of the English army were then within three miles of their enemies, and the earl of Surrey found his difficulties daily increasing. The roads were broken up, the swelling of the rivers cut him off from the necessary communications for supplying his army, and nothing but a battle could save him either from being disbanded or destroyed.

James seems to have so far regarded the advice of his wisest counsellors, as not to abandon his strong situation. They endeavoured to persuade him, that it was a sufficient guard to his honour, if he did not decline the battle on the day appointed; and that his engagement did not bind him to fight upon disadvantageous ground. The Scots, at the same time, knew of their enemy's distresses; and, as Drummond elegantly expresses it, they remonstrated to their king, that he lacked nothing but patience to be victorious. The Scots thus lying on the defensive, the earl of Surrey again sent Rouge Croix to

404  
His impru-  
dent con-  
duct.

Scotland. inform James that he was ready to give him battle. James was sensibly nettled at this tacit imputation on his honour, and perhaps was inwardly vexed at having followed the wise advice of his noblemen. It appears, from the best authorities, that he neglected the necessary precautions for guarding the passages of the Till, which the English crossed, partly at a place where it was fordable, and partly at a bridge. We are told, not without great appearance of probability, that while the English were passing the bridge, Borthwick, master of the Scotch artillery, fell on his knees, and begged permission from James to point his cannon against the bridge; but that James answered him in a passion, that it must be at the peril of his (Borthwick's) head, and that he was resolved to see all his enemies that day on the plain before him in a body. The earl of Surrey, after passing the Till, took possession of Braxton, which lay to the right of the Scotch camp; and by that situation he cut off the communication of his enemies with the Tweed, and commanded the Till below Eton-castle. The Scotch generals saw themselves now in danger of being reduced to the same straits in which their enemies had been involved two days before, and their country open to an invasion of the English army. James had secret intelligence that this was far from being the intention of the English general; and imagining that the latter's intention was to take possession of a strong camp upon a hill between him and the Tweed, which would give the English a farther command of the country, he resolved to be before-hand with the earl, and gave orders for making large fires of green wood, that the smoke might cover his march along the height, to take advantage of that eminence. But while this stratagem concealed his march from the English, their movements were concealed from him: for when he came to the brow of the height over which he had marched, he found the enemy drawn up in order of battle on the plain, but so close to the height where he was, that his artillery, on which his great dependence was, must overshoot them.

A battle was now not only unavoidable, but the only means of saving the Scotch army, which was probably far from being a disagreeable circumstance to James. His person was so dear to his troops, that many of them dressed themselves as nearly as they could in the same coats of armour and with the same distinctions that James wore that day. His generals had earnestly desired him to retire to a place of safety, where his person would be secure in all events: but he obstinately refused to follow their advice; and on the 9th of September, early in the morning, dispositions were ordered for the line of battle. The command of the van was allotted to the earl of Huntly; the earls of Lenox and Argyle commanded the Highlanders under James, who, some say, served only as a volunteer; and the earls of Crawford and Montrose led the body of reserve. The earl of Surrey gave the command of his van to his son, the lord-admiral; his right wing was commanded by his other son, Sir Edward Howard; and his left by Sir Marmaduke Constable. The rear was commanded by the earl himself, Lord Dacres, and Sir Edward Stanley. Under those leaders served the flower of all the nobility and gentry then in England. Other writers give different accounts of the disposition of the English army, but they may be reconciled by the different forms into which the battle was thrown before it was decided. The lord  
Hume

405  
Account of  
the battle  
of Flodden,  
9th Sep-  
tember.  
An. 1513.

Scotland. Hume is mentioned as serving under the earls of Crawford and Montrose, and Hepburn earl of Bothwell was in the rear.

The first motion of the English army was by the lord-admiral, who suddenly wheeled to the right, and seized a pass at Milford, where he planted his artillery so as to command the most sloping part of the ascent on which the Scots were drawn up; and it did great execution. The Scots had not foreseen this manœuvre; and it threw them into such disorder, that the earl of Huntly found it necessary to attack the lord-admiral; which he did with so much fury, that he drove him from his post; and the consequence must have been fatal to the English, had not his precipitate retreat been covered by some squadrons of horse under the lord Dacres, which gave the lord-admiral an opportunity of rallying and new-forming his men. The earl of Surrey now found it necessary to advance to the front, so that the English army formed one continued line, which galled the Scots with perpetual discharges of their artillery and bows. The Highlanders, as usual, impatient to come to a close fight, and to share in the honour of the day, which they now thought their own, rushed down the declivity with their broad swords, but without order or discipline, and before the rest of the army, particularly the division under Lord Hume, advanced to support them. Their impetuosity, however, made a considerable impression on the main battle of the English; and the king bringing up the earl of Bothwell's reserve, the battle became general and doubtful: but by this time the lord-admiral, having again formed his men, came to the assistance of his father, and charged the division under the earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were marching up to support the Highlanders, among whom the king and his attendants were now fighting on foot: while Stanley, making a circuit round the hill, attacked the Highlanders in the rear. Crawford and Montrose, not being seconded, according to the Scottish historians, by the Humes, were routed; and thus all that part of the Scotch army which was engaged under their king, was completely surrounded by the division of the English under Surrey, Stanley, and the lord-admiral. In this terrible situation, James acted with a coolness not common to his temper. He drew up his men in a circular form, and their valour more than once opened the ranks of the English, or obliged them to stand aloof, and again have recourse to their bows and artillery. The chief of the Scotch nobility made fresh attempts to prevail with James to make his escape while it was practicable; but he obstinately continued the fight; and thereby became accessory to his own ruin, and that of his troops, whom the English would gladly have suffered to retreat. He saw the earls of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, and Lenox, fall by his side, with the bravest of his men lying dead on the spot; and darkness now coming on, he himself was killed by an unknown hand. The English were ignorant of the victory they had gained; and had actually retreated from the field of battle, with a design of renewing it next morning.

This disaster was evidently owing to the romantic disposition of the king himself, and to the want of discipline among many of his soldiers; though some writers have ascribed it to the treachery of Lord Hume. Many of James's domestics knew and mourned over his

body; and it appeared that he had received two mortal wounds, one through the trunk with an arrow, and the other in the head with a ball. His coat of armour was presented to Queen Catharine, who informed her husband, then in France, of the victory over the Scots. The loss on both sides, in this engagement, is far from being ascertained; though Polydore Virgil, who lived at the time, mentions the loss of the English at 5000, and that of the Scots at 10,000 men.

Thus fell James IV. after having exercised the regal power for 25 years, and lived about 40. In reviewing the principal transactions of his reign, our chief attention is directed to the acts of the legislature. These, as in the preceding reigns, appear to have been very mindful of the freedom of the *halie kirke*. During the year 1489, was passed an act, by which it was made criminal for any one to intermeddle with the profits or duties of the church; and this act, which did not long protect, either the church or the clergy from the rapacity of the times, was speedily followed by legislative declarations for universal concord among the king's lieges. The parliament also endeavoured to protect the king's privileges, considering him, still, however, as a minor; but he attempted in vain to restore to the royal prerogative the necessary vigour of ancient times. Additional exemptions were given to those members whose duty required their constant attendance in parliament; but by these exemptions the authority of the parliament was neither strengthened nor enlarged. The general principles of former ages, that the king, by his precept, might summon any of his subjects to give their presence and advice in parliament, was again recognized; and considering how much of the public revenue was paid by the boroughs, it was a salutary provision that their deputies should be always summoned as representatives of one of the three estates, when it was intended to require contributions from the people.

There seems to have been, during this reign, considerable zeal for promoting domestic economy, though the best means were not always employed for that purpose. Agriculture was encouraged, weights and measures were settled, *crasfmen* were regulated, coins were struck, the value of money diminished, and shipping were required to come first to the free boroughs. In addition to all these regulations, it was enacted under a penalty, that barons and freeholders should send their eldest sons to the schools, to learn Latin and law; but there seems to have been no provision made for instructing them in the more important information of morals and manners, in which the nation was notoriously deficient\*.

After the death of King James IV. the administration devolved on the queen-dowager; but she being pregnant with a posthumous child, and unable to bear the weight of public business, accepted Beaton archbishop of Glasgow and chancellor of Scotland, with the earls of Huntly, Angus, and Arran, to assist her in the affairs of government. Soon after her husband's death she had written an affecting letter to her brother the king of England, informing him of her pregnancy, setting forth the deplorable state of the kingdom, with her own condition, and imploring his friendship and protection for herself and her infant son. This letter seems never to have been communicated by Henry to his council; but he answered it, and informed his sister, that if

406  
In which the Scots are defeated and their king killed.

\* See Chalmers's *Caledonia*, p. 837.

408  
The queen-dowager assumes the government.

409  
Writes to the king of England.



Scotland.

the Scots would have peace, they should have peace, and war if they chose it. "He added (according to Drummond), that her husband had fallen by his own indiscreet rashness, and foolish kindness to France; that he regretted his death as his ally, and should be willing to prohibit all hostility against the country of Scotland during the minority of her son. For a remedy of present evils, one year's truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leisure to prosecute his designs against France, without fear of being disturbed or diverted by the incursions and inroads of the Scots upon his borders."

410  
The Scotch  
affairs  
in great  
confusion.

Thus far Drummond: but though Henry might grant this time to his sister's intreaty, yet it certainly did not become a national measure; for it appears by a letter dated two years after, from the Scots council to the king of France, published by Rymier, that the Scots never had desired a truce. So far from it, the French influence, joined to a desire of revenge, remained so strong in the kingdom, that after the meeting of the parliament, some of the members were so violent as to propose a renewal of the war. This motion was indeed over-ruled by the more moderate part of the assembly: but they could not be brought to make any advances towards Henry for a peace; and every day now teemed with public calamity, which seems to have gathered strength while the queen was in childbed. The archbishopric of St Andrew's being vacant, it was offered by universal consent to Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen; but being now old and infirm, he declined it. Three competitors for that high dignity then appeared. The first was Gawin Douglas, then abbot of Aberbrothwick, to which he was presented by the queen on her recovery (having been brought to bed of a son) the very day before her marriage with his nephew the earl of Angus: and upon the death of Bishop Elphinston in November following, she presented him likewise to the archbishopric of St Andrew's. The second competitor was John Hepburn, prior of St Andrew's; a bold, avacious, restless, but shrewd and sensible priest. By his office he had received the rents of the see during its vacancy; and having prevailed with the canons, on pretence of ancient privileges, to elect him archbishop, without regard to the nomination either of the queen or pope, he drove Douglas's servants from the castle of St Andrew's, of which they had taken possession. The third and most powerful competitor was Forman bishop of Moray in Scotland, and archbishop of Bourges in France, a dignity to which he had been raised for his public services. He had in his interest not only the duke of Albany (son to the traitor duke) first prince of the blood, but also the court of Rome itself; and having received the pope's bull and nomination to the dignity, he was considered by the Scotch clergy in general, and by the principal tenants and dependents on the see, as the legal archbishop.

The preference given to Forman discouraged Douglas from pursuing his pretensions; but Hepburn, being supported by the clan of his own name and by the Humes, made so formidable an opposition to his rivals, that none could be found sufficiently daring to publish the papal bull in favour of Forman. The friends of the latter, however, having intimated to the earl of Hume, that his credit at the court of Rome could easily procure the rich abbey of Coldingham for his younger bro-

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ther, the earl put himself at the head of his followers, and, notwithstanding all the opposition given by the Hepburns, he proclaimed the pope's bull at the cross of Edinburgh. This daring action plainly proved that the earl of Hume had more power than the queen-regent herself; but Hepburn's resolution and the greatness of his friends, obliged Forman to agree to a compromise. Hepburn was advanced to the see of Moray, without accounting for the revenues of the archbishopric, which he had received during its vacancy; and he gave Forman a present of three thousand crowns, to be divided among his friends and followers.

Scotland.

In April 1514, the posthumous son, of whom the queen had been delivered in Stirling castle, was by the bishop of Caithness baptized by the name of Alexander. On the 6th of August this year she was married to the earl of Angus; a circumstance than which nothing could be accounted more impolitic. She had neither consulted her brother nor the states of Scotland in the match; and by her having accepted of a husband, she in fact resigned all claim to the regency under the late king's will. The Douglasses did not dispute her having divested herself of the regency; but they affirmed, that the parliament might lawfully reinstate her in it; and that the peace of the kingdom required it, as it was the only measure that could preserve the happy tranquillity which then subsisted between Scotland and England. The earl of Hume put himself at the head of the opposition to this proposal. He knew that he had enemies, and he dreaded that the farther aggrandizement of Angus might weaken his interest on the borders. He was joined by a number of the young nobility, who, though divided among themselves, united against Angus. In short, the general opinion was, that the Douglasses were already too great; and that, should the queen be reinstated in the regency, they must be absolute within the kingdom, and engross all places of power and profit. It was added by the earl of Hume, that he had, out of respect to the late king's memory, submitted to the queen's government; and that, now when she had made a voluntary abdication of it by her marriage, it ought not to be renewed.

After some deliberations, the duke of Albany chosen regent. He was a man possessed of all the qualities requisite for a good governor; nor did he disappoint the expectations of the public. On his arrival at Glasgow, he took upon him the titles of earl of March, Marr, Garioch, lord of Annandale, and of the isle of Man, regent and protector of the kingdom of Scotland. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was received in form by the three estates of the kingdom, and the queen had met him at some distance from the town. The parliament then resumed its session, and the three estates took an oath of obedience, till the king, then an infant of four years old, should arrive at the years of maturity.

The first point at which the regent aimed, was the conciliating the differences amongst the various contending families in the kingdom; at the same time, that he suppressed some daring robbers, one of whom is said to have had not fewer than 800 attendants in his infamous profession. So great was his love of good order and decency, that he punished the lord Drummond with the loss of his estate for having struck Lyon king at arms, whose person, as the first herald in Scotland,

An. 1514.

411  
The queen-  
dowager  
married to  
the earl of  
Angus.

412  
The duke  
of Albany  
chosen re-  
gent.

Scotland. ought to have been held sacred. Nay, it was at the earnest solicitation of Lyon himself, and many of the chief nobility, that a greater punishment was not inflicted. The forfeiture was afterwards, however, remitted; but not before Drummond had, upon his knees, acknowledged his offence, and humbled himself before Lyon.

<sup>413</sup> Hepburn becomes his chief favourite, took into favour Hepburn the prior of St Andrew's, whom he consulted for information concerning the state of Scotland. Hepburn acquainted him with all the feuds and animosities which raged among the great families of Scotland, their ferocious character, and barbarous behaviour to their enemies. He represented the civil power as too weak to curb these potent chieftains; and gave it as his opinion that the regent's administration ought to be supported by foreign arms, meaning those of France.

<sup>414</sup> He attempts to destroy the earl of Hume, Hepburn is said also to have gained an ascendancy over the regent by means of large sums of money laid out among his domestics, by an insinuating and plausible address, and by well-directed flatteries; and he employed this ascendancy to destroy those who were obnoxious to himself. The earl of Hume, as being the first subject in rank and authority, became obnoxious to the regent through the insinuations of Hepburn; and as that nobleman had frequent occasion to be at court by virtue of his office of chamberlain, he soon perceived that neither he nor his friends were welcome guests there. Alarmed for his own safety, he resolved to form a party with the queen-mother and her new husband against the regent. This was by no means a difficult task: for the queen naturally imagined that her new husband ought to have had some share in the government; and the earl of Angus readily concurred in the scheme. In the mean time, the regent was making a progress through Scotland, while bloody feuds were raging among the nobles: but before any remedy could be applied to these disorders, he was informed of the schemes laid by the queen-mother and her party; and that she had resolved to fly into England with her two infants. On this he instantly returned to Edinburgh; and as no time was to be lost, set out that very night, and surprised the castle of Stirling, where he found the queen-mother and her two infants.

The regent, after this bold step, took care to show that the care of the royal infants was his chief study. As he himself was nearly allied to the crown, in order to remove all suspicions and calumnies on that account, he committed the care of the king and his brother to three noblemen of the most unexceptionable characters in the kingdom, but of whom we now know the name only of one, viz. the earl of Lenox. They were appointed to attend the princes by turns; to whom also a guard, consisting partly of French and partly of Scots, was assigned; and the queen-mother was left at liberty to reside where she pleased.

<sup>415</sup> who is driven into England. The earl of Hume, finding his schemes thus abortive, retired to his own estate; whence he was soon after driven, and obliged to fly into England, by the earls of Arran and Lenox. The queen-mother retired to a monastery at Coldstream; and messengers were dispatched to the court of England, to know how Henry would have his sister disposed of. He ordered the lord Dacres, his warden of the marches, to attend her to

Scotland. Harbottle-castle in Northumberland; and here she was delivered of her daughter the Lady Mary Douglas, mother to Henry Lord Darnley, father to James VI. The regent dispatched ambassadors to Henry, in order to vindicate his own conduct. He likewise sent to assure the queen that she had nothing to fear in Scotland; and to invite her to return thither, where she should at all times be admitted to see her children. This offer, however, she declined; and set out for London, where she was affectionately received and entertained by her brother. But in the mean time many disorders were committed throughout the kingdom by the party of the queen-mother; though, by the interposition of Archbishop Forman, they were at present terminated without bloodshed, and some of the principal offenders were persuaded to return to their duty. Among these was the earl of Angus himself, the queen's husband; which when King Henry heard, he exclaimed, "That the earl, by deserting his wife, had acted like a Scot." Lord Hume refused to surrender himself, or to accept of the regent's terms; and was of consequence declared a traitor, and his estate confiscated. All this time he had been infesting the borders at the head of a lawless banditti; and now he began to commit such devastations, that the regent found it necessary to march against him at the head of 1000 disciplined troops. Hume being obliged to lay down his arms, was sent prisoner to Edinburgh castle; where the regent very unaccountably committed him to the charge of his brother-in-law the earl of Arran. Hume easily found means to gain over this near relation to his own party; and both of them, in the month of October 1515, escaped to the borders, where they soon renewed hostilities. Both the earls were now proclaimed traitors, but Hume was allowed fifteen days to surrender himself. This short interval the regent employed in quelling the rebellion, for which purpose the parliament had allowed him 15,000 men. He besieged the castle of Hamilton, the earl of Arran's chief seat, which was in no condition for defence: but he was prevailed on by Arran's mother, daughter to James II. and aunt to the regent himself, to forbear further hostilities, and even to pardon her son, provided he should return to his duty. Arran accordingly submitted; but the public tranquillity was not thus restored. An association, at the head of which was the earl of Moray, the king's natural brother, had been formed against the earl of Huntly. That nobleman was too well attended to fear any danger by day; but his enemies found means to introduce some armed troops in the night-time into Edinburgh. On this a fierce skirmish ensued, in which some were killed on both sides; but farther bloodshed was prevented by the regent, who confined all the lords in prison till he had brought about a general reconciliation. One Hay, who had been very active in stirring up the quarrels, was banished to France; and only the earl of Hume now continued in arms.

<sup>416</sup> The queen goes to England. <sup>417</sup> Her husband submits to the regent.

An. 1515, <sup>418</sup> Rebellion and commotions in different places.

In 1516 died the young duke of Rothsay: an event which brought the regent one degree nearer the crown, so that he was declared heir in case of the demise of young James. Negotiations were then entered into about prolonging the truce which at that time subsisted with England; but Henry insisting on a removal of the regent from his place, they were for the present dropped.

Scotland. dropped. Finding, however, that he could neither prevail on the parliament as a body to dismiss the regent, nor form a party of any consequence against him, he at last consented to a prolongation of the truce for a year.

An. 1517. In 1517, the affairs of the regent requiring his presence in France, he resolved, before his departure, to remove the earl of Hume, who, as we have seen, alone continued to disturb the public tranquillity. Under pretence of settling some differences which still remained with England, he called a convention of the nobility; and sent special letters to the earl of Hume and his brother to attend, on account of their great knowledge in English affairs. Both of them imprudently obeyed the summons, and were seized and executed as soon as they arrived at Edinburgh. Whatever occasion there might be for this severity, it alienated the affections of the people to such a degree, that the regent could scarcely get the place filled up which Lord Hume had possessed. That of lord warden of the marches he at last gave to his French favourite La Beaute, called by historians Sir Anthony D'Arcy. The post of lord chamberlain was given to Lord Fleming. Soon after this, the regent levied an army, on pretence of repressing some disturbances on the borders. These being speedily quelled, he seized on his return the earl of Lennox, and forced him to deliver up his castle of Dumbar-

ton; not choosing to leave it, during his intended absence in France, in the custody of a nobleman of suspected fidelity; and from similar motives, afterwards took him with him on his departure for the continent. He then procured himself to be nominated ambassador to France, in which character he left the kingdom; having committed the government to the archbishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntly, and Argyle, with the warden D'Arcy, on whom was his chief dependence.

420 The regent goes to France, and the queen returns to Scotland. On the departure of the regent, the queen-mother left the English court; and arrived with a noble retinue at Berwick, on purpose to visit her son. Here she was received by her husband; for whom she had contracted an invincible aversion; either on account of his infidelities to her bed, or because he had deserted her in the manner already related. She suppressed her resentment, however, for the present, and accompanied him to Edinburgh. Here, in consequence of the proposals made by the regent, she demanded access to her son; but this was refused by D'Arcy. Lord Erskine, however, who was one of those to whom the care of the young king was committed, conveyed him to the castle of Craigmillar (where D'Arcy had no jurisdiction), on pretence that the plague was in Edinburgh; and there the queen was admitted; but this gave such offence to D'Arcy, that Lord Erskine was obliged to carry back the king to the castle of Edinburgh, where all further access was denied to his mother. In short, the behaviour of this favourite was on all occasions so haughty and violent, that he rendered himself universally odious; and was at last murdered, with all his attendants, in his way to Dunfermline, where he proposed to hold a court of justice.—His death was little regretted; yet his murderers were prosecuted with the utmost severity, and several persons of distinction declared rebels on that account.

Meanwhile, the regent was treated with high marks

of distinction in France. The king showed him the greatest respect, promised to assist in establishing his authority in Scotland, and solemnly confirmed the ancient league between the two kingdoms. Soon after, the earl of Lennox arrived from France, with assurances of protection and assistance from the king, who was highly pleased with the zeal of the governors in punishing D'Arcy's murderers; and 500 soldiers arrived with him, to reinforce the garrisons, especially that of Dunbar.

421 The queen attempts to divorce her husband. An. 1519. All this time the queen-mother continued at Edinburgh, employed herself in attempts to procure a divorce from her husband, under pretence of his having been previously contracted to another. The affairs of the kingdom again began to fall into confusion, and many murders and commotions happened in different parts of the country. The earl of Arran had the chief direction in the state; but the earl of Angus, notwithstanding the difference with his wife, had still great interest, and waited every opportunity to oppose him. This emulation produced an encounter at Edinburgh; in which victory declared for Angus, and 72 of the routed party were killed. This skirmish was fought on the 30th of April 1519, and has been known in Scots history by the name of *Cleanse the Causeway*.

422 Skirmish between the followers of the earl of Arran and Angus. An. 1521. On the 19th of November 1521, the regent returned from France. He found the kingdom in great disorder. The earl of Angus domineered in the field, but his antagonists outvoted his party in the parliament. The queen-mother, who had fixed her affections on a third husband, hated all parties almost equally; but joined the duke of Albany, in hopes of his depriving the other two of their power. This happened according to her expectation; and she was with the regent when he made a kind of triumphal entry into Edinburgh, attended by a number of persons of the first rank.—The earl of Angus was now summoned to appear as a criminal; but his wife interceded for him, not out of any remains of affection, but because he gave her no opposition in the process of divorce which was depending between them.

An. 1522. 423 War with England. —In the mean time, Henry VIII. of England, perceiving that the Scots were entirely devoted to the French interest, sent a letter full of accusations against the regent, and threats against the whole nation, if they did not renounce that alliance. No regard being paid to these requisitions, Lord Dacres was ordered to proclaim upon the borders that the Scots must stand to their peril if they did not accede to his measures by the first of March 1522. This producing no effect, Henry seized the effects of all the Scots residing in England, and banished them his dominions, after marking them, according to Bishop Lesley, with a cross, to distinguish them from his other subjects. A war was the unavoidable consequence of these proceedings; and, on the 30th of April, the earl of Shrewsbury, Henry's steward of the household, and knight of the garter, was appointed commander in chief of the army that was to act against the Scots; and, in the mean time, Lord Dacres made an inroad as far as Kilsnoo, plundering and burning wherever he came.

424 The Scots refuse to invade England. The regent ordered his army to rendezvous at Roslin; but the Scots, remembering the disaster at Flodden, showed an extreme aversion to the war, and even declared to the regent, that though they would defend themselves in case they were attacked, they would

Scotland. not engage in a French quarrel. The regent remonstrated, but without effect; and as the malcontents continued obstinate, he was in danger of being left by himself, when the queen-mother interposed, and prevailed with Lord Dacres to agree to a conference, the event of which was a renewal of the negotiations for peace.

425  
The regent goes to France for assistance.

The regent perceiving, by the disgrace of this expedition, that he had lost his former popularity, determined to revenge himself; and therefore told those in whom he could confide, that he was about to return to France, whence he should bring such a force by sea and land, as should render it unnecessary for him again to ask leave of the Scots to invade England. Accordingly he embarked for France on the 25th of October, but publicly gave out that he would return the ensuing August.

426  
The English resolve to intercept him.

On the regent's arrival in France, he made a demand of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse for carrying on the war against England; but the situation of Francis did not then allow him to spare so many at once, though he was daily sending over ships with men, ammunition, and money, for the French garrisons in Scotland. At last it was publicly known in England that the regent was about to return with a strong fleet, and 4000 of the best troops in France; on which Henry determined, if possible, to intercept him. Sir William Fitz-Williams, with 36 large ships, was ordered to block up the French squadron in the harbour of Finhead; Sir Anthony Poyntz cruized with another in the western seas, as Sir Christopher Dow and Sir Henry Shireburn did in the northern with a third squadron. The duke of Albany, being unable to cope with Fitz-Williams, was obliged to set out from another port with 12 ships, having some troops on board. They fell in with Fitz-Williams's squadron; two of their ships were sunk, and the rest driven back to Dieppe. Fitz-Williams then made a descent at Treport, where he burnt 18 French ships, and returned to his station off Finhead. By this time the French had given the duke such a reinforcement as made him an overmatch for the English admiral, had the men been equally good; but the regent had no dependence on French sailors when put in competition with the English. Instead of coming to an engagement, therefore, as soon as Fitz-Williams appeared, he disembarked his soldiers, as if he had intended to delay his expedition for that year; but a storm soon arising, which obliged the English fleet to return to the Downs, the regent took that opportunity of reembarking his men, and, sailing by the western coasts, arrived safe in Scotland.

427  
He escapes their vigilance, and lands in Scotland.

428  
Cruel devastations of the English.  
An. 1523.

All this time the earl of Surry had been carrying on the most cruel and destructive war against Scotland; infomuch that, according to Cardinal Wolsey, "there was left neither house, fortrefs, village, tree, cattle, corn, nor other succour for man," in the districts of Tweeddale and March. The regent's return did not immediately put a stop to these devastations; for the intestine divisions in Scotland prevented him from taking the field. His party was weakened by his long absence, and the queen-mother had been very active in strengthening the English interest. A parliament was called in 1523, in which it was debated, Whether peace or war with England should be resolved on? and the determinations of this parliament were evidently on the

worse side of the question. Henry was at this time so well disposed to cultivate a friendship with Scotland, that he offered to James his eldest sister Mary in marriage; but the Scots, animated by the appearance of their French auxiliaries, and corrupted by their gold, rejected all terms, and resolved on war. However, when the army was assembled, and had advanced to the borders, he found the same difficulty he had formerly experienced; for they peremptorily refused to enter England. With great difficulty he prevailed with part of the army to pass the Tweed; but not meeting with success, he was obliged to return to Scotland, which at this time was divided into four factions. One of these was headed by the regent, another by the queen, a third by the earl of Arran, and a fourth by the earl of Angus, who had lived as an exile under Henry's protection. Had it been possible for the earl of Angus and his wife to be reconciled to each other, it would have been much for the interest of the kingdom; but all the art even of Cardinal Wolsey could not effect this reconciliation. At last, the duke of Albany, finding all parties united against him, resigned his office of regent of Scotland. On the 14th of March that year, he went on board one of his own ships for France, whence he never returned to Scotland. He did not indeed make a formal abdication of his government; but he requested the nobility, whom he convened for that purpose, to enter into no alliance with England during his absence, which he said would continue no longer than the first of September following; to make no alteration in the government; and to keep the king at Stirling.

Scotland.  
429  
Henry offers peace, which is rejected.

430  
The duke of Albany resigns his office of regent.

The nobility, who were impatient for the absence of the regent, readily promised whatever he required, but without any intention of performing it: nor, indeed was it in their power to comply; for it had been previously determined that James himself should now take the administration into his own hands. According to Buchanan, the regent had no sooner returned to France than Scotland relapsed into all the miseries of anarchy. The queen-dowager had the management of public affairs, but her power was limited. The earl of Arran, apprehending danger from the English, entered into the views of the French party. The queen-mother's dislike to her husband continued as great as ever, which prevented an union among those who were in the English interest; and Wolsey took that opportunity of restoring the earl of Angus to all his importance in Scotland.—The queen-mother, therefore, had no other means left to keep herself in power, than to bring James himself into action. On the 29th of July, therefore, he removed from Stirling to the abbey of Holyroodhouse; where he took on himself the exercise of government, by convoking the nobility, and obliging them to swear allegiance to his person a second time. The truce with England was now prolonged, and the queen's party carried all before them. On the very day in which the last truce was signed with England, the earl of Angus entered Scotland. He had been invited from his exile in France into England, where he was cared for by Henry, who disregarded all his sister's intreaties to send him back to France, and now resolved to support him in Scotland. Yet, though his declared intention in sending the earl to Scotland was, that the latter might balance the French party there, the king enjoined him to sue,

An. 1524.  
431  
James takes on himself the government.

432  
The earl of Angus returns to Scotland.

Scotland. sue, in the most humble manner, for a reconciliation with his wife, and to co-operate with the earl of Arran, who now acted as prime minister, as long as he should oppose the French party. On his return, however, he found himself excluded from all share in the government, but soon found means to form a strong party in opposition to Arran. In the mean time, ambassadors were sent to the court of England, in order to bring about a lasting peace between the two nations. At the same time a match was proposed between the young king of Scotland and Henry's daughter. This had originally been a scheme of Henry himself; but the emperor Charles V. had resolved to outbid him, by offering James a princess of his own family, with an immense treasure. The ambassadors arrived at London on the 19th of December, and found Henry very much disposed both to the peace and to the match. Commissioners were appointed to treat respecting it; but they were instructed to demand by way of preliminary, that the Scots should absolutely renounce their league with France, and that James should be sent for education to England till he should be of a proper age for marriage. The Scottish commissioners declared, that they had no instructions respecting these points: but one of them, the earl of Cassilis, offered to return to Scotland, and bring a definitive answer from the three states; and in the mean time the truce was prolonged to the 15th of May 1525. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he found the earl of Angus the leading man in parliament; by whose influence it was determined that the Scots should renounce their league with France, and substitute in place of it a similar league with England; and that the king should be brought up at the English court till he was of an age proper for marriage: but at the same time they required of Henry to break off all engagements with Charles V. who was the bitter enemy of Francis, and at that time detained him prisoner. To this the English monarch returned but a cool reply, being then engaged in a number of treaties with the emperor, among which one was concerning the marriage of the princess Mary with his imperial majesty himself; however, before Cassilis returned, a truce of two years and a half was concluded between England and Scotland.

433  
Negotiations for peace with England.

434  
The earl of Angus comes into power.  
An. 1525.

435  
Is opposed by the queen-mother,

436  
who is besieged in Edinburgh castle.

Now, however, the queen-mother, though she had always been a warm advocate for an alliance between the two nations, disliked the means of bringing it about.—She saw her husband's party increasing every day in power; so that now she had no other resource but to keep possession of the king's person, whom she removed to the castle of Edinburgh. Being now under the necessity of convening a parliament, it was resolved to hold it within the castle; but this being an unconstitutional measure, gave a pretext to the earl of Arran and his party to complain of the innovation. They began with remonstrances; but finding these ineffectual, they formed a blockade of the castle with 2000 men, and cut off all communication with the town by means of trenches. As no provisions could be introduced into the castle, the queen ordered some of the cannon to be turned against the town, in order to force the citizens to terminate the blockade. Several shots were fired: but when all things appeared ready for a civil war, matters were compromised, though in such an imperfect manner as left very little room to hope for perfect tranquillity. It was agreed, that the king should remove

Scotland. out of the castle of Edinburgh to the palace of Holyroodhouse; from which he should repair with all possible magnificence to his parliament, in the house where it was commonly held; and there a termination was to be put to all differences. This agreement was signed on the 25th of February 1526. The parliament accordingly met, and the king's marriage with the princess of England was ratified; but no mention was made of the king's being sent for his education into that country; on the contrary, he was committed to the care of eight lords of parliament. These were to have the custody of the king's person, every one his month in rotation, and the whole to stand for the government of the state; yet with this limitation, "that the king, by their counsel, should not ordain or determine any thing in great affairs to which the queen-dowager, as princess and dowager, should not give her consent." This partition of power, by giving the queen-dowager a negative in all public matters, soon threw every thing into confusion. The earl of Angus, by leading the king into various scenes of pleasure and dissipation, so gained the ascendancy over him, that he became almost totally guided by him. The queen-mother, perceiving that she could not have access to her son, without at the same time being in company with her husband, whom she hated, retired suddenly with her domestics to Stirling. Thus the king was left under the sole tuition of the earl of Angus, who abused his power, engrossing all the places of honour or profit. The archbishop of St Andrews having now joined the queen's party, advised her to make a formal demand upon her husband, that the order of government which had been settled by the last parliament should take place, and that under a penalty he should set the king at liberty. To this the earl answered by a kind of manifesto drawn up by his brother; in which he declared, that "the earl of Angus having been so highly favoured by his good uncle the king of England, and that James himself being under great obligations to him, neither the queen nor the other lords need be in any pain about him, as he chose to spend his time with the earl of Angus rather than with any lord in the kingdom." James himself, however, had sufficient discernment to perceive, that, notwithstanding all the fair pretences of the earl of Angus, he was in fact no better than his prisoner; and resolved to attempt the recovery of his liberty. The earls of Argyll and Arran had for some time retired from court, where they had no share in the administration, and were living on their own estates; but the earl of Lenox dissembled his sentiments so well, that he was suspected neither by the earl of Angus, nor any of the Douglas family, who were his partisans. The king being gained upon by his insinuating behaviour, opened his mind to him, and requested his assistance against his treacherous keepers. At the same time he sent letters to his mother, and the heads of her party, by some of his domestics whom Lenox had pointed out, intreating them to remove him from the earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious jurisdiction; adding, that if this could not be done by any other means, they should use force of arms.

On receiving this letter, the queen-mother and her party assembled their forces at Stirling, and without loss of time began their march for Edinburgh. Angus, on the other hand, prepared to oppose them with vigour, but

Scotland.  
An. 1526.  
437  
Marriage of James with an English princess resolved on.

438  
He is left in the hands of the earl of Angus.

439  
Attempts to recover his liberty.

Scotland.

440  
Is indispo-  
sed.441  
The queen  
mother di-  
vores her  
husband.442  
The baron  
of Buccleugh at-  
tempts to  
rescue the  
king, but is  
defeated.443  
Another  
attempt by  
Lenox.  
An. 1527.

but at the same time to carry along with him his royal charge. This resolution being made known to the queen-mother, she was so much concerned for the safety of her son, that the whole party disbanded themselves; and thus the authority of the earl of Angus seemed to be more established than ever. Nothing, indeed, was now wanting to render him despotic but the possession of the great seal, which the archbishop of St Andrew's had carried with him to Dunfermline. As no deed of any consequence could be executed without this, he prevailed on the king to demand it by a special message; in consequence of which, the archbishop was obliged to relinquish it. About this time the divorce which had been so long in agitation between the queen-mother and the earl of Angus actually took place; and this, no doubt, increased the dislike of James to his confinement, while the imprudence of Angus daily gave fresh reason of disgust. As Angus knew that he had no firm support but in the attachment of his followers to his person, he suffered them to rob and plunder the estates of his opponents without mercy. These, again, did not fail to make reprisals; so that, towards the end of the year 1526, there was scarcely any appearance of civil government in Scotland. Thus the court became almost totally deserted; every nobleman being obliged to go home to defend his own estate. Even Angus himself shared in the common calamity, and hence was frequently obliged to leave the king to the custody of Lenox. To this nobleman the king now made the most grievous complaints, and charged him to contrive some plan for his escape. Lenox accordingly recommended to him the baron of Buccleugh, who was very powerful in the southern parts, and a violent enemy to Angus and the whole family of Douglas. To him he gave instructions to foment the disorders in the southern parts to such a degree as to require the king's personal presence to compose them. Buccleugh was then to attack the party, and take the king by force from the Douglases. This scheme was put in execution, but Buccleugh had the misfortune to be defeated; so that the attempt proved abortive, and James found himself in a worse situation than before. After this attempt, however, as the earl of Angus could not but know that Lenox had been accessory to it, the former behaved towards him with such visible indifference, that Lenox openly declared against him, and advised the king to form a friendship with the archbishop of St Andrew's, in order to effect his liberty. This was accordingly done; but the interest of the archbishop and Lenox was overbalanced by that of Arran and the Hamilton family, whom the earl of Angus had now drawn over to his party. The earl of Lenox, however, having received powers from the king for that purpose, suddenly retired from court; and published a manifesto, inviting all loyal subjects to assist him in delivering the king from confinement. In consequence of this he was soon joined by a numerous army, with whom he advanced towards Edinburgh. Angus did not fail to assemble his adherents; and sent orders to the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take the field, with the king at their head. The citizens immediately put themselves under arms; but James, pretending to be indisposed, Sir George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus, made him the following speech: "Sir, rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold of your person;

and should you be torn in pieces in the struggle, we will carry off part of your body." Upon this speech, which James never forgot, he mounted his horse and set forward to Linlithgow, but with a very slow pace; inasmuch that Sir George Douglas, afraid of not coming in time to succour his brother, made use of many indecent expressions and actions to push James on to the field of battle. Three expresses arrived from the earl of Angus; the first informing his brother that he was about to engage with a superior army; the second, that Angus was engaged with a division of Lenox's army, commanded by the earl of Glencairn; and that Lenox himself was engaged with the Hamiltons. The third informed him that Lenox, if not actually defeated, was on the point of being so. Upon receiving this last news, James hastened to the field of battle, that he might save Lenox, and put an end to the slaughter.—<sup>444</sup> Who is de-  
feated and  
killed.

But he came too late: for the royal party was already defeated with great slaughter; and Lenox himself, after being wounded and taken prisoner, was murdered by Sir James Hamilton.

On the night of the battle, the king was removed to Linlithgow; and though he was under the greatest grief for the fate of Lenox, the behaviour of the Douglases struck him with such terror that he dissembled his sentiments. The earl of Angus led his victorious troops into Fife, in hopes of surprising the queen-mother and the archbishop of St Andrew's. The queen mother, on the news of his approach, fled, with her new husband Henry Stuart, brother to Lord Evandale, to Edinburgh, and both were admitted into the castle. The archbishop fled to the mountains, where he was obliged to keep cattle as a shepherd. Angus, after having plundered the castle of St Andrew's and the abbey of Dunfermline, returned in triumph to Edinburgh, where he prepared to besiege the castle; but the queen-mother, hearing that her son was among the number of the besiegers, ordered the gates of the castle to be thrown open, and surrendered herself and her husband prisoners to James, who was advised to confine them to the castle. After these repeated successes, the earl of Angus established a kind of court of justice, in which he prosecuted those who had opposed him, among whom was the earl of Cassilis. He was offered by Sir James Hamilton, natural son of the earl of Arran, the same who had murdered Lenox, an indemnity if he would own himself a vassal of that house; but this condition was rejected. Being called to his trial, and accused of having taken arms against the king, a gentleman of his name and family, who was his advocate, denied the charge, and offered to produce a letter under James's own hand, desiring him to assist in delivering him from his gaolers. This striking evidence confounded the prosecutor so much, that the earl was acquitted; but on his return home he was way-laid and murdered by one Hugh Campbell, at the instigation of Sir James Hamilton.

During these transactions in the south, many of the Highland clans were perpetrating the most horrid scenes of rapine and murder, which also prevailed in some parts of the Lowlands. The state of the borders was little better than that of the Highlands; but it engaged the attention of Angus more, as he had great interest in these parts. Marching, therefore, against the banditti which infested these districts, he soon reduced them to subjection. His power seemed now to be firmly estab-  
lished,

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James  
escapes  
from his  
confinement.

blished, inſomuch that the archbiſhop of St Andrew's began to treat with Sir George Douglas, to whom he offered lucrative leases and other emoluments if he would intercede with the regent, as Angus was called, in his favour. This was readily agreed to; and the archbiſhop was allowed to return in ſafety to his palace about the ſame time that Angus returned from his expedition againſt the borderers. Nothing was then ſeen at court but feſtivities of every kind, in which the queen-mother, who was now releaſed from her confinement, took part; and ſhe was afterwards ſuffered to depart to the caſtle of Stirling; which Angus, not conſidering its importance, had neglected to ſecure. In the mean time the archbiſhop invited the Douglases to ſpend ſome days with him at his caſtle; which they accordingly did, and carried the king along with them. Here James diſſembled ſo well, and ſeemed to be ſo enamoured of his new way of life, that Angus thought there could be no danger in leaving him in the hands of his friends, while he returned to Lothian to ſettle ſome public as well as private affairs. Having taken leave of the king, he left him in the cuſtody of his uncle Archibald, his brother Sir George, and one James Douglas of Parkhead, captain of the guards who watched his majeſty on pretence of doing him honour. The earl was no ſooner gone than the archbiſhop ſent an invitation to Sir George Douglas, deſiring him to come to St Andrew's, and there put the laſt hand to the leases, and finiſh the bargains that had been ſpoken of between them. This was ſo pleaſible, that he immediately ſet out for St Andrew's; while his uncle the treaſurer went to Dundee. James thinking this to be the beſt opportunity that ever preſented itſelf for an eſcape, reſolved to avail himſelf of it at all events; and found means, by a private meſſage, to appriſe his mother of his deſign. It was then the ſeaſon for hunting and diverſion, which James often followed in the park of Falkland: and calling for his foreſter, he told him, that as the weather was fine, he intended to kill a ſtag next morning, ordering him at the ſame time to ſummon all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood to attend him with their beſt dogs. He then called for his chief domeſtics, and commanded them to get his ſupper early, becauſe he intended to be in the field by day-break; and he talked with the captain of his guard of nothing but the excellent ſport he expected next morning. In the mean time, he had engaged two young men, the one a page of his own, the other John Hart, a helper about his ſtables, to attend him in his flight, and to provide him with the drefs of a groom for a diſguiſe. Having formally taken leave of his attendants, charging them to be ready early in the morning, and being left alone, he ſtole ſoftly out of his bed-chamber, went to the ſtable unperceived by the guards, drefſed himſelf in his diſguiſe; and he and his companions mounting the three beſt horſes there, galloped to Stirling caſtle; into which, by the queen's appointment, he was admitted ſoon after day-break. He commanded all the gates to be ſecured; and the queen having previously prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, orders were given that none ſhould be admitted into the caſtle without the king's permiſſion.

About an hour after the king's eſcape from Falkland, Sir George Douglas returned; and being aſſured that his majeſty was aſleep, he went to bed. It appears

that James had been ſeen and known in his flight; for in the morning the bailiff of Abernethy came poſt-haſte to inform Sir George that the king had paſſed Stirling bridge. They had, however, ſome glimmering hope that the king might be gone to Bambrigh: but that ſuſmiſe was ſoon found to be falſe; and an expreſs was diſpatched, informing Angus of all that had happened. The earl quickly repaired to Falkland, where he and his friends came to a reſolution of going to Stirling, and demanding acceſs to the king.

James by this time had iſſued letters to the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Athol, Glencairn, Menteith, Rothes, and Eglinton; the lords Graham, Livingſton, Lindſay, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Evandale, Maxwell, and Semple. Before all of them could arrive at Stirling, the earl of Angus and his friends were upon their journey to the ſame place; but were ſtopped by a herald at arms, commanding them on their allegiance not to approach within ſix miles of the king's reſidence. This order having ſufficiently intimated what they were to expect, the earl deliberated with his party how he ſhould proceed. Some of them were for marching on and taking the caſtle by ſurpriſe: but that was found to be impracticable, eſpecially as they had no artillery. The earl and his brother therefore reſolved to make a ſhow of ſubmiſſion to the king's order; and they accordingly went to Linlithgow. By this time all the nobility already mentioned, and many others, had aſſembled at Stirling; and James, calling them to council, inveighed againſt the tyranny of the Douglases with an acrimony that ſufficiently diſcovered what pain it muſt have given him when he was obliged to bear it in ſilence. He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words: "Therefore I deſire, my lords, that I may be ſatiſfied of the ſaid earl, his kin, and friends. For I vow that Scotland ſhall not hold us both, while I be revenged on him and his."

The reſult of the council's deliberation was that proclamation ſhould be made, renewing the order for the Douglases not to approach the court, and divesting the earl of Angus and his brother of all their public employments. In the mean time, ſuch was the moderation of the aſſembly, that by their advice James ordered the earl to retire to the north of the Spey till his pleaſure ſhould be known; but his brother was commanded to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh, to take his trial in a very full parliament (all the members being ſummoned to attend), to be held in that city next September. The earl and his brother conſidered compliance with theſe conditions as a prelude to their deſtruction; and reſolved to juſtify their treaſons by ſtill greater exceſſes, in ſurpriſing the town of Edinburgh, and holding it againſt the king and parliament, before the latter could aſſemble. Hiſtorians have not done that juſtice to the proceedings of the royal party on this occaſion which they deſerve. The management of the king's eſcape, his reception into Stirling, the fortifying that caſtle, and the ready obedience of his great nobility, ſome of whom attended him with their followers before they received any ſummonſes for that purpoſe, are proofs of wiſe and ſpirited deliberations. Their conduct at this time was equally conſiſtent with the ſame plan of foreſight.

It was naturally to be ſuppoſed that the Douglases, who remained aſſembled in a numerous body, would make

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He pre-  
pares to re-  
venge him-  
ſelf.

Scotland.  
449  
His ene-  
mies disap-  
pointed in  
their de-  
signs.

450  
They are  
degraded  
and their  
estates for-  
feited.

451  
They ra-  
vage the  
southern  
parts.

make the attempt already mentioned; but the royalists had the precaution to dispatch the lord Maxwell and the baron of Lochinvar, with a body of troops, to take possession of the town, till James could arrive with 2000 forces to their relief. Maxwell and Lochinvar made such dispatch, that they were in possession of the town when the Douglasses appeared before it, and repulsed them; while a most terrible storm had scattered the troops under James before he could come to their assistance, so effectually, that, being left almost without attendants, his person might have been taken by the smallest party of the enemy. On the retreat of the Douglasses from Edinburgh, the parliament met; and none of them appearing in pursuance of their summons, the earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, and Alexander Drummond of Carnock, with some of their chief dependents, were indicted, and their estates forfeited for the following offences: "The assembling of the king's lieges, with intention to have assailed his person; the detaining of the king against his will and pleasure, and contrary to the articles agreed upon, for the space of two years and more; all which time the king was in fear and danger of his life." We know of no advocate for the earl and his friends but one Banantyne, who had the courage to plead their cause against those heinous charges; and so exasperated were both the king and parliament against them, that the former swore he never would forgive them, and the latter that they never would intercede for their pardon. Thus it was not deemed sufficient simply to declare their resolutions; but the solemnity of oaths was added with an intention to discourage the king of England from continuing the vigorous applications he was every day making, by letters and otherwise, for the pardon of Angus; and to exclude all hopes of that kind, James created his mother's third husband (to whom she had been married for some time) Lord Methven, and gave him the direction of his artillery.

The disgrace and forfeiture of the Douglasses having created many vacancies in the state, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, and tutor to the king, was nominated lord chancellor, though but indifferently qualified for a post which ought to have been filled by an able statesman; and Robert Carnocks, a person (says Buchanan) more eminent for wealth than virtue, was made treasurer: but this last was soon after displaced, being suspected of favouring the Douglasses; and Robert Barton, one of the king's favourites, was appointed to succeed him. The Douglasses still kept their arms; and being joined by a great number of outlaws and robbers in the south, they ravaged all the lands of their enemies, carrying their devastations to the very gates of Edinburgh. A commission of lieutenancy was offered to the earl of Bothwell to act against those rebels: but he declining it, it was accepted by the earl of Argyle and Lord Hume, who did great service in protecting the country from the outlaws. Several villages, however, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, were burnt; and all the provisions which the Douglasses could collect were carried off to their castle of Tantallon, which now served as their head-quarters, and was threatened with a siege.

It is remarkable, that the castle of Dunbar remained still in the hands of the duke of Albany's garrison, who

recognised no master but him. The place was well stored with artillery of all kinds; and lying in the neighbourhood of Tantallon, it was easy to transport them to the siege: but James thought he had no right to make use of them without the consent of one Maurice, governor of the castle. Having summoned, by proclamation, the inhabitants of Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirlingshire, Lothian, Mearse, and Teviotdale, to be ready to compare at Edinburgh on the 10th of December, with 40 days victuals, to assist in the siege, he sent three noblemen to borrow artillery from Maurice, and to remain as pledges for the safe redelivery of the same; and the several pieces required were accordingly sent him. This delicacy is the more remarkable, as we are told that the duke of Albany had given orders that every thing in his castle should be at the king's service. However unanimous the parliament might appear against the Douglasses, James was but ill-seconded in this attempt. This proceeding, in a country where the Douglasses had so many connections, carried with it an appearance of cruelty, and a thirst of revenge, especially as James had chosen such a season of the year for carrying on the siege. In short, after battering the place for some days, and losing one Falconer, his chief engineer, the king was obliged to abandon his enterprize, or rather to turn the siege into a blockade, with no great credit to his first military attempt in the field. Some historians intimate, that Angus found means to corrupt the other engineers; but we find, that before this time, a negociation was going forward between James and the king of England; the nature of which proves that the former was now rendered more placable towards the Douglasses, and this was the true reason why the siege was suspended.

The truce between Scotland and England was now near expiring; and Henry, under that pretence, gave a commission to the prior of Durham, Thomas Magnus, Sir Anthony Ughtred captain of the town and castle of Berwick, William Frankelyn chancellor of Durham, and Sir Thomas Tempest. James seems to have been in no haste to enter upon this negociation, because he understood that the English commissioners were privately instructed to insist upon the Douglasses being restored to their estates and dignities. England was at that time the principal ally of Francis against the emperor; and this gave a pretence to Francis to interpose so far in favour of the Douglasses, that he brought James to consent to a preliminary negociation for their obtaining at least a secure retreat in England. This was at last complied with.

James being now delivered from all dread of the Douglasses, and under no controul from any party, showed excellent dispositions for government. Finding that the borderers were by no means pleased with the late treaty, and that they were renewing their depredations, he resolved to strike at the root of an evil which had so long proved disgraceful and dangerous to his ancestors, by giving no quarter to the chiefs of these robbers, whose principal residence was in Liddesdale. This was the more necessary, as their daring attempts had exasperated the English so much, that they had actually burnt a town in Teviotdale; and had killed one Robert Kerr, a man of some consequence. Two of the chiefs of the Scotch borderers were Cockburn of Kenderlaw, and Adam Scot, commonly called *king of the thieves*. Both

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James is  
disappoint-  
ed in his  
scheme of  
revenge.

453  
The Dou-  
glasses ob-  
tain a se-  
cure retreat  
in England.

454  
James re-  
duces the  
borderers.



Scotland. of them were barons; and had been so inured to the practice, that they thought there was no crime in robbing: they therefore appeared publicly in Edinburgh; where James ordered them to be apprehended, tried, and hanged. He next proceeded with great firmness against many noblemen and principal gentlemen, who were only suspected of being disaffected to the late peace. All of them had behaved with great loyalty, and some of them had done him the most important services. Of this number were the earl of Hume, the lord Maxwell, with the barons of Buccleuch, Farnherst, Polwart, Johnston, and Mark Kerr. Though we know nothing particularly of what was laid to the charge of these noblemen and gentlemen, yet so zealous was James for the impartial administration of justice, that he ordered them all, with many other chief gentlemen of the borders, to be sent to prison; where they lay till they entered into recognizances themselves, and found bail for their good behaviour.

Of all the party of the Douglasses, none of any note excepting Alexander Drummond of Carnock was suffered to return home, at the earnest request of the ambassadors, and the treasurer Barton. This lenity was of very little consequence; for James having appointed the earl of Murray to be sole warden of the Scotch marches, with power to treat with the earl of Northumberland, their conferences had broken off on account of fresh violences happening every day; and some information he had received from them, had prevailed with James to imprison the noblemen and gentlemen already mentioned. He now resolved to attempt in person what his predecessors and himself had so often failed to accomplish by their deputies. As he was known to be violently addicted to hunting, he summoned his nobility, even on the north of the Forth, to attend him with their horses and dogs; which they did in such numbers, that his hunting retinue consisted of above 8000 persons, two-thirds of whom were well armed. This preparation gave no suspicion to the borderers, as great hunting-matches in those days commonly consisted of some thousands; and James having set out upon his diversion, is said to have killed 540 deer. Among the other gentlemen who had been summoned to attend him, was John Armstrong of Gilnockhall. He was the head of a numerous clan, who lived in great pomp and splendor upon the contributions under which they laid the English on the borders. He was himself always attended by 26 gentlemen on horseback, well mounted and armed, as his body-guard. Having received the king's invitation, he was fond of displaying his magnificence to his sovereign; and attiring himself and his guard more pompously than usual, they presented themselves before James, from whom they expected some particular mark of distinction for their services against the English, and for the remarkable protection they had always given to their countrymen the Scots. On their first appearance, James, not knowing who he was, returned Armstrong's salute, imagining him to be some great nobleman; but upon hearing his name, he ordered him and his followers to be immediately apprehended, and sentenced them to be hanged upon the spot. It is said that James, turning to his attendants, asked them, pointing at Armstrong, "What does that knave want that a king should have, but a crown and a sword of honour?" Armstrong begged hard for his life; and offered

ed to serve the king in the field with forty horsemen, besides making him large presents of jewels and money, with many other tempting offers. Finding the king inexorable, "Fool that I am (said he) to look for warm water under ice, by asking grace of a graceless face;" and then he and his followers submitted to their fate. These and similar executions restored peace to the borders.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves chiefly to the civil transactions of North Britain, and have only incidentally noticed the ecclesiastical affairs. These are now, however, to claim a considerable share of our attention, as about this time the spirit of the reformed religion had extended itself to Scotland, where it soon made a most rapid progress.

We have seen, that for several centuries, the hierarchy of North Britain possessed no small degree of influence and power; but we have found few instances of any remarkable respect being paid to the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The pope, indeed, as supreme head of the church, had long assumed the right of consecration, and this right, in the opinion of those ages, was undoubted, according to the established law of the Christian world. The spiritual jurisdiction of the pope was always acknowledged; but before the end of the 12th century, his temporal power was disputed, because it would have absorbed the sovereign right of independent princes. After many struggles, Pope Celestine III. in 1188, declared the church of Scotland to be *the daughter of Rome by special grace*, and to be immediately subject to the apostolic jurisdiction. This was considered by the Scottish clergy as a charter, by which they were emancipated from the claims of jurisdiction which had been brought by the English archbishops of York and Canterbury.

From the beginning of the 12th century we begin to meet with instances of national councils of the Scottish clergy, at which the pope's legates assisted; but still we find no authority assumed by the pope in temporal matters, before the reign of Alexander II. when the people of Scotland were excommunicated for engaging in hostilities with King John of England, then the adopted son of the church. This excommunication, indeed, produced but little effect, and during a reign which reflected glory on the king, and was productive of advantage to his kingdom, Alexander nearly established the independence of the Scottish church.

In the progress of papal usurpation, the court of Rome proceeded, from appropriating the revenues of the Scottish church, to the appointment of the Scottish bishops. This usurpation was first attended with success in 1259, when the pope appointed his own chaplain to the bishopric of Glasgow. The church of Scotland, however, to shew her independence on papal authority, assembled a general council at Perth in 1269. This was called by one of their own bishops, who presided at its meetings, and by this assembly was enacted a body of canons, which remained the ecclesiastical code of Scotland till the epoch of the reformation. Such councils continued to assemble from time to time for correcting clerical abuses, and maintaining the freedom of the Scottish church.

The right of presentation appears to have been exerted from the 12th century in North Britain, as it has

Scotland. always been exerted in England. The bishops were named by the king, elected by their chapters, and consecrated by the pope, or by some of the other bishops. The king appointed the rural deans, and the chancellor of Scotland exercised the king's right of presentation to the smaller benefices. The barons enjoyed the right of presentation to those benefices which had arisen from their own munificence, or the piety of their ancestors. The bishops and abbots had acquired, by the royal charters, or grants from the barons, the right of advowson over many churches, and from this right were deduced other privileges of great importance\*.

\* Chal-  
mers's  
Caledonia,  
vol. i.

That form of popery which prevailed in Scotland was of the most bigotted and illiberal kind. Those doctrines which are most apt to shock the human understanding, and those legends which farthest exceed belief, were proposed to the people, without any attempt to palliate or disguise them; nor did they ever call in question the reasonableness of the one, or the truth of the other.

The power and wealth of the church kept pace with the progress of superstition; for it is the nature of that spirit to observe no bounds in its respect and liberality towards those whose character it esteems sacred. The Scottish kings early demonstrated how much they were under its influence, by their vast additions to the immunities and riches of the clergy. The profuse piety of David I. who acquired on that account the name of faint, transferred almost the whole crown lands, which were at that time of great extent, into the hands of ecclesiastics. The example of that virtuous prince was imitated by his successors. The spirit spread among all orders of men, who daily loaded the priesthood with new possessions. The riches of the church all over Europe were exorbitant; but Scotland was one of those countries wherein they had farthest exceeded the just proportion. The Scottish clergy paid one half of every tax imposed on land; and as there is no reason to think that in that age they would be loaded with any unequal share of the burden, we may conclude, that by the time of the Reformation, little less than one half of the property in the nation had fallen into the hands of a society, which is always acquiring, and can never lose.

The nature, too, of a considerable part of their property extended the influence of the clergy. Many estates throughout the kingdom held of the church; church-lands were let in lease at an easy rent, and were possessed by the younger sons and descendants of the best families. The connection between *superior* and *vassal*, between landlord and tenant, created dependences, and gave rise to a union of great advantage to the church; and in estimating the influence of the popish ecclesiastics over the nation, these, as well as the real amount of their revenues, must be attended to, and taken into the account.

This extraordinary share in the national property was accompanied with proportionable weight in the supreme council of the kingdom. At a time when the number of the temporal peers was extremely small, and when the lesser barons and representatives of boroughs seldom attended parliaments, the ecclesiastics formed a

considerable body there. It appears from the ancient rolls of parliament, and from the manner of choosing the lords of articles, that the proceedings of that high court must have been, in a great measure, under their direction.

The reverence due to their sacred character, which was often carried incredibly far, contributed not a little towards the growth of their power. The dignity, the titles, and precedence of the popish clergy are remarkable, both as causes and effects of that dominion which they had acquired over the rest of mankind. They were regarded by the credulous laity as beings of a superior species; they were neither subject to the same laws, nor tried by the same judges. Every guard that religion could supply, was placed around their power, their possessions, and their persons; and endeavours were used, not without success, to represent them all as equally sacred.

The reputation for learning, which, however inconsiderable, was wholly engrossed by the clergy, added to the reverence which they derived from religion. The principles of sound philosophy, and of a just taste, were altogether unknown; in place of these were substituted studies barbarous and unproductive; but as the ecclesiastics alone were conversant with them, this procured them esteem; and a very slender portion of knowledge drew the admiration of rude ages, which knew little. War was the sole profession of the nobles, and hunting their chief amusement; they divided their time between these: unacquainted with the arts, and unimproved by science, they disdained any employment foreign to military affairs, or which required rather penetration and address, than bodily vigour. Wherever the former were necessary, the clergy were entrusted, because they alone were properly qualified for the trust. Almost all high offices in civil government devolved, on this account, on them. To all this we may add, that the clergy being separated from the rest of mankind by the law of celibacy, and undistracted by those cares, and unincumbered with those burdens which occupy and oppress other men, the interest of their order became their only object, and they were at full leisure to pursue it.

The nature of their function gave them access to all persons and at all seasons. They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terror and of consolation, which operate most powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they besieged the beds of the sick and of the dying; they suffered few to go out of the world without leaving marks of their liberality to the church, and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their sins, by bestowing riches on those who called themselves his servants\*.

During the Scoto-Saxon period, there were in Scotland two archbishoprics, viz. those of St Andrew's and Glasgow, and ten bishoprics, viz. those of Orkney, the Western islands, Galloway, Dunkeld, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Ross, and Argyle or Lismore (N). To the archbishopric of St Andrew's were attached eight deaneries, and nine to that of Glasgow.

The opinions of Luther had been propagated in Britain soon after his preaching in 1517. They had for some

\* Robert-  
son's Scot-  
land,  
book ii.  
457  
Account of  
the refer-  
some nation.

(N) The bishopric of Edinburgh did not exist in that period, but was founded by Charles I.

Scotland. some years insensibly gained ground; and, when the contentions began between James and his nobility, were become formidable to the established religion. We have seen how James escaped from the hands of his nobles by means of the archbishop of St Andrew's. To the clergy, therefore he was naturally favourable; and as they naturally opposed the reformation, James became a zealous persecutor of the reformed. On the other hand, the nobility having already opposed the king and clergy in civil affairs, did the same in those of religion. The clergy finding themselves unequal in argument, had recourse to more violent methods. Rigorous inquisitions were made after heretics, and fires were everywhere prepared for them.

458  
Why James  
favoured  
the clergy.

459  
Martyrdom  
of Patrick  
Hamilton.

The first person who was called on to suffer for the reformed religion was Patrick Hamilton abbot of Ferne. At an early period of life he had been appointed to this abbacy; and having imbibed a favourable idea of the doctrines of Luther, had travelled into Germany, where, becoming acquainted with the most eminent reformers, he was fully confirmed in their opinions. Upon his return to Scotland, he ventured to expose the corruptions of the church, and to insist on the advantages of the tenets which he had embraced. A conduct so bold, and the avidity with which his discourses were received by the people, gave an alarm to the clergy. Under the pretence of a religious and friendly conference, he was seduced to St Andrew's by Alexander Campbell, a Dominican friar, who was instructed to remonstrate with him on the subject of the reformation. The conversations they held only served to establish the abbot more firmly in his sentiments, and to inflame his zeal to propagate them. The archbishops of St Andrew's and of Glasgow, and other dignitaries of the church, constituting a court, called him to appear before them.

An. 1527.

The abbot neither lost his courage nor renounced his opinions. He was accordingly convicted of heretical pravity, delivered over to the secular arm, and executed in the year 1527 (o). This reformer had not attained the 24th year of his age. His youth, his virtue, his magnanimity, and his sufferings, all operated in his favour with the people. To Alexander Campbell, who insulted him at the stake, he objected his treachery, and cited him to answer for his behaviour before the judgement-seat of Christ. And this persecutor, a few days after, being seized with a frenzy, and dying in that condition, it was believed with the greater confidence, that Mr Hamilton was an innocent man and a true martyr.

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Excites ge-  
neral indig-  
nation.

A deed so affecting, from its novelty and in its circumstances, excited throughout the kingdom an universal curiosity and indignation. Minute and particular inquiries were made into the tenets of Mr Hamilton. Converts to the new opinions were multiplying in every quarter, and a partiality to them began to prevail even

among the Romish clergy themselves. Alexander Seton, the king's confessor, took the liberty to inveigh against the errors and abuses of Popery; to neglect, in his discourses, all mention of purgatory, pilgrimages, and saints; and to recommend the doctrines of the reformed. What he taught was impugned; and his boldness rising with contradiction, he defended warmly his opinions, and even ventured to affirm, that in Scotland there were no true and faithful bishops, if a judgement of men in this station is to be formed from the virtues which St Paul has required of them. A sarcasm so just, and so daring, inflamed the whole body of the prelacy with resentment. They studied to accomplish his destruction; and, as Mr Seton had given offence to the king, whom he had exhorted to a greater purity of life, they flattered themselves with the hope of conducting him to the stake; but, being apprehensive of danger, he made his escape into England.

Scotland.

In 1533, Henry Forest, a Benedictine friar, who discovered a propensity to the reformed doctrines, was not so fortunate. After having been imprisoned for some time in the tower of St Andrew's, he was brought to his trial, condemned, and led to the flames. He had said, that Mr Hamilton was a pious man, and a martyr; and that the tenets for which he suffered might be vindicated. This guilt was aggravated by the discovery that Friar Forest was in possession of a New Testament in the English language; for the priests esteemed a careful attention to the Scriptures an infallible symptom of heresy. A cruelty so repugnant to the common sense and feelings of mankind, while it pleased the insolent pride of the ecclesiastics, was destroying their importance, and exciting a general disposition in the people to adopt in the fullest latitude the principles and sentiments of the reformed.

An. 1533.

461  
Henry Fo-  
rest burnt;

The following year, James Beaton archbishop of St Andrew's, though remarkable for prudence and moderation, was overawed by his nephew and coadjutor David Beaton, and by his brethren the clergy. In his own person, or by commission granted by him, persecutions were carried on with violence. Many were driven into banishment, and many were forced to acknowledge what they did not believe. The more strenuous and resolute were delivered over to punishment. Among these were two private gentlemen, Norman Gourlay and David Straton. They were tried at Holyroodhouse before the bishop of Ross; and refusing to recant, were condemned. King James, who was present, appeared exceedingly solicitous that they should recant their opinions; and David Straton, upon being adjudged to the fire, having begged for his mercy, was about to receive it, when the priests proudly pronounced, that the grace of the sovereign could not be extended to a criminal whom their law and determination had doomed to suffer.

An. 1534.

462  
as also  
Gourlay  
and Stra-  
ton;

A few years after, the bishops having assembled at Edinburgh, with several others.

4 Q 2

(o) His tenets were of the following import, and are enumerated in the sentence pronounced against him. "Man hath no free-will. Man is in sin so long as he liveth. Children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners. All Christians, that be worthie to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace. No man is justified by works, but by faith only. Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works. And faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest; and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest." *Keith, Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Appendix, p. 3.*

Scotland. Edinburgh, two Dominican friars, Killor and Beverage, with Sir Duncan Sympson a priest, Robert Forreiter a gentleman of Stirling, and Thomas Forrest vicar of Doulour in Perthshire, were condemned to be consumed in the same fire.

An. 1539. At Glasgow, a similar scene was acted in 1539: Hieronymus Ruffel a Gray-friar, and a young gentleman of the name of Kennedy, were accused of heresy before the bishop of that see. Ruffel, when brought to the stake, displaying an undaunted demeanour, reasoned gravely with his accusers, and was only answered with reproaches. Mr Kennedy, who was not yet 18 years of age, seemed disposed to disavow his opinions, and to sink under the weight of a cruel affliction; but the exhortation and example of Ruffel awakening his courage, his mind assumed a firmness and constancy, his countenance became cheerful, and he exclaimed with a joyful voice, "Now, I defy thee, Death; I praise my God, I am ready."

<sup>464.</sup>  
Promotion  
of Cardinal  
Beaton.

James Beaton, the archbishop of St Andrew's having died about this time, the ambition of David Beaton, his coadjutor, was gratified in the fullest manner. He had before been created a cardinal of the Roman church, and he was now advanced to the possession of the primacy of Scotland. No Scottish ecclesiastic had ever been invested with greater authority; and the reformers had every thing to fear from so formidable an enemy. The natural violence of his temper had fixed itself in an overbearing insolence, from the success which had attended him. His youth had been passed in scenes of political intrigue, which, while it communicated to him address and the knowledge of men, corrupted altogether the simplicity and candour of his mind. He was dark, crafty, and designing. No principles of justice were any bar to his schemes; nor did his heart open to any impressions of pity. His ruling passion was an inordinate love of power; and the support of his consequence depending only on the church of Rome, he was animated to maintain its superstitions with the warmest zeal. He seemed to delight in perfidiousness and dissimulation: he had no religion; and he was stained with an inhuman cruelty, and the most

<sup>465</sup>  
His charac-  
ter.

open profligacy of manners. In connection with these defects, he possessed a persevering obstinacy in pursuing his measures, the ability to perceive and to practise all the arts which were necessary to advance them, and the allurements of ostentation and prodigality.

He was scarcely invested with the primacy, when he exhibited an example of his taste for magnificence, and of his aversion to the reformation. He proceeded to St Andrew's with an uncommon pomp and parade. The earls of Huntly, Arran, Marischal, and Montrose, with the lords Fleming, Lindsey, Erskine, and Seton, honoured him with their attendance; and there appeared in his train, Gavin archbishop of Glasgow and lord high chancellor, four bishops, six abbots, many private gentlemen, and a vast multitude of the inferior clergy. In the cathedral church of St Andrew's, from a throne erected by his command, he harangued concerning the state of religion and the church, to this company, and to a crowd of other auditors. He lamented the increase of heretics; he insisted on their audacity and contempt of order; he said, that even in the court of the sovereign too much attention was shown to them; and he urged the strong necessity of acting against them with the greatest rigour. He informed this assembly, that he had cited Sir John Borthwick to appear before it, for maintaining tenets of faith hostile to the church, and for dispersing heretical books; and he desired that he might be assisted in bringing him to justice. The articles of accusation (P) were accordingly read against him; but he neither appeared in his own person, nor by any agent or deputy. He was found guilty; and the cardinal, with a solemnity calculated to strike with awe and terror, pronounced sentence against him. His goods and estate were confiscated; and a painted representation of him was burned publicly, in testimony of the malediction of the church, and as a memorial of his obstinacy and condemnation. It was ordained, that in the event of his being apprehended, he should suffer as a heretic, without hope of grace or mercy. All Christians, whether men or women, and of whatever degree or condition, were prohibited from affording him any harbour or sustenance. It was declared, that every office

<sup>466</sup>  
Sir John  
Borthwick  
impeached.

(P) They are preserved by Archbishop Spotiswood, and display great liberality of mind, in a period when philosophy may be said to have been almost unknown in Scotland. They are thus detailed by this judicious writer.

1. "That he held the pope to have no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or prelate had.
2. "That indulgences and pardons granted by the pope were of no force nor effect, but devised to abuse people, and deceive poor ignorant souls.
3. "That bishops, priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry.
4. "That the heresies, commonly called *heresies of England*, and their new liturgy, were commendable, and to be embraced of all Christians.
5. "That the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and professed not the true faith.
6. "That churchmen ought not to enjoy temporalities.
7. "That the king ought to convert the rents of the church into other pious uses.
8. "That the church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English.
9. "That the canons and decrees of the church were of no force, as being contrary to the law of God.
10. "That the orders of the friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England.
11. "That he did openly call the pope *simoniac*, for that he sold spiritual things.
12. "That he did read heretical books, and the New Testament in English, and some other treatises written by Melancthon, Oecolampadius, and Erasmus, which he gave likewise unto others.
13. "The last and greatest point was, that he refused to acknowledge the authority of the Roman see, or be subject thereunto." *Hist. of the Church*, p. 70.

Scotland. fice of humanity, comfort, and solacement, extended to him, should be considered as criminal, and be punished with confiscation and forfeitures.

<sup>467</sup> He flies in- to Eng- land. Sir John Borthwick having been apprised of his danger, fled into England, where he was kindly received by Henry VIII. who employed him in negotiations with the Protestant princes of Germany. Cardinal Beaton perceived with concern that this act of severity did not terrify the people. New defections from the church were announced to him. Andrew Cunningham son to the master of Glencairn, James Hamilton brother to Patrick Hamilton the martyr, and the celebrated George Buchanan the historian, were imprisoned upon suspicion of heresy; and if they had not found means to escape, would probably have perished at the stake. In this declining condition of Popery, the cardinal held many mournful consultations with the bishops. All their intrigues and wisdom were employed to devise methods to support themselves. The project of an inquisitorial court was conceived, and afforded a distant view of the extirpation of heretics. To erect this tribunal, they allured James V. with the hopes of the confiscation and spoils, which might enrich him, from the persecution and punishment of the reformed. He yielded to their solicitations, and gave them the sanction of his authority.

<sup>468</sup> Sir James Hamilton appointed a kind of inquisitor.

A formal commission was granted, constituting a court of inquiry after heretics, and nominating for its president Sir James Hamilton of Fennard, natural brother to the earl of Arran. The officious assiduity of this man, his ambition, and his thirst of blood, were in a high degree acceptable to the clergy; and to this eminence their recommendation had promoted him. Upon the slightest suspicion he was allowed to call any person before him, to scrutinize his creed, and to absolve or to condemn him. A tribunal so dreadful could not have found a director more suited to it. He was in haste to fill the prisons of the kingdom with culprits, and was taking down in lists the names of all those to whom heresy was imputed by popular report, and whom the arts of malicious men had represented as the objects of correction and punishment. But, while he was brooding over mischief, and multiplying in fancy the triumphs of his wickedness, an unexpected turn of affairs presented Hamilton himself in the light of a criminal, and conducted him to the scaffold.

<sup>469</sup> Projects the ruin of Patrick Hamilton's brother.

The brother of Mr Hamilton the martyr, to avoid persecution, had been obliged to go into banishment; but, by the intercession of his friends, he was permitted to return for a short time to his own country, that he might regulate the affairs of his family. He was connected with Sir James Hamilton; and, trusting to the ties of blood, ventured to prolong his stay beyond the period allowed him. This trespass was trivial. Sir James Hamilton, being willing to give a signal example of severity, and by this means to ingratiate himself the more with the priesthood, took the resolution of making his own relation the victim of his power. Mr Hamilton, attentive to his personal security, and not unacquainted with the most private machinations of this inquisitor, dispatched his son to the king, who was about to pass the Forth in a barge, and intreated him to provide for his safety, as Sir James Hamilton had conspired with the house of Douglas to assassinate him, James V. being at variance

<sup>470</sup> By whom he is accused of treason.

with the house of Douglas, had reasons of suspicion, and was disposed to believe every thing that is most flagitious of Sir James Hamilton. He instructed the young gentleman to go with expedition to Edinburgh, and to open the matter to the privy-council; and that he might be treated with the greater respect, he furnished him with the ring which he was accustomed to send to them on those important occasions which required their address and activity. Sir James Hamilton was apprehended and imprisoned. An accusation of having devided and attempted the king's death at different times was preferred against him. His defence appeared to be weak and unsatisfactory. A jury, which consisted of men of rank and character, pronounced him guilty; and, being condemned to suffer the death of a traitor, he lost his head, and the quarters of his body were exposed upon the gates of the city of Edinburgh. The clergy, who could not prevent his trial and execution, regretted his death, but did not think of appointing a successor to him in their court of inquisition.

<sup>471</sup> Condemned and executed.

In other respects, however, James showed great concern for the welfare of his people. Being dissatisfied with the ordinary administration of justice, he had recourse to the parliament of Paris for a model of the like institution in Scotland. Great objections lay against juries in civil matters, and to ambulatory courts of justice. The authority of the heritable jurisdictions was almost exclusive of all law; for though the king might preside in them, yet he seldom did so; and appeals before the council were disagreeable and expensive. The institution of the lords of articles threw too much weight into their scale, as no business could be transacted in parliament but what they allowed or permitted; and it was always in the power of the king to direct them as he pleased. The true source of the public grievances, in matters of property, lay in the disregard shown to the excellent acts which had passed during the reigns of the first three James's, and which had not been sufficiently supported in the late reigns. The evil had gathered strength during the minority of James V.; and he resolved to establish a standing jury for all matters of law and equity (for, properly speaking, the court of session in Scotland is no more), with a president, who was to be the mouth of the assembly. On the 13th of May, 1532, as we find by a curious manuscript in the British museum, the lords of the articles laid before the parliament the proposition for instituting this court, in the following words: "Item, anent (concerning) the second article concerning the order of justice; because our sovereign lord is maist desirous to have an permanent order of justice for the universal of all his lieges; and therefore tendis to institute an college of cunning and wise men for doing and administration of justice in all civil actions: and therefore thinke to be chosen certain persons maist convenient and qualified yair (there), to the number of fifteen persons, half spiritual, half temporal, with an president."

<sup>472</sup> James regulates the courts of justice.

An. 1532. <sup>473</sup> Origin of the court of session.

In the year 1533, hostilities were recommenced with England; but after some slight incursions on both sides, a truce again took place. The most remarkable transactions of this period, however, next to the religious persecutions already mentioned, were the negotiations for the king's marriage. Indeed, there is scarcely any monarch mentioned in history who seems to have had a greater

An. 1533. <sup>474</sup> Negotiations for the king's marriage.

Scotland.

greater variety of choice, or whom it was more difficult to please. The situation of affairs on the continent of Europe, had rendered Scotland a kingdom of great consequence, as holding the balance between France, England, and the empire of Germany; and each of the rival powers endeavoured to gain the favour of James, by giving him a wife.—In 1534, King Francis offered him his daughter; and the match was strongly recommended by the duke of Albany, who was still living in France, and served James with great fidelity. The same year the Imperial ambassador arrived in Scotland, and presented, in the name of his master, the order of the Golden Fleece to James, who had already been invested with that of St Michael by Francis. At the same time, he offered him his choice of three princesses; Mary of Austria, the emperor's sister, and widow of Lewis king of Hungary; Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister Eleonora of Austria; or Mary of England, the daughter of Catharine and Henry. Another condition, however, was annexed to this proposal, viz. that, to suppress the heresies of the time, a council should be held for obviating the calamities which threatened the Christian religion. These proposals would have met with a more ready acceptance from James, had not his clergy, at this time, been disgusted with Charles, for allowing too great a latitude to the Protestants of Germany. James, in his answer, returned the emperor his acknowledgments in the most polite terms, for the splendid alliances he had offered. He mentioned the proposal of the council as being a measure rather to be wished for than expected; because it ought to be free and holy, and upon the model of the first councils; its members consisting of the most charitable, quiet, and disinterested part of the clergy. He said, that if such a council could be obtained, he would willingly send ecclesiastics to it; but if not, that every prince ought to reform the errors of doctrine, and the faults of the clergy, within his own dominions. He bewailed the obstinate conduct of his uncle in his divorce and marriage; and offered his best offices for effecting a reconciliation between him and the emperor, wishing that all the princes of Christendom would unite their arms against their common enemy the Turks. He hinted, very justly, that his Imperial majesty had offered more than he could perform; because his cousin, Mary of England, was not at his disposal. The ambassador replied, that his master, if persuasion failed, would compel Henry by force of arms to resign her. James answered this ridiculous declaration by observing, that the emperor then would be guilty of a breach of all laws both divine and human; that it would be impolitic to give a preference to any of the three princesses, all of them being so illustrious and deserving; but, to show how much he valued an alliance with his Imperial majesty, he would become a suppliant to that prince for his niece, daughter to Christian king of Denmark, to become his bride. The ambassador's answer to this unexpected request was, that she was already betrothed to the count palatine, and that before that time the marriage was probably completed.

475  
Offers of  
the emperor  
of Germany,

476  
which are  
rejected by  
James.

But whether the Imperial ambassador had any right to offer the English princess or not, it is agreed by most historians, that James was offered either Mary or Elizabeth by their father Henry himself. To Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of the duke of Vendosme, he is said to

have been contracted; but for some reason all these matches were broken off; and the king at last went to France, where he married Magdalen the eldest daughter of Francis. The nuptials were celebrated at Paris in the year 1537, with great magnificence; and among other things served up by way of dessert at the marriage-feast, were a number of covered cups filled with pieces of gold and gold-dust, the native produce of Scotland, which James distributed among the guests. This gold was found in the mines of Crawford-moor, which were then worked by the Germans. In the beginning of May, the royal pair embarked for Leith, under convoy of four large ships of war, and landed on the 28th of the same month. The joy of the Scots was inexpressible, but it was of short continuance; for the young queen died of a fever on the 22d of July the same year.

King James did not long remain a widower; for the same year he sent Beaton abbot of Arbroath, to negotiate his second marriage with a French lady, Mary of Guise, duchess-dowager of Longueville. In this he was rivalled by his uncle Henry VIII. but not before James had been contracted to her. But this was nothing to Henry; for he not only insisted on having this lady for his wife, but threw out some menaces against Francis, because he would not comply with this unjustifiable request. In January 1538, she was married to James, and escorted to Scotland by the admiral of France with a considerable squadron; as both James and Francis were suspicious that Henry would make some attempt to intercept the royal bride. But nothing of this kind happened, and she landed safely at Fifeness; whence she was conducted to the king at St Andrew's.

But while James appeared thus to be giving himself up to the pleasures of love, he was in other respects showing himself a bloody tyrant. Some differences subsisted between the families of Gordon and Forbes in the north. The heir of the house last mentioned had been educated in a loose dissipated manner, and associated with a worthless fellow named *Strahan*. Having refused this favourite something he had asked, the latter attached himself to Gordon earl of Huntly, who, it is said, assisted him in forming a charge of treason against Forbes. He was accused of intending to restore the Douglasses to their forfeited estates and honours; which improbable story being supported by some venal evidences, the unhappy young man was condemned and executed as a traitor. The king could not but see the injustice of this execution; and, in order to make some compensation for it, banished Strahan. The following execution, which happened a few days after, was much more inhuman, inasmuch that it would have stained the annals even of the most despotic tyrant. The earl of Angus, finding that he could not regain the favour of the king, had recourse to the method usual in those days, viz. the committing of depredations on the borders. This crime was sufficient with James on occasion of the death of his innocent sister, the dowager-lady of Glamis. She had been addressed by one Lyon, whom she had rejected in favour of a gentleman of the name of *Campbell*. Lyon, exasperated at this repulse, found means of admittance to James, whom he filled with the greatest terrors on account of the practices of the family of Angus; and at last charged the lady, her husband,

Scotland.  
477  
He marries  
the king of  
France's  
daughter,  
An. 1537.

478  
who dies  
soon after.

479  
James ri-  
valled by  
his uncle  
in a second  
marriage.  
An. 1538.

480  
Cruel exe-  
cution of  
the heir of  
the house  
of Forbes,

481  
and of the  
dowager  
lady of  
Glamis.

Scotland. and an old priest, with a design of poisoning the king in order to restore Angus. The parties were all remarkable for their quiet and innocent lives; but even this circumstance was by their diabolical accuser turned to their prejudice, by representing it as the effect of cunning or caution. In this reign an accusation of treason was always followed by condemnation. The evidence against the lady, however, appeared so absurd and contradictory, that some of the judges were for dropping the prosecution, and others for recommending her case to the king: but the majority prevailed to have it determined by a jury, who brought her in guilty; and she was condemned to be burnt alive on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. The defence made by her would have done honour to the ablest orator, and undeniably proved her innocence; but though it was reported to James, it was so far from mitigating her sentence, that it was aggravated by her husband being obliged to behold her execution. The unhappy husband himself endeavoured to make his way over the castle wall of Edinburgh; but the rope proving too short, he was dashed in pieces and Lord Glamis her son, though but a child, was imprisoned during the remainder of this reign. The old priest, though put to the torture, confessed nothing, and was freed. Lyon, like the other accuser already mentioned, was banished.

482  
Death of  
her husband.

483  
The king  
seized with  
a kind of  
distractedness.  
An. 1540.

484  
Hostilities  
commence  
between  
Scotland  
and Eng-  
land.

485  
The sove-  
reignty of  
Ireland  
claimed by  
both kings.

Whether these and other cruelties had affected the king's conscience, or whether his brain had been deranged by the distractions of the different parties, is unknown; but it is certain, that, in the year 1540, he began to live retired: his palace appeared like the cloistered retreat of monks; his sleep was haunted by the most frightful dreams, which he construed into apparitions; and the body of Sir James Hamilton, whose execution has already been mentioned, seemed continually presented to his eyes. Perhaps the loss of his two sons, who died on the same day that Sir James was executed, might have contributed to bring this man more remarkably to his remembrance. No doubt, it added to the gloom of his mind; and he now saw his court abandoned by almost all his nobility.

At last James was in some degree roused from his inaction, by the preparations made against him by his uncle Henry VIII. of England. Some differences had already taken place; to accommodate which, Henry had desired a conference with James at York. But this the latter, by the advice of his parliament, had declined. The consequence was a rupture between the two courts, and the English had taken 20 of the Scots trading vessels. Henry threatened to revive the antiquated claim of the English superiority over Scotland, and had given orders for a formidable invasion of the Scotch borders. He complained that James had usurped his title of Defender of the Faith, to which he had added the word Christian, implying that Henry was an infidel: but the kings of Scotland had, some time before, been complimented by the papal see with that title. James, on the other hand, turned his attention towards Ireland, the north of which was peopled with inhabitants who owned no sovereign but the king of Scotland, and who offered to serve James against the English; some of their chiefs having actually repaired to Scotland, and done homage to James. Henry had, about this time, declared himself king of Ireland, of which he was before only styled the *lord*; and James strenuously asserted,

that he had a preferable claim to at least one half of that island, which had been peopled by the subjects of Scotland. Though the Scotch historians of this reign take very little notice of this incident, yet James appears to have been very tenacious of his title; and that there was a great intercourse carried on between the subjects of Scotland and the northern Irish, who unanimously acknowledged James for their natural sovereign. Indeed, this was the only ground of quarrel that the king, with the least shadow of justice, could allege against Henry.

His parliament being met, many public-spirited acts were passed; and before the assembly was dissolved, the members renewed the acts against leasing-making; by which is meant the misrepresenting of the king to his nobles, or the nobles to their king: and James, to dismiss them in good humour, passed an act of free grace for all crimes committed in his minority; the earl of Angus, and Sir George and Sir Archibald Douglas, being excepted.

Henry, after cutting off the head of his wife Catharine Howard, married and divorced the princess Anne of Cleves, and found himself either deserted or distrusted by all the princes on the continent, Protestant as well as Catholic. James and his clergy relied greatly on this public odium incurred by Henry; but the emperor having again quarrelled with Francis, left Henry, whose dominions they had threatened jointly to invade, at liberty to continue his preparations against the Scots. Henry first ordered his fleet, then the most formidable of any in the world, to make fresh descents upon Scotland. At the same time, he appointed a very considerable army to rendezvous upon the borders, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes, one of his wardens, the earl of Angus, and his two brothers Sir George and Sir Archibald Douglas. James was every day expecting supplies of money, arms, and other necessaries from Francis; but these not arriving, he reassembled his parliament on the 14th of March, which gratified him in all his demands. Many excellent regulations were made for the internal government, peace, and security of the kingdom, and against the exportation of money instead of merchandise. Acts were passed for fortifying and embellishing the town of Edinburgh, and for better supplying the subjects with wine and all the other necessaries of life. The royal revenue was increased by many additional estates; and there was completed one of the best plans for a national militia that perhaps ever appeared. As yet, excepting in the disappointment which Henry met with from his nephew in not meeting him at York, he had no grounds for commencing hostilities. But it is here proper to observe, that the queen-mother was then dead; and consequently the connection between James and Henry was weakened. Whatever her private character might be, she was certainly a happy instrument of preventing bloodshed between the two kingdoms. She was buried with royal honours at Perth.

James, to all appearance, was at this time in a most desirable situation. His domain, by forfeitures and otherwise, far exceeded that of any of his predecessors. He could command the purses of his clergy; he had large sums of ready money in his exchequer; his forts were well stored and fortified; and he was now daily receiving remittances of money, arms, and ammunition from

Scotland.

486  
An act of  
indemnity  
for crimes  
committed  
during the  
king's mi-  
nority.

487  
Prepara-  
tions of  
Henry.

488  
Death of  
the queen-  
mother.

Scotland. from France. All this happiness, however, was only  
 489 James loses the affec-  
 tions of his subjects.  
 Au. 1542.

He had nominated the earl of Huntly to command his army on the borders, consisting of 10,000 men; and his lieutenant-general was Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen, who had seen a great deal of foreign service, and was esteemed an excellent officer. Huntly acquitted himself admirably in his commission; and was so well served by his spies, as to have certain intelligence that the English intended to surprize and burn Jedburgh and Kelfo. The English army under Sir Robert Bowes and the Douglasses, with other northern Englishmen, continued still on the borders; and one of the resolutions which the Scotch nobility and gentry had formed, was, not to attack them on their own ground, nor to act offensively, unless their enemies invaded Scotland. Huntly being informed that the English had advanced, on the 24th of August, to a place called *Haldanrig*, and that they had destroyed great part of the Scotch and debateable lands, resolved to engage them: and the English were astonished, when at day-break they saw the Scotch army drawn up in order of battle. Neither party could now retreat without fighting; and Torphichen, who led the van, consisting of 2000 of the best troops of Scotland, charged the English so furiously, that Huntly gained a complete and an easy victory. Above 200 of the English were killed, and 600 taken prisoners; among whom were their general Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Moubray, and about 60 of the most distinguished northern barons; the earl of Angus escaping by the swiftness of his horse. The loss of the Scots was inconsiderable.

In the mean time, the duke of Norfolk having raised a great army, had orders to march northwards, and to distribute a manifesto, complaining of James for having disappointed Henry in the interview at York, and reviving the ridiculous claim of his own and his ancestors superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. It was plain, from the words of this manifesto, that Henry was still placable towards James; and that he would easily have dropt that claim, if his nephew would make any personal advances towards a reconciliation.

The condition of James was now deplorable. The few faithful counsellors whom he had about him, such as Kirkaldy of Grange, who was then lord treasurer, plainly intimated, that he could have no dependence on his nobles, as he was devoted to the clergy; and James, sometimes, in a fit of distraction, would draw his dagger on the cardinal and other ecclesiastics when they came to him with fresh propositions of murder and proscriptions, and drive them out of his presence. But he had no constancy of mind; and he certainly put into his pocket a bloody scroll that had been brought him by his priests, beginning with the earl of Arran, the first subject of the kingdom. In one of his cooler moments, he appointed the lord Erskine, and some others of his nobility, to make a fresh attempt to gain time; and Henry even condescended to order the duke of Norfolk (who was then advanced as far as York), the lord privy seal, the bishop of Durham, and others, to treat with him. The conferences were short and unsuccessful. The duke bitterly complained, that the

Scots fought only to amuse him till the season for ac-  
 tion was over. In short, he considered both them and  
 Learmouth, who was ordered to attend him, as so many  
 spies, and treated them accordingly. It was the 21st  
 of October before he entered the eastern borders of Scot-  
 land. According to the Scotch historians, his army  
 consisted of 40,000 men; but the English have fixed it  
 at 20,000.

James affected to complain of this invasion as being unprovoked; but he lost no time in preparing to repel the danger. The situation of his nobility, who were pressed by a foreign invasion on the one hand, and domestic tyrants on the other, induced them to hold frequent consultations; and in one of them, they resolved to renew the scene that had been acted at Lawder bridge under James III. by hanging all his grandson's evil counsellors. The Scots historians say, that this resolution was not executed, because the nobility could not agree about the victims that were to be sacrificed; and that the king, who was encamped with his army at Falla-moor, having intelligence of their consultation, removed hastily to Edinburgh; from which he sent orders for his army to advance, and give battle to the duke of Norfolk, who appears not as yet to have entered the Scotch borders. The answer of the nobility was, that they were determined not to attack the duke on English ground; but that if he invaded Scotland, they knew their duty. The earl of Huntly, who commanded the van of the Scottish army, consisting of 10,000 men, was of the same opinion: but no sooner did Norfolk pass the Tweed, than he harassed the English army, cut off their foraging parties, and distressed them in such a manner, that the duke agreed once more to a conference for peace; which was managed, on the part of the Scots, by the bishop of Orkney and Sir James Learmouth; but nothing was concluded. The English general, finding it now impossible on many accounts to prosecute his invasion, repassed the Tweed; and was harassed in his march by the earl of Huntly, who desisted from the pursuit the moment his enemies gained English ground.

James, whose army at this time amounted to above 30,000 men, continued still at Edinburgh, from which he sent frequent messages to order his nobility and generals to follow the duke of Norfolk into England; but these were disregarded. James was flattered, that now he had it in his power to be revenged for all the indignities that had been offered by England to Scotland. In this he was encouraged by the French ambassador, and the high opinion he had of his own troops. About the beginning of November, he came to a resolution of reassembling his army, which was disbanded after the duke of Norfolk's retreat. This project appeared so plausible and so promising that several of the nobility are said to have agreed to it, particularly the lord Maxwell, the earls of Arran, Cassilis, and Glencairn, with the lords Fleming, Somerville, and Erskine: others represented, but in vain, that the arms of Scotland had already gained sufficient honour, by obliging the powerful army of the English, with their most experienced general at their head, to make a shameful retreat before a handful; that the force of Scotland was inferior to that of England; and that an honourable peace was still practicable. It was said, in reply to those considerations, that the state of the quar-  
 rel

489 James loses the affec-  
 tions of his subjects.  
 Au. 1542.

490 The Eng-  
 lish defeat-  
 ed by the  
 earl of  
 Huntly.

491 Distraction  
 of James.

Scotland.  
 492 The duke  
 of Norfolk  
 enters Scot-  
 land with a  
 formidable  
 army.

493 Conspiracy  
 against  
 James's fa-  
 vourites.

494 The Eng-  
 lish oblig'd  
 to retreat.

495 The Scots  
 refuse to  
 pursue.



Scotland. rel was now greatly altered; that Henry had in his manifesto declared his intention of enslaving their country; that he treated the nobility as his vassals; that the duke of Norfolk had been guilty of burning the dwellings of the defenceless inhabitants, by laying about 20 villages and towns in ashes; and that no Scotchman, who was not corrupted by Henry's gold, would oppose the king's will. The last, perhaps, was the chief argument that prevailed on the lord Maxwell, a nobleman of great honour and courage, to agree to carry the war into England by Solway, provided he were at the head of 10,000 men. It was at last agreed that the earl of Arran and the cardinal should openly raise men, as if they intended to enter the eastern marches, where they were to make only a feint, while the lord Maxwell was to make the real attempt upon the west. Private letters were everywhere circulated to raise those who were to serve under the lord Maxwell; among whom were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Fleming, Somerville, Erskine, and many other persons of great importance. James, who never was suspected of pusillanimity, would probably have put himself at the head of this expedition, had he not been dissuaded from it by his priests and minions, who reminded him of the consultations at Fallamoor, and the other treasonable practices of the nobility. They added, that most of them being corrupted by English gold, he could not be too much on his guard. He was at last persuaded to repair to the castle of Lochmaben or Carloverock, and there to wait the issue of the inroad.

496  
But at last  
consent to  
invade  
England.

497  
Lord Maxwell  
superse-  
ded in  
the com-  
mand by  
Oliver Sin-  
clair.

It was probably at this place that James was prevailed on to come to the fatal resolution of appointing one Oliver Sinclair, a son of the house of Roslin, and a favourite minion at court, to command the army in chief; and his commission was made out accordingly. On the 23d of November, the Scots began their march at midnight; and having passed the Eike, all the adjacent villages were seen in flames by the break of day. Sir Thomas Wharton, the English warden of those marches, the bastard Dacres, and Musgrave, hastily raised a few troops, the whole not exceeding 500 men, and drew them up on an advantageous ground; when Sinclair, ordering the royal banner to be displayed, and being mounted on the shoulders of two tall men, produced and read his commission. It is impossible to imagine the consternation into which the Scots were thrown on this occasion; and their leaders setting the example, the whole army declared (according to the Scotch authors), that they would rather surrender themselves prisoners to the English, than submit to be commanded by such a general. In an instant, all order in the Scotch army was overturned; horse and foot, soldiers and scullions, noblemen and peasants, were intermingled. It was easy for the English general to perceive this confusion, and perhaps to guess at its cause. A hundred of his light-horse happened to advance: they met no resistance: the nobles were the first who surrendered themselves prisoners; and the rest of the English advancing, they obtained a bloodless victory; for even the women and the boys made prisoners of Scotch soldiers, and few or none were killed. The lord Herbert relates the circumstances of this shameful affair with some immaterial differences; but agrees on the whole with the Scots authorities. He mentions,

498  
The Scots  
shamefully  
defeated  
at Solway  
mofs.

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Scotland. however, no more than 800 common soldiers having been made prisoners. The chief of the prisoners were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with above 200 gentlemen.

James was then at Carloverock, which is about 12 miles distant from the place of action, depressed in his spirits, and anxious about the event of the expedition, which is to this day called the *Raid of Solway mofs*. When the news reached him, and he learned that the earl of Arran and the cardinal were returned to Edinburgh, he was seized with an additional dejection of mind, which brought him to his grave. In such a situation every cruel action of his former life wounded his conscience; and he at last sunk into a sullen melancholy, which admitted of no consolation. From Carloverock he removed to Falkland; and was sometimes heard to express himself as if he thought that the whole body of the nobility were in a conspiracy against his person and dignity. The presence of the few attendants who were admitted into his chamber, and who were the wicked instruments of his misconduct, seemed to aggravate his sufferings, and he either could not or would not take any sustenance. His death being now inevitable, Beaton approached his bed-side with a paper, to which he is said to have directed the king's hand, pretending that it was his last will. On the 18th of December, while James was in this deplorable state, a messenger came from Linlithgow, with an account that the queen was brought to bed of a daughter; and the last words he was distinctly heard to say, were, "It will end as it began; the crown came by a lass, and it will go by a lass." He then turned his face to the wall, and in broken ejaculations pronounced the word *Solway mofs*, and some faint expressions alluding to the disgrace he suffered. In this state he languished for some days; for it is certain he did not survive the 14th.

500  
Is succeed-  
ed by Ma-  
ry.

501  
Critical  
situation of  
affairs.

502  
Earl of Ar-  
ran ap-  
pointed re-  
gent.

James V. was succeeded by his infant daughter Mary, whose birth we have already mentioned. James had taken no steps for the security of his kingdom, so that ambitious men had now another opportunity of throwing the public affairs into confusion. The situation of Scotland indeed at this time was very critical. Many of the nobility were prisoners in England, and those who remained at home were factious and turbulent. The nation was dispirited by an unsuccessful war. Commotions were daily excited on account of religion, and Henry VIII. had formed a design of adding Scotland to his other dominions. By a testamentary deed, which Cardinal Beaton had forged in the name of his sovereign, he was appointed tutor to the queen and governor of the realm, and three of the principal nobility were named to act as his counsellors in the administration. The nobility and the people, however, calling in question the authenticity of this deed, which he could not establish, the cardinal was degraded from the dignity he had assumed; and the estates of the kingdom advanced to the regency James Hamilton, earl of Arran, whom they judged to be entitled to this distinction, as the second person of the kingdom, and the nearest heir, after Mary, to the crown.

The disgrace of Cardinal Beaton might have proved the destruction of his party, if the earl of Arran had been endowed with vigour of mind and ability. But

Scotland. his views were circumscribed; and he did not compensate for this defect by any firmness of purpose. He was too indolent to gain partizans, and too irrefolute to fix them. Slight difficulties filled him with embarrassment, and great ones overpowered him. His enemies, applying themselves to the timidity of his disposition, betrayed him into weakneses; and the esteem which his gentleness had procured him in private life, was lost in the contempt attending his public conduct, which was feeble, fluctuating, and inconsistent.

503  
His character.

504  
He becomes popular on account of his attachment to the reformation.

The attachment which the regent was known to profess for the reformed religion, procured him the love of the people; his high birth, and the mildness of his virtues, conciliated their respect; and from the circumstance, that his name was at the head of the roll of heretics which the clergy had presented to the late king, a sentiment of tenderness was mingled with his popularity. His conduct at first corresponded with the impressions entertained in his favour. Thomas Guillame and John Rough, two celebrated preachers, were invited to live in his house; and he permitted them to declaim openly against the errors of the church of Rome. They attacked and exposed the supremacy of the pope, the worship of images, and the invocation of saints. Cardinal Beaton and the prelates were exceedingly provoked, and indefatigably active in defence of the established doctrines.

505  
The people permitted to read the scriptures in their mother-tongue.

This public sanction afforded to the reformation was of little consequence, however, when compared with a measure which was soon after adopted by Robert Lord Maxwell. He proposed, that the liberty of reading the scriptures in the vulgar tongue should be permitted to the people; and that, for the future, no heretical guilt should be imputed to any person for having them in his possession, or for making use of them. The regent and the three estates acknowledged the propriety of this proposal. Gavin Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland, protested, indeed, for himself and for the church, that no act on this subject should pass and be effectual, till a provincial council of all the clergy of the kingdom should consider and determine, whether there was a necessity that the people should consult and study the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. But his protestation being disregarded, the bill of the lord Maxwell was carried into a law, and the regent made it generally known by proclamation.

From this period copies of the Bible were imported in great numbers from England; and men, allured by an appeal so flattering to their reason, were proud to recover from the supine ignorance in which they had been kept by an artful priesthood. To read became a common accomplishment: and books were multiplied in every quarter, which disclosed the pride, the tyranny, and the absurdities of the Romish church and superstitions.

506  
Henry VIII. proposes to unite the kingdoms by the marriage of Edward VI. with Mary.

The death of James V. proved very favourable to the ambitious designs of Henry. He now proposed an union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son Edward VI. with Mary the young queen of Scotland. To promote this, he released the noblemen who had been taken prisoners at Solway, after having engaged them on oath, not only to concur in promoting the alliance, but to endeavour to procure him the charge and custody of the young queen, with the government of her kingdom, and the possession of her castles. The

earl of Angus and his brother, who had been fifteen years in exile, accompanied them to Scotland, and brought letters from Henry recommending them to the restitution of their honours and estates. The regent was inclined to favour the demands of persons of such eminent station; but though the states were inclined to the marriage, they refused to permit the removal of the queen into England, and treated with contempt the idea of giving the government of Scotland and the care of the castles to the king of England. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, exerted all his endeavours to induce the regent to comply with the requisitions of his master; but all his intrigues were unsuccessful; and Henry perceiving that he must depart from such extravagant conditions, at last authorised the commissioners to consent to treaties of amity and marriage, on the most favourable terms that could be procured. In consequence of these powers given to the commissioners, it was agreed that a firm peace and alliance should take place between the two nations, and that they should mutually defend and protect each other in case of an invasion. The queen was to remain within her own dominions till she was ten years of age; and Henry was not to claim any share in the government. Six nobles, or their apparent heirs, were to be surrendered to him in security for the conveyance of the young queen into England, and for her marriage with Prince Edward, as soon as she was ten years of age. It was also stipulated, that though the queen should have issue by Edward, Scotland should retain not only its name, but its laws and liberties.

507  
He departs from some of his proposals.

These conditions, however advantageous to Scotland, did not give entire satisfaction. Cardinal Beaton, who had been imprisoned on pretence of treasonable schemes, and was now released from his confinement by the influence of the queen dowager, took all opportunities of exclaiming against the alliance, as tending to destroy the independence of the kingdom. He pointed out to the churchmen the dangers which arose from the prevalence of heresy, and urged them to unanimity and zeal. Awakening all their fears and selfishness, they granted him a large sum of money with which he might gain partizans; the friars were directed to preach against the treaties with England; and fanatics were instructed to display their rage in offering indignities to Sir Ralph Sadler.

508  
The regent opposed by Cardinal Beaton.

Cardinal Beaton was not the only antagonist with whom the regent had to deal. The earls of Argyle, Huntly, Bothwell, and Murray, concurred in the opposition; and having collected some troops, and possessed themselves of the queen's person, they assumed all the authority. They were joined by the earl of Lenox, who was led to hope that he might espouse the queen-dowager and obtain the regency. He was also inclined to oppose the earl of Arran, from an ancient quarrel which had subsisted between their two families; and from a claim which he had to supersede him, not only in the enjoyment of his personal estates, but in the succession to the crown. The regent, alarmed at such a powerful combination against him, inclined to attend to some advances which were made him by the queen-dowager and cardinal. To refuse to confirm the treaties, after he had brought them to a conclusion, was, however, a step so repugnant to probity, that he could not be prevailed on to adopt it. He therefore, in a solemn manner,

509  
and by several noblemen;

Scotland. <sup>510</sup> ner, ratified them in the abbey church of Holyrood-  
house, and commanded the great seal of Scotland to be  
affixed to them. The same day he went to St Andrew's,  
and issued a mandate to the cardinal, requiring him to  
return to his allegiance. To this the prelate refused to  
pay any attention, or to move from his castle; on which  
the regent denounced him as a rebel, and threatened to  
compel him to submission by military force. But in a  
few days after, the pusillanimous regent meeting with  
Beaton, forsook the interest of Henry VIII. and em-  
braced that of the queen dowager and of France. Being  
in haste also to reconcile himself to the church of Rome,  
he renounced publicly, at Stirling, the opinions of the  
reformed, and received absolution from the hands of the  
cardinal.

<sup>511</sup> He aband-  
ons the  
English in-  
terest, and  
renounces  
the Protet-  
tant reli-  
gion.  
<sup>512</sup> Henry's  
violent pro-  
ceedings.

By this mean-spirited conduct the regent exposed  
himself to universal contempt, while Cardinal Beaton  
usurped the whole authority. The earl of Lenox,  
finding that he had no hopes of success in his suit to  
the queen-dowager, engaged in negotiations with Henry,  
to place himself at the head of the Scottish lords who  
were in the English interest, and to assert the cause of  
the reformation. The consequence of all this was a  
rupture with England. Henry not only delayed to  
ratify the treaties on his part, but ordered all the Scot-  
tish ships in the harbours of England to be taken and  
confiscated. This violent proceeding inflamed the na-  
tional disgusts against the English alliance; and the  
party of the cardinal and queen-dowager thus obtained  
an increase of popularity. Henry himself, however,  
was so much accustomed to acts of outrage and vio-  
lence, that he seemed to think the step he had just now  
taken a matter of no moment; and therefore he de-  
manded that the hostages, in terms of the treaty of  
marriage, should still be delivered up to him. But the  
cardinal and regent informed his ambassador, Sir Ralph  
Sadler, that from their own authority they could not  
command any of the nobles to be committed to him  
as hostages; and that the offensive strain of behaviour  
assumed by the English monarch might have altered the  
sentiments of the Scottish parliament with regard to a  
measure of such importance. After much altercation,  
the conferences were broken off; and as the lords who  
were released from captivity had promised to return pri-  
soners to England, it now remained with them to fulfil  
their engagements. None of them, however, had the  
courage to do so, except the earl of Cassilis; and Henry,  
being struck with his punctilious sense of honour, dis-  
missed him loaded with presents.

<sup>513</sup> The nego-  
tiations  
broken off.

Cardinal Beaton being thus in possession of power,  
took measures to secure it. The solemnity of the co-  
ronation of the young queen was celebrated at Stirling.  
A council was chosen to direct and assist the regent in  
the greater affairs of state, and at the head of this was  
the queen-dowager. John Hamilton, the abbot of Paisley,  
who had acquired an ascendancy over the regent, was  
also promoted to the privy seal, and made treasurer of  
the kingdom; and Cardinal Beaton, upon the request of  
the regent and the three estates, accepted the office of  
lord high chancellor.

<sup>514</sup> The queen  
crowned.

After the flatteries and the hopes with which the  
earl of Lenox had been amused, the cardinal had rea-  
son to dread the utmost warmth of his resentment. He  
had therefore written to Francis I. giving a detail of  
the critical situation of affairs in Scotland, and intreat-

<sup>515</sup> Enmity be-  
tween Car-  
dinal Bea-  
ton and the  
earl of Le-  
nox.

ing him to recal to France the earl of Lenox, who was  
now interested to oppose the influence and operations of  
the queen-dowager. But the indignation with which  
the treachery of the cardinal had inflamed the earl of  
Lenox, precipitated him into immediate action, and de-  
feated the intention of this artifice. In the hostile  
situation of his mind towards Scotland, an opportunity of  
commencing hostilities had presented itself. Five ships  
had arrived in the Clyde from France, loaded with war-  
like stores, and having on board the patriarch of Venice,  
Peter Contarini, legate from Paul III. with La Brosse,  
and James Mesnaige, ambassadors from France; and  
30,000 crowns, which were to be employed in streng-  
thening the French faction, and to be distributed by the  
queen-dowager and the cardinal. Prevailing with the  
commanders of these vessels, who conceived him to be  
the firm friend of their monarch, he secured this money  
for his own use, and deposited the military stores in his  
castle of Dumbarton, under the care of George Stirling  
the deputy-governor, who at that time was entirely in  
his interests.

Scotland. <sup>516</sup> Hostilities  
committed  
by the lat-  
ter.

By the successful application of this wealth, the earl  
of Lenox called forth the full exertion of his party in  
levying a formidable army, with which he threatened  
the destruction of the regent and the cardinal, offering  
them battle in the fields between Leith and Edinburgh.  
The regent, not being in a condition to accept the  
challenge of his rival, had recourse to negotiation. Car-  
dinal Beaton and the earl of Huntly proposed terms  
of amity, and exerted themselves with so much address,  
that the earl of Lenox, losing the opportunity of chast-  
ising his enemies, consented to an accommodation, and  
again indulged the hope of obtaining the queen-dowager  
in marriage. His army was dismissed, and he threw  
himself at the feet of his mistress, by whom he was, in  
appearance, favourably received: but many of his friends  
were seduced from him under different pretences; and  
at last, apprehending his total ruin from some secret en-  
terprise, he fled to Glasgow, and fortified himself in  
that city. The regent, collecting an army, marched  
against him; and having defeated his friend the earl of  
Glencairn in a bloody encounter, was able to reduce  
the place of strength in which he confided. In this ebb  
of his fortune, the earl of Lenox had no hope but from  
England.

<sup>517</sup> Lenox suf-  
fers himself  
to be amu-  
sed by his  
enemies.

The revolution produced in the political state of Scot-  
land by the arts of Cardinal Beaton, while it defeated  
the intrigues of Henry VIII. pointed all its strength  
against the progress of the reformation. After abandon-  
ing his old friends, the regent, in connection with the  
cardinal, was ambitious to undo all the services he had  
rendered to them. The three estates annulled the trea-  
ties of amity and marriage, and empowered commissioners  
to conclude an alliance with France. The regent dis-  
charged the two preachers Guillame and Rough, whom  
he had invited to impugn the doctrines of the church.  
He drove back into England many pious persons, whose  
zeal had brought them to Scotland, to explain and ad-  
vance the new opinions. He caressed with particular  
respect the legate whom the pope had sent to discourage  
the marriage of the young queen with the prince of  
Wales, and to promise his assistance against the enter-  
prises of Henry VIII. He procured an act of parlia-  
ment to be passed for the persecution of heretics; and,  
on the foundation of this authority, the most rigorous

<sup>518</sup> and is  
obliged to  
fly.

<sup>519</sup> Alliance  
with France  
concluded,  
and the  
Protestants  
persecuted.

proceedings

<sup>Scotland.</sup> proceedings were concerted against the reformed; when the arms of England, rousing the apprehensions of the nation, gave the fullest employment to the regent and his counsellors.

<sup>520</sup>  
Lenox engages in the English interest.

In the rage and anguish of disappointed ambition, the earl of Lenox made an offer to assist the views of the king of England; who, treating him as an ally, engaged, in the event of success, to give him in marriage his niece the lady Margaret Douglas, and to invest him with the regency of Scotland. To establish the reformation in Scotland, to acquire the superiority over it to Henry VIII. and to effectuate the marriage of the prince of Wales with the queen of Scots, were the great objects of their confederacy.

<sup>521</sup>  
An English army enters Scotland. An. 1544.

Henry, though engaged in a war with France, which required all his military force, could not resist the earliest opportunity in his power to execute his vengeance against Scotland. Edward Seymour, earl of Hartford, was appointed to command 10,000 men; who were embarked at Tynmouth, on board a fleet of 200 ships, under the command of Sir John Dudley lord Lisle. This army was landed without opposition near Leith; and the earl of Hartford made it known to Sir Adam Otterburn, the provost of Edinburgh, that his commission empowered him to lay the country waste and desolate, unless the regent should deliver up the young queen to the king of England. It was answered, that every extremity of distress would be endured, before the Scottish nation would submit to so ignominious a demand. Six thousand horse from Berwick, under the lord Evers, now joined the earl of Hartford. Leith and Edinburgh, after a feeble resistance, yielded to the English commander; who abandoned them to pillage, and then set them on fire. A cruel devastation ensued in the surrounding villages and country, and an immense booty was conveyed on board the English fleet. But, while an extreme terror was everywhere excited, the earl of Hartford re-embarked a part of his troops, and ordered the remainder to march with expedition to the frontiers of England.

<sup>522</sup>  
Who commit cruel devastations, and then suddenly retire.

The regent, assisted by Cardinal Beaton and the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, and Murray, was active, in the mean time, to collect an army, and to provide for the security of the kingdom. He felt, therefore, the greatest surprise on being relieved so unexpectedly from the most imminent danger; and an expedition, conducted with so little discernment, did not advance the measures of Henry VIII. To accomplish the marriage of the young queen with the prince of Wales, to possess himself of her person, or to achieve a conquest over Scotland, were all circumstances apparently within the reach of the English commander: and yet, in the moment of victory, he neglected to prosecute his advantages; and having inflamed the animosities of the Scottish nation, by a display of the passions and cruelty of his master, left them to recover from their disaster, and to improve in their resources.

<sup>523</sup>  
The success of the earl of Lenox.

The earl of Lenox, taking the opportunity of the English fleet, went to consult with Henry VIII. on the desperate state of his affairs. He renewed his engagements with this monarch; and received in marriage the lady Margaret Douglas, with possessions in England. Soon after, he arrived in the frith of Clyde, with 18 ships and 600 soldiers, that he might secure the castle of Dumbarton, and employ himself in plun-

dering and devastation. But George Stirling, to whom the castle was intrusted, refused to surrender it; and even obliged him to reembark his troops. After engaging in a few petty incursions and skirmishes, he returned to England.

<sup>524</sup>  
A truce concluded with England.

In this year, Henry consented to a truce; and Scotland, after having suffered the miseries of war, was subjected to the horrors of persecution. The regent had procured an act of parliament for the persecution of the reformed; and the cardinal, to draw to himself an additional splendour and power, had obtained from the pope the dignity of *legatè à latere*. A visitation of his own diocese appeared to him the most proper method of commencing the proposed extirpation of heresy; and he carried with him in his train the regent, and many persons of distinction, to assist in his judicatories, and to share in his disgrace.

In the town of Perth many persons were accused and condemned. The most trifling offences were regarded as atrocious crimes, and made the subjects of prosecution and punishment. Robert Lamb was hanged for affirming that the invocation of saints had no merit to save. William Anderson, James Reynold, and James Finlayson, suffered the same death, for having abused an image of St Francis, by putting horns upon his head. James Hunter, having associated with them, was found equally guilty, and punished in the same manner. Helen Stirke, having refused, when in labour, to invoke the assistance of the Virgin, was drowned in a pool of water. Many of the burghesses of Perth, being suspected of heresy, were sent into banishment; and the lord Ruthven, the provost, was upon the same account dismissed from office.

<sup>525</sup>  
Many cruel executions on account of religion.

The cardinal was strenuous in persecuting heresy in other parts of his diocese. But the discontents and clamour attending the executions of men of inferior station were now lost in the fame of the martyrdom of George Wishart; a person who, while he was respectable by his birth, was highly eminent from the opinion entertained of his capacity and endowments. The historians of the Protestant persuasion have spoken of this reformer in terms of the highest admiration. They extol his learning as extensive, insist on the extreme candour of his disposition, and ascribe to him the utmost purity of morals. But while the strain of their panegyric is exposed to suspicion from its excess, they have ventured to impute to him the spirit of prophecy; so that we must necessarily receive their eulogiums with some abatement. It may be sufficient to affirm, that Mr Wishart was the most eminent preacher who had hitherto appeared in Scotland. His mind was certainly cultivated by reflection and study, and he was amply possessed of those abilities and qualifications which awaken and agitate the passions of the people. His ministry had been attended with the most flattering success; and his courage in encountering danger grew with his reputation. The day before he was apprehended, he said to John Knox, who attended him, "I am weary of the world, since I perceive that men are weary of God." He had already reconciled himself to that terrible death which awaited him. He was found in the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, in East Lothian; who refusing to deliver him to the servants of the regent, the earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of the county, required that he should be intrusted to his care, and promised

<sup>526</sup>  
Account of Mr George Wishart.

Scotland. promised that no injury should be done to him. But the authority of the regent and his counsellors obliged the earl to surrender his charge. He was conveyed to the cardinal's castle at St Andrew's, and his trial was conducted with precipitation. The cardinal and the clergy proceeding in it without the concurrence of the secular power, adjudged him to be burnt alive. In the circumstances of his execution there appears a deliberate and most barbarous cruelty. When led out to the stake, he was met by priests, who, mocking his condition, called upon him to pray to the virgin, that she might intercede with her Son for mercy to him." "Forbear to tempt me, my brethren," was his mild reply. A black coat of linen was put upon him by one executioner, and bags of gun-powder were fastened to his body by another. Some pieces of ordnance were pointed to the place of execution. He spoke to the spectators, intreating them to remember that he was to die for the true gospel of Christ. Fire was communicated to the faggots. From a balcony in a tower of his castle, which was hung with tapestry, the cardinal and the prelates, reclining upon rich cushions, beheld the inhuman scene. This insolent triumph, more than all his afflictions, affected the magnanimity of the sufferer. He exclaimed, that the enemy, who so proudly exposed himself, would perish in a few days, and be exposed ignominiously in the place which he now occupied.

527  
Cardinal  
Beaton as-  
sassinated.  
An. 1546.

Cardinal Beaton took a pleasure in receiving the congratulations of the clergy upon a deed, which, it was thought, would fill the enemies of the church with terror. But the indignation of the people was more excited than their fears. All ranks of men were disgusted at an exercise of power which despised every boundary of moderation and justice. The prediction of Mr Wishart, suggested by the general odium which attended the cardinal, was considered by the disciples of this martyr as the effusion of a prophet; and perhaps gave occasion to the assassination that followed. Their complaints were attended to by Norman Lesly, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, whom the cardinal had treated with indignity, though he had profited by his services. He consented to be their leader. The cardinal was in the castle of St Andrew's, which he was fortifying after the strongest fashion of that age. The conspirators, at different times, early in the morning, entered it. The gates were secured; and appointing a guard, that no intimation of their proceedings might be carried to the cardinal, they dismissed from the castle all his workmen separately, to the number of 100, and all his domestics, who amounted to not fewer than 50 persons. The eldest son of the earl of Arran, whom he kept as an hostage for his father's behaviour, was alone detained by them. The prelate, alarmed with their noise, looked from his window, and was informed that his castle was taken by Norman Lesly. It was in vain that he endeavoured to secure the door of his chamber by bolts and chests. The conspirators brought fire, and were ready to apply it, when, admitting them into his presence, he implored their mercy. Two of them struck him hastily with their swords. But James Melvil, rebuking their passion, told them, that this work and judgement of God, though secret, ought to be done with gravity. He reminded the cardinal, in general terms, of the enormity of his sins, and reproached him in a more particular manner with the death of Mr

Wishart. He swore, that he was actuated by no hopes of his riches, no dread of his power, and no hatred to his person, but that he was moved to accomplish his destruction, by the obstinacy and zeal manifested by him against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel. Waiting for no answer to his harangue, he thrust the cardinal three times through the body with his dagger, on the 29th of May 1546.

The rumour that the castle was taken giving an alarm to the inhabitants of St Andrew's, they came in crowds to gratify their curiosity, and to offer their assistance, according to the sentiments they entertained. The adherents and dependents of the cardinal were clamorous to see him; and the conspirators, carrying his dead body to the very place from which he had beheld the sufferings of Mr Wishart, exposed it to their view.

The truce, in the mean time, which had been con-<sup>528</sup>cluded with England was frequently interrupted; but Treaty of no memorable battles were fought. Mutual depreda- peace be- tions kept alive the hostile spirit of the two kingdoms; tween Eng- and while the regent was making military preparations, land, which gave the promise of important events, a treaty of France, and Scotland. peace was concluded between England and France, in which Francis I. took care to comprehend the Scottish nation. In this treaty it was stipulated by Henry, that he was not to wage war against Scotland, unless he should be provoked by new and just causes of hostility.

But the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, apprehensive of their safety, had dispatched messengers into England, with applications to Henry for assistance; and being joined by more than 120 of their friends, they took the resolution of keeping the castle, and of defending themselves. Henry, notwithstanding his treaty with France, resolved to embrace this opportunity of augmenting the disturbances of Scotland. He hastened to collect troops; and the regent and his counsellors pressed France for supplies in men, money, military stores, and artillery.

The high places which the cardinal occupied were<sup>529</sup> filled up immediately upon his death. John Hamilton, Proceed- abbot of Paisley, was elected archbishop of St Andrew's, ings against the murder- and George earl of Huntly was promoted to be chan- ers of the cardinal. cellor. By these officers the regent was urged to proceed with vigour against the conspirators; and it was a matter of the greatest anxiety to him to recover his eldest son, whom they detained in custody. The clergy had, in the most solemn manner, pronounced them to be accursed; and agreed to furnish, for four months, a monthly subsidy of 3000*l.* to defray the expence of reducing them to obedience. The queen-dowager and the French faction were, at the same time, eager to concur in avenging the assassination of a man to whose counsels and services they were so greatly indebted.— And that no dangerous use might be made of the eldest son of the earl of Arran, who, after his father, was the heir of the monarchy, an act of parliament was passed, excluding him from his birthright while he remained in the possession of the enemies of his country, and substituting his brothers in his place, according to their seniority. The dark politics of Henry suggested the necessity of this expedient; and in its meaning and tendency may be remarked the spirit and greatness of a free people.

A powerful army laid siege to the castle of St An-<sup>530</sup>drew's, and continued their operations during four Castle of months; St Andrew's besieged.

Scotland.

Scotland. months; but no success attended the assailants. The fortifications were strong; and a communication with the besieged was open by sea to the king of England, who supplied them with arms and provisions. The garrison received his pay, and the principal conspirators had pensions from him. In return for his generosity, they engaged to promote the marriage of his son with the young queen; to advance the reformation; and to keep in custody the eldest son of the regent. Negotiation succeeded to hostility; and as the regent expected assistance from France, and the conspirators had the prospect of support from an English army, both parties were disposed to gain time. A treaty was entered into, in which the regent engaged to procure from Rome an absolution to the conspirators, and to obtain to them from the three estates an exemption from prosecutions of every kind. On the part of the besieged, it was stipulated, that when these conditions should be fulfilled, the castle should be surrendered, and the regent's son delivered up to him. In the mean time Henry VIII. died; and a few weeks after Francis I. also paid the debt of nature. But the former, before his death, had recommended the prosecution of the Scottish war; and Henry II. the successor of Francis, was eager to show his attention to the ancient ally of his nation. When the absolution arrived from Rome, the conspirators refused to consider it as valid; and an expression used by the pope, implying an absurdity, furnished an apology for their conduct. They knew that the counsellors of Edward VI. were making vigorous preparations to invade Scotland; they were confident of their present ability to defend themselves; and the advocates for the reformation encouraged them with hopes and with flattery.

531  
Death of  
Henry VIII  
and Francis I.  
An. 1547.

The favourers of the reformation, in the mean time, adopting the intolerant maxims of the Roman Catholics, were highly pleased with the assassination of Beaton; and many of them congratulated the conspirators on what they called their godly deed and enterprise. John Rough, who had formerly been chaplain to the regent, entered the castle and joined them. At this time also John Knox began to distinguish himself, both by his success in argument and the unbounded freedom of his discourse; while the Roman clergy, everywhere defeated and ashamed, implored the assistance of the regent and his council, who assured them that the laws against heretics should be rigidly put in execution.

532  
John Knox  
begins to  
distinguish  
himself.

533  
Castle of  
St Andrew's taken.

In the mean time the castle of St Andrew's being invested by a fleet of 16 sail under Admiral Strozzi from France, was obliged to capitulate. Honourable conditions were granted to the conspirators; but after being conveyed to France, they were cruelly used, from the hatred entertained by the Catholics against the Protestants. Many were confined in prisons; and others, among whom, says Dr Stuart, was John Knox, were sent to the galleys. The castle itself was nearly rased to the ground.

534  
Scotland  
invaded  
by the  
English.

The same year (1547), Scotland was invaded by an English army under the duke of Somerset, who had been chosen protector of England during the minority of Edward VI. The design of this invasion was to oblige the Scots to comply with the scheme of Henry VIII. and conclude a marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. The English army consisted of 18,000 men; besides which the protector had a fleet of 60 sail, one half of which were ships of war,

and the others consisted of vessels laden with provisions and military stores. On the other hand, the regent opposed him with an army of 40,000 men. Before the commencement of hostilities, however, the duke of Somerset addressed a letter or manifesto to the government, in which he pressed the marriage with such powerful arguments, and so clearly showed the benefits which would result from it to both nations, that the regent and his party, who were averse to peace, thought proper to suppress it, and to circulate a report that the English had come to force away the queen, and to reduce the kingdom to a state of dependence on him. All hopes of an accommodation being thus removed, the English army advanced to give battle to the Scots. They found the latter posted in the most advantageous situation, around the villages of Musselburgh, Inveresk, and Monckton; so that he could not force them to an action, at the same time that he found himself in danger of having his communication with his ships cut off, which would have totally deprived his army of the means of subsistence. In this dangerous situation he had again recourse to negotiation, and offered terms still more favourable than before. He now declared himself ready to retire into England, and to make ample compensation for the injuries committed by his army, if the Scottish government would promise that the queen should not be contracted to a foreign prince, but should be kept at home till she was of age to choose a husband for herself, with the consent of the nobility. These concessions increased the confidence of the regent so much, that, without taking advantage of the strength of his situation, he resolved to come to a general engagement.—

The protector moved towards Pinkey, a gentleman's house to the eastward of Musselburgh; and the regent conceiving that he meant to take refuge in his fleet, left the strong position in which he was encamped. He commanded his army to pass the river Esk, and to approach the English forces, which were posted on the middle of Faside-hill. The earl of Angus led the van; the main body marched under the regent; and the earl of Huntly commanded in the rear. It was the regent's intention to seize the top of the hill. The lord Gray, to defeat this purpose, charged the earl of Angus, at the head of the English cavalry. They were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, and put to flight. The earl of Warwick, more successful with his body of infantry, advanced to the attack. The ordnance from the fleet assisted his operations; and a brisk fire from the English artillery, which was planted on a rising ground, contributed still more to intimidate the Scottish soldiery.—The remaining troops under the protector were moving slowly, and in the best order, to share in the engagement. The earl of Angus was not well supported by the regent and the earl of Huntly. A panic spread through the Scottish army. It fled in different directions, presenting a scene of the greatest havoc and confusion. Few perished in the fight; but the pursuit continuing in one direction to Edinburgh, and in another to Dalkeith, with the utmost fury, a prodigious slaughter ensued. The loss of the conquerors did not amount to 500 men; but 10,000 soldiers perished on the side of the vanquished. A multitude of prisoners were taken; and among these the earl of Huntly, the lord high chancellor.

535  
Battle of  
Pinkey,  
September  
10th 1547.

536  
The Scots  
defeated  
with great  
slaughter.

Amidst

Scotland.

Amidst the consternation of this decisive victory, the duke of Somerset had a full opportunity of effecting the marriage and union projected by Henry VIII. and on the subject of which such anxiety was entertained by the English nation. But the cabals of his enemies threatening his destruction at home, he yielded to the necessities of his private ambition, and marched back into England. He took precautions, however, to secure an entry into Scotland, both by sea and land. A garrison of 200 men was placed in the isle of St Columba in the Forth, and two ships of war were left as a further guard. A garrison was also stationed in the castle of Broughty, situated in the mouth of the Tay. When he passed through the Merse and Teviotdale, the leading men of these counties repaired to him; and taking an oath of allegiance to King Edward, surrendered their places of strength. Some of these he demolished, and to others he added new fortifications. Hume castle was garrisoned with 200 men, and intrusted to Sir Edward Dudley; and 300 soldiers were posted with 200 pioneers, in the castle of Roxburgh, under the command of Sir Ralph Bulmer.

537  
Duke of  
Somerset  
returns to  
England.

The only resource of the regent now was the hope of assistance from France. The young queen was lodged in the castle of Dumbarton, under the care of the lords Erskine and Livingstone; and ambassadors were sent to Henry II. of France, acquainting him with the disaster at Pinkey, and imploring his assistance. The regent had sought permission from the protector to treat of peace, and the earl of Warwick was appointed to wait for them at Berwick; but none were ever sent on the part of Scotland. It was not long, therefore, before hostilities recommenced by the English. Lord Gray led an army into Scotland, fortified the town of Haddington, took the castles of Yester and Dalkeith, and laid waste the Merse, and the counties of East and Mid Lothian. On the other hand, in June 1548, Monsieur de Desse, a French officer of great reputation, landed at Leith with 6000 soldiers, and a formidable train of artillery.

538  
Farther  
successes  
of the  
English.  
An. 1548.

In the mean time, the regent was in disgrace on account of the disaster at Pinkey; and the queen-dowager being disposed to supersede his authority, attempted to improve this circumstance to her own advantage. As she perceived that her power and interest could be best supported by France, she resolved to enter into the strictest alliance with that kingdom. It had been proposed that the dauphin of France should marry the queen of Scotland; and this proposal now met with many partizans, the hostilities of the English having lost a great number of friends to the cause of that country. It was resolved to send the queen immediately to France, which would remove the cause of the present contentions, and her subsequent marriage with the dauphin would in the fullest manner cement the friendship betwixt the two nations. The French government also entered deeply into the scheme; and in order to promote it made presents of great value to many of the Scottish nobility. The regent himself was gained over by a pension of 12,000 livres, and the title of duke of Chatelherault. Monsieur de Villegagnon, who commanded four galleys in the harbour of Leith, making a feint as if he intended to proceed instantly to France, tacked about to the north, and, sailing round the isles, received the queen at Dumbarton; whence he convey-

539  
The queen  
sent to  
France.

ed her to France, and delivered her to her uncles the princes of Lorraine, in the month of July 1548.

Scotland.

These transactions did not put an end to the military operations. The siege of Haddington had been undertaken as soon as the French auxiliaries arrived, and was now conducted with vigour. To reinforce the garrison, 1500 horse advanced from Berwick; but an ambuscade being laid for them, they were intercepted, and almost totally destroyed. Another body of English troops, however, which amounted only to 300 persons, was more successful. Eluding the vigilance of the Scots and the French, they were able to enter Haddington, and to supply the besieged with ammunition and provisions. The lord Seymour, high-admiral of England, made a descent upon Fife with 1200 men, and some pieces of artillery; but was driven back to his ships with great slaughter by James Stuart, natural brother to the young queen, who opposed him at the head of the militia of the county. A second descent was made by him at Montrose; but being equally unsuccessful there, he was obliged to leave Scotland without performing any important or memorable achievement.

540  
The Eng-  
lish meet  
with sever-  
al checks.

Having collected an army of 17,000 men, and adding to it 3000 German Protestants, the protector put it under the direction of the earl of Shrewsbury. On the approach of the English, Desse, though he had been reinforced with 15,000 Scots, thought it more prudent to retreat than to hazard a battle. He raised the siege of Haddington, and marched to Edinburgh. The earl of Shrewsbury did not follow him to force an engagement; jealousies had arisen between the Scots and the French. The insolence and vanity of the latter, encouraged by their superior skill in military affairs, had offended the quick and impatient spirit of the former. The fretfulness of the Scots was augmented by the calamities inseparable from war; and after the conveyance of the young queen to France, the efficacious and peculiar advantage conferred on that kingdom by this transaction was fully understood, and appeared to them to be highly disgraceful and impolitic. In this state of their minds, Desse did not find at Edinburgh the reception which he expected. The quartering of his soldiers produced disputes, which ended in an insurrection of the inhabitants. The French fired upon the citizens. Several persons of distinction fell, and among these were the provost of Edinburgh and his son. The national discontents and inquietudes were driven, by this event, to the most dangerous extremity; and Desse, who was a man of ability, thought of giving employment to his troops, and of flattering the people by the splendour of some martial exploit.

541  
Quarrels-  
between  
the Scots  
and French.

The earl of Shrewsbury, after supplying Haddington with troops, provisions, and military stores, retired with his army into England. Its garrison, in the enjoyment of security, and unsuspecting of danger, might be surpris'd and overpowered. Marching in the night, Desse reached this important post; and destroying a fort of observation, prepared to storm the main gates of the city, when the garrison took the alarm. A French deserter pointing a double cannon against the thickest ranks of the assailants, the shot was incredibly destructive, and threw them into confusion. In the height of their consternation, a vigorous sally was made by the besieged. Desse renewed the assault in the morning, and was again discomfited. He now turned his arms against

542  
Unsuccess-  
ful attempt  
on Had-  
dington.

Scotland.

543  
Dessle the  
French ge-  
neral gains  
some ad-  
vantages.

against Broughty castle; and, though unable to reduce it, he recovered the neighbouring town of Dundee, which had fallen into the possession of the enemy. Hume castle was retaken by stratagem. Dessle entered Jedburgh, and put its garrison to the sword. Encouraged by this success, he ravaged the English borders in different incursions, and obtained several petty victories. Leith, which from a small village had now grown into a town, was fortified by him; and the island of Inchkeith, nearly opposite to that harbour, being occupied by English troops, he undertook to expel them, and made them prisoners after a brisk encounter.

His activity and valour could not, however, compose the discontents of the Scottish nation; and the queen-dowager having written to Henry II. to recal him, he was succeeded in his command by Monsieur de Thermes, who was accompanied into Scotland by Monluc bishop of Valence, a person highly esteemed for his address and ability. This ecclesiastic was intended to supply the loss of Cardinal Beaton, and to discharge the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland. But the jealousies of the nation increasing, and the queen-dowager herself suspecting his ambition and turbulence, he did not attain to this dignity, and soon returned to his own country.

544  
Farther suc-  
cesses of the  
French.

De Thermes brought with him from France a reinforcement of 1000 foot, 2000 horse, and 100 men-at-arms. He erected a fort at Aberlady, to distress the garrison of Haddington, and to intercept its supplies of provisions. At Coldingham he cut in pieces a troop of Spaniards in the English pay. Fast-castle was regained by surprise. Distractions in the English court did not permit the protector to act vigorously in the war. The earl of Warwick was diverted from marching an army into Scotland. An infectious distemper had broken out in the garrison at Haddington; and an apprehension prevailed, that it could not hold out for a considerable time against the Scots. The earl of Rutland, therefore, with a body of troops, entered the town; and after setting it on fire, conducted the garrison and artillery to Berwick. The regent now in possession of Haddington, was solicitous to recover the other places which were yet in the power of the English. De Thermes laid siege to Broughty castle, and took it. He then besieged Lawder; and the garrison was about to surrender at discretion, when the news arrived that a peace was concluded between France, England, and Scotland.

545  
Peace con-  
cluded.  
An. 1550.

By this treaty the king of France obtained the restitution of Boulogne and its dependencies, which had been taken from him by the king of England, and for which he paid 400,000 crowns. No opposition was to be given to the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the dauphin: the fortresses of Lawder and Douglas were to be restored to the Scots, and the English were to destroy the castles of Roxburgh and Eymouth. After the ratification of these articles, the queen-dowager embarked with Leon Strozzi for France, attended by many of the nobility. Having arrived there, she communicated to the king her design of assuming the government of Scotland, and he promised to assist her to the utmost of his power. But the jealousy which prevailed between the Scots and French rendered the accomplishment of this design very difficult. To remove the regent by an act of power might altogether endanger

546  
The queen-  
dowager  
goes to  
France, and  
schemes a-  
gainst the  
regent.

the scheme; but it might be possible to persuade him voluntarily to resign his office. For this purpose intrigues were immediately commenced; and indeed the regent himself contributed to promote their schemes by his violent persecution of the reformed. The peace was scarcely proclaimed, when he provoked the public resentment by an act of sanguinary insolence. Adam Wallace, a man of simple manners, but of great zeal for the reformation, was accused of heresy, and brought to trial in the church of the Black Friars at Edinburgh. In the presence of the regent, the earls of Angus, Huntly, Glencairn, and other persons of rank, he was charged with preaching without any authority of law, with baptizing one of his own children, and with denying the doctrine of purgatory; and it was strenuously objected to him, that he accounted prayers to the saints and the dead an useless superstition, that he had pronounced the mass an idolatrous service, and that he had affirmed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, do not change their nature, but continue to be bread and wine. These offences were esteemed too terrible to admit of any pardon.—The earl of Glencairn alone protested against his punishment. The pious sufferer bore with resignation the contumelious insults of the clergy; and by his courage and patience at the stake gave a sanction to the opinions which he had embraced.

Scotland.

547  
Adam Wal-  
lace suffers  
on account  
of religion.

Other acts of atrocity and violence stained the administration of the regent. In his own palace, William Crichton, a man of family and reputation, was assassinated by the lord Semple. No attempt was made to punish the murderer. His daughter was the concubine of the archbishop of St Andrew's, and her tears and intreaties were more powerful than justice. John Melvil, a person respectable by his birth and fortune, had written to an English gentleman, recommending to his care a friend who at that time was a captive in England. This letter contained no improper information in matters of state, and no suspicion of any crime against Melvil could be inferred from it. Yet the regent brought him to trial on a charge of high treason; and, for an act of humanity and friendship, he was condemned to lose his head. The forfeited estate of Melvil, was given to David the youngest son of the regent.

548  
Other in-  
stances of  
the regent's  
inhumanity  
and injus-  
tice.

Amidst the pleasures and amusements of the French court, the queen-dowager was not inattentive to the scheme of ambition which she had projected. The earls of Huntly and Sutherland, Marischal and Cassilis, with the lord Maxwell, and other persons of eminence who had accompanied her to France, were gained over to her interests. Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, David Panter bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, being also at this time in that kingdom, and having most weight with the regent, were treated with a most punctilious respect. Henry declared to them his earnest wish that the queen-dowager might acquire the government of Scotland. In case the regent should consent to this measure, he expressed a firm intention that no detriment should happen to his consequence and affairs; and he desired them to inform him, that he had already confirmed his title of *duke of Chatelherault*, had advanced his son to be captain of the Scots gendarmes in France, and was ready to bestow other marks of favour on his family and relations. On this business, and with this message, Mr Carnegie was dispatched

549  
Schemes of  
the queen-  
dowager to  
obtain the  
regency.



Scotland. dispatched to Scotland; and a few days after, he was followed by the bishop of Ross. The bishop who was a man of eloquence and authority, obtained, though with great difficulty, a promise from the regent to resign his high office; and for this service he received, as a recompense, an abbey in Poitou.

550  
She returns to Scotland.  
An. 1551.

The queen-dowager, full of hope, now prepared to return to Scotland, and in her way thither made use of a safe-conduct obtained from Edward VI. by the king of France. The English monarch, however, had not yet forgotten the beautiful queen of Scotland; and did not fail to urge his superiority of claim to her over the dauphin. The queen-dowager did not seriously enter upon the business; but only in general terms complained of the hostilities committed by the English; and two days after this conversation, she proceeded towards Scotland, and was conducted by the earl of Bothwell, lord Hume, and some other noblemen, to Edinburgh, amidst the acclamations of the people. She had not long returned to the capital, when the bad conduct of the regent afforded her an opportunity of exerting her influence and address to the advantage of her project. The regent having proposed a judicial circuit through the kingdom, under pretence of repressing crimes and disorders, molested the people by plunder and rapine. Great fines were levied for offences pretended as well as real; and the Protestants in particular seemed to be the objects of his displeasure and severity. In his progress he was accompanied by the queen-dowager; and as she affected to behave in a manner directly opposite, the most disagreeable comparisons were made between her and the regent. The bishop of Ross, to whom he had promised to resign his office, did not fail to put him in mind of his engagements; but he had now altered his mind, and wished still to continue in power. His resolution, however, failed him on the first intimation of a parliamentary inquiry into the errors of his administration. An agreement with the queen-dowager then took place; and it was stipulated, that he should succeed to the throne upon the death of the queen without issue; that his son should enjoy the command of the gendarmes; that no inquiry should be made into his expenditure of the royal treasures; that no scrutiny into his government should take place; and that he should enjoy in the most ample manner his duchy and his pension. These articles were ratified at an assembly of parliament, and the queen-dowager was formally invested with the regency.

551  
Rapacity and injustice of the regent.

552  
He resigns his office, which is given to the queen-dowager.  
An. 1554.

553  
She renders herself unpopular.

Mary of Lorraine, the new regent, though she had with great difficulty attained the summit of her wishes, seemed to be much less conversant with the arts of government than those of intrigue. She was scarcely settled in her new office when she rendered herself unpopular in two respects; one by her too great attachment to France, and the other by her persecution of the reformed religion. She was entirely guided by the councils of her brothers the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and paid by far too much attention to M. d'Oysel the French ambassador, whom they recommended to her as an able and faithful minister. Several high of-

fices were filled with Frenchmen, which excited in the highest degree the resentment of the Scottish nobility; and the commonalty were instantly prejudiced against her by the partiality which she showed to the Papists. At first, however, she enacted many salutary laws; and while she made a progress through the southern provinces of the kingdom to hold justiciary courts, she endeavoured to introduce order and law into the western counties and isles; first by means of the earl of Huntly, and afterwards of the earls of Argyle and Athole, to whom she granted commissions for this purpose with effectual powers. In another improvement, which the queen-regent attempted by the advice of her French council, she found herself opposed by her own people. It was proposed that the possessions of every proprietor of land in the kingdom should be valued and entered in registers; and that a proportional payment should be made by each. The application of this fund was to maintain a regular and standing body of troops. This guard or army, it was urged, being at all times in readiness to march against an enemy, would protect effectually the frontiers; and there would no longer be any necessity for the nobles to be continually in motion on every rumour of hostility or incursion from English invaders. No art, however, or argument, could recommend these measures. A perpetual tax and a standing army were conceived to be the genuine characteristics of despotism. All ranks of men considered themselves insulted and abused; and 300 tenants of the crown assembling at Edinburgh, and giving way to their indignation, sent their remonstrances to the queen-regent in such strong and expressive language, as induced her to abandon the scheme. Yet still the attempt which she had made left an impression in the minds of the people. They suspected her to be a secret enemy to their government and liberties; and they were convinced that the king of France was engaging her in refinements and artifices, that he might reduce Scotland to a province of France.

Scotland.

554  
Attempts in vain to establish a standing army.

While an alarm about their civil rights was spreading itself among the people, the Protestants were rising daily in their spirit and in their hopes. John Knox (P), whose courage had been confirmed by misfortunes, and whose talents had improved by exercise, was at this time making a progress through Scotland. The characteristic peculiarities of Popery were the favourite topics of his declamation and censure. He treated the mass, in particular, with the most sovereign contempt, representing it as a remnant of idolatry. Many of the nobility and gentry afforded him countenance and protection. They invited him to preach at their houses, and they partook with him in the ordinances of religion after the reformed method. Religious societies and assemblies were publicly held, in defiance of the Papists; and celebrated preachers were courted with assiduity and bribes to reside and officiate in particular districts and towns. The clergy cited Knox to appear before them at Edinburgh, in the church of the Black-friars. On the appointed day he presented himself, with a numerous attendance of gentlemen, who were determined to exert themselves

555  
John Knox encourages the reformers.

(P) When he was sent to France (says Dr Stuart), with the conspirators against Cardinal Beaton, he was confined to the galleys; but had obtained his liberty in the latter end of the year 1549.

Scotland.

themselves in his behalf. The priesthood did not choose to proceed in his prosecution; and Knox, encouraged by this symptom of their fear, took the resolution to explain and inculcate his doctrines repeatedly and openly in the capital of Scotland. In 1556, the earl of Glencairn allured the earl Marischal to hear the exhortations of this celebrated preacher; and they were so much affected with his reasonings and rhetoric, that they requested him to address the queen-regent upon the subject of the reformation of religion. In compliance with this request, he wrote a letter in very disagreeable terms; and the earl of Glencairn delivered it with his own hand, in the expectation that some advantage might in this manner be obtained for the reformed. But the queen-regent was no less offended with the freedom of the nobleman than of the preacher; and, after perusing the paper, she gave it to James Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, with an expression of disdain, "Here, my lord, is a pasquil."

556  
Writes an  
offensive  
letter to  
the queen-  
regent.  
An. 1556.

557  
Goes to  
Geneva,  
and is burnt  
in effigy.

558  
Progress of  
the refor-  
mation.

Amidst these occupations, John Knox received an invitation to take the charge of the English congregation at Geneva; which he accepted. The clergy called on him, in his absence, to appear before them, condemned him to death as a heretic, and ordered him to be burned in effigy. This injurious treatment of John Knox did not in the least obstruct the progress of the reformation. Desertions were made from Popery in every town and village; and even many members of the church, both secular and regular, were forward to embrace the new principles, and to atone for their past mistakes by the most bitter raileries against the corruptions and the folly of the Romish faith. The priests were treated in all places with ridicule and contempt. The images, crucifixes, and relics, which served to rouse the decaying fervours of superstition, were taken from the churches, and trampled under foot. The bishops implored the assistance of the queen-regent. Citations were given to the preachers to appear in their defence. They obeyed; but with such a formidable retinue, that it was with difficulty she was permitted to apologise for her conduct. James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, pressing forward from the crowd, thus addressed her: "We vow to God, that the devices of the prelates shall not be carried into execution. We are oppressed to maintain them in their idleness. They seek to undo and murder our preachers and us; and we are determined to submit no longer to this wickedness." The multitude, applauding his speech, put their hands to their daggers.

A trusty messenger was dispatched to Geneva, inviting John Knox to return to his own country. But in the infancy of their connection, the Protestants being apprehensive of one another, uncertain in their counsels, or being deserted by persons upon whom they had relied, it appeared to them that they had adopted this measure without a due preparation; and, by other dispatches, Knox was requested to delay his journey for some time.

To this zealous reformer their unsteadiness was a matter of serious affliction; and in the answer he transmitted to their letters, he rebuked them with severity: but amidst this correction, he intreated them not to faint under their purposes, from apprehensions of danger, which, he said, was to separate themselves from the favour of God, and to provoke his vengeance. To par-

ticular persons he wrote other addresses; and to all of them the greatest attention was paid. In 1557, a formal bond of agreement, which obtained the appellation of *the first covenant*, was entered into, and all the more eminent persons who favoured the reformation were invited to subscribe it. The earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, with the lord Lorn, and John Erskine of Dun, led the way, by giving it the sanction of their names. All the subscribers to this deed, renouncing the superstitions and idolatry of the church of Rome, promised to apply continually their whole power and wealth, and even to give up their lives, to forward and establish the word of God. They distinguished the reformed, by calling them the *Congregation of Christ*; and by the opprobrious title of the *Congregation of Satan*, they peculiarized the favourers of Popery.

After the leaders of the reformation had subscribed the first covenant, they addressed letters to John Knox, urging in the strongest terms his return to Scotland; and that their hopes of his assistance might not be disappointed, they sent an address to John Calvin, the celebrated reformer, begging him to join his commands to their intreaties. The archbishop of St Andrew's, who perceived the rising storm, was now in a difficult situation. A powerful combination threatened ruin to the church; and he had separated himself from the politics of the queen-regent. The zeal of the Roman Catholics pointed out strong measures to him; and his dispositions were pacific. The clergy were offended with his remissness and neglect of duty. The reformers detested his looseness of principles, and were shocked with the dissolute depravity of his life and conversation. He resolved to try the force of address, and did not succeed. He then resolved to be severe, and was still more unsuccessful.

The earl of Argyle was the most powerful of the reformed leaders. To allure him from his party, the archbishop of St Andrew's employed the agency of Sir David Hamilton. But the kindness he affected, and the advices he bestowed, were no compliment to the understanding of this nobleman; and his threats were regarded with contempt. The reformers, instead of losing their courage, felt a sentiment of exultation and triumph; and the earl of Argyle happening to die about this time, he not only maintained the new doctrines in his last moments, but intreated his son to seek for honour in promoting the public preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and in the utter ruin of superstition and idolatry.

It was determined by the archbishop and the prelates, that this disappointment should be succeeded by the furious persecution of the reformed. Walter Mill, a priest, had neglected to officiate at the altar; and having been long under the suspicion of heresy, was carried to St Andrew's, committed to prison, and accused before the archbishop and his suffragans. He was in extreme old age; and he had struggled all his life with poverty. He sunk not, however, under his fate. To the articles of his accusation he replied with signal recollection and fortitude. The firmness of his mind, in the emaciated state of his body, excited admiration. The insults of his enemies, and their contempt, served to discover his superiority over them. When the clergy declared him a heretic, no temporal judge could be found to condemn him to the fire. He was respited to another day; and

Scotland.  
559  
The first  
covenant.  
An. 1557.

560  
John Knox  
and Calvin  
invited into  
Scotland.

561  
The arch-  
bishop of  
St An-  
drew's at-  
tempts in  
vain to se-  
duce the  
earl of Ar-  
gyle.

562  
Walter  
Mill exe-  
cuted on  
account of  
religion.

fo

<sup>Scotland.</sup> so great sympathy prevailed for his misfortunes, that it was necessary to allure one of the archbishop's domestics to supply the place of the civil power, and to pronounce the sentence of condemnation. When brought to the stake, the resolution of this sufferer did not forsake him. He praised God, that he had been called to seal the truth with his life; and he conjured the people, as they would escape eternal death, not to be overcome by the errors and the artifices of monks and priests, abbots and bishops.

<sup>563</sup>  
The Protestants resolve to assert their rights.

The barbarity of this execution affected the reformers with inexpressible horror. Measures for mutual defence were taken. The leaders of the reformation, dispersing their emissaries to every quarter, encouraged the vehemence of the multitude. The covenant to establish a new form of religion extended far and wide. The point of the sword, not the calm exertions of inquiry, was to decide the disputes of theology.

When the leaders of the reformation were apprised of the ardent zeal of the people, and considered the great number of subscriptions which had been collected in the different counties of the kingdom, they assembled to deliberate concerning the steps to be pursued. It was resolved, accordingly, that a public and common supplication of the whole body of the Protestants should be presented to the queen-regent; which, after complaining of the injuries they had suffered, should require her to bestow upon them her support and assistance, and urge her to proceed in the work of a reformation. To explain their full meaning, a schedule, containing particular demands, was at the same time to be presented to her scrutiny. To Sir James Sandilands of Calder they committed the important charge of their manifesto and articles of reformation; and in appointing him to this commission, they consulted the respect which was due both to the government and to themselves. His character was in the highest estimation. His services to his country were numerous; his integrity and honour were above all suspicion; and his age and experience gave him authority and reverence.

<sup>564</sup>  
Petition the queen-regent.

The petition or supplication of the Protestants was expressed in strong but respectful terms. They told the queen-regent, that though they had been provoked by great injuries, they had yet, during a long period, abstained from assembling themselves, and from making known to her their complaints. Banishment, confiscation of goods, and death in its most cruel shape, were evils with which the reformed had been afflicted; and they were still exposed to these dreadful calamities. Compelled by their sufferings, they presumed to ask a remedy against the tyranny of the prelates and the estate ecclesiastical. They had usurped an unlimited domination over the minds of men. Whatever they commanded, though without any sanction from the word of God, must be obeyed. Whatever they prohibited, though from their own authority only, it was necessary to avoid. All arguments and remonstrances were equally fruitless and vain. The fire, the faggot, and the sword, were the weapons with which the church enforced and vindicated her mandates. By these, of late years, many of their brethren had fallen; and upon this account they were troubled and wounded in their consciences. For conceiving themselves to be a part of that power which God had established in this kingdom, it was their duty to have defended them, or to have concurred with them

in an open avowal of their common religion. They now take the opportunity to make this avowal. They break a silence which may be misinterpreted into a justification of the cruelties of their enemies. And disdaining all farther dissimulation in matters which concern the glory of God, their present happiness, and their future salvation, they demand, that the original purity of the Christian religion shall be restored, and that the government shall be so improved, as to afford to them a security in their persons, their opinions, and their property.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

With this petition or supplication of the Protestants, Sir James Sandilands presented their schedule of demands, or the preliminary articles of the reformation. They were in the spirit of their supplication, and of the following tenor.

I. It shall be lawful to the reformed to peruse the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and to employ also their native language in prayer publicly and in private.

<sup>565</sup>  
Articles of the reformation.

II. It shall be permitted to any person qualified by knowledge, to interpret and explain the difficult passages in the Scriptures.

III. The election of ministers shall take place according to the rules of the primitive church; and those who elect shall enquire diligently into the lives and doctrines of the persons whom they admit to the clerical office.

IV. The holy sacrament of baptism shall be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, that its institution and nature may be the more generally understood.

V. The holy sacrament of the Lord's supper shall likewise be administered in the vulgar tongue; and in this communion, as well as in the ceremonial of baptism, a becoming respect shall be paid to the plain institution of Christ Jesus.

VI. The wicked and licentious lives of the bishops and estate ecclesiastical shall be reformed; and if they discharge not the duties of true and faithful pastors, they shall be compelled to desist from their ministry and functions.

The queen-regent now found it necessary to flatter the Protestants. She assured them by Sir James Sandilands, their orator or commissioner, that every thing they could legally desire should be granted to them; and that, in the mean time, they might, without molestation, employ the vulgar tongue in their prayers and religious exercises. But, upon the pretence that no encouragement might be given to tumults and riot, she requested that they would hold no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith. The Congregation, for this name was now assumed by the Protestants, were transported with these tender proofs of her regard; and while they sought to advance still higher in her esteem by the inoffensive quietness of their carriage, they were encouraged in the undertaking they had begun, and anxious to accomplish the work of the reformation.

<sup>566</sup>  
The Protestants flattered by the queen-regent.

Nor to the clergy, who at this time were holding a provincial council at Edinburgh, did the Congregation scruple to communicate the articles of the intended reformation. The clergy received their demands with a storm of rage, which died away in an innocent debility. Upon recovering from their passions, they offered to submit the controversy between them and the reformed to a public disputation. The Congregation did not refuse this mode of trial; and desired, as their only con-

<sup>567</sup>  
They offer to dispute with the Romish clergy.

Scotland.

ditions, that the Scriptures might be considered as the standard of orthodoxy and truth, and that those of their brethren who were in exile and under persecution might be permitted to assist them. These requests, though highly reasonable, were not complied with; and the church would allow of no rule of right but the canon law and its own councils. Terms of reconciliation were then offered on the part of the estate ecclesiastical. It held out to the Protestants the liberty of praying and administering the sacraments in the vulgar tongue, if they would pay reverence to the mass, acknowledge purgatory, invoke the saints, and admit of petitions for the dead. To conditions so ineffectual and absurd the Congregation did not deign to return any answer.

568  
Present  
their arti-  
cles to the  
queen-re-  
gent.

The meeting of parliament approached. The parties in contention were agitated with anxieties, apprehensions, and hopes. An expectation of a firm and open assistance from the queen-regent gave courage to the reformed; and, from the parliamentary influence of their friends in the greater and the lesser baronage, they expected the most important services. They drew up with eagerness the articles which they wished to be passed into a law; and as the spirit and sense of their transactions are to be gathered in the completest manner from the papers which were framed by themselves, it is proper to attend to them with exactness. Their petitions were few and explicit.

I. They could not, in consequence of principles which they had embraced from a conviction of their truth, participate in the Romish religion. It was therefore their desire, that all the acts of parliament, giving authority to the church to proceed against them as heretics, should be abrogated; or, at least, that their power should be suspended till the disputes which had arisen were brought to a conclusion.

II. They did not mean that all men should be at liberty to profess what religion they pleased, without the controul of authority. They consented that all transgressors in matters of faith should be carried before the temporal judge. But it was their wish that the clergy should have the power of accusing; and they thought it conformable to justice, that a copy of the criminal charge should be lodged with the party upon trial, and that a competent time should be allowed him to defend himself.

III. They insisted, that every defence consistent with law should be permitted to the party accused; and that objections to witnesses, founded in truth and reason, should operate in his favour.

IV. They desired that the party accused should have permission to interpret and explain his own opinions; and that his declaration should carry a greater evidence than the deposition of any witness; as no person ought to be punished for religion, who is not obstinate in a wicked or damnable tenet.

V. In fine, they urged, that no Protestant should be condemned for heresy, without being convicted by the word of God, of the want of that faith which is necessary to salvation.

The Congregation presented these articles to the queen-regent, expecting that she would not only propose them to the three estates assembled in parliament, but employ all her influence to recommend them. But finding themselves disappointed, they began to

doubt her sincerity; and they were sensible that their petitions, though they should be carried in parliament, could not pass into a law without her consent. They therefore abstained from presenting them; but as their complaints and desires were fully known in parliament, they ordered a solemn declaration to be read there in their behalf, and demanded that it should be inserted in the records of the nation. In this declaration, after expressing their regret at having been disappointed in their scheme of reformation, they protested, that no blame should be imputed to them for continuing in their religion, which they believed to be founded in the word of God; that no danger of life, and no political pains, should be incurred by them, for disregarding statutes which support idolatry, and for violating rites which are of human invention; and that, if insurrections and tumults should disturb the realm, from the diversity of religious opinions, and if abuses should be corrected by violence, all the guilt, disorder, and inconvenience thence arising, instead of being applied to them, should be ascribed to those solely who had refused a timely redress of wrongs, and who had despised petitions presented with the humility of faithful subjects, and for the purposes of establishing the commandments of God, and a most just and salutary reformation.

569  
Protest a-  
gainst her  
proceed-  
ings.

The three estates received this formidable protest with attention and respect; but the intention of inserting it in the national records was abandoned by the Congregation, upon a formal promise from the queen-regent, that all the matters in controversy should speedily be brought by her to a fortunate issue.

While the Protestants were thus making the most vigorous exertions in behalf of their spiritual liberties, the queen-regent, in order to establish herself the more effectually, used every effort to promote the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin of France. In 1557, commissioners were appointed to negotiate this marriage; but while these negotiations were going on, the court of France acted in the most perfidious manner. At the age of 15, after solemnly ratifying the independence of Scotland, and the succession of the crown in the house of Hamilton, Queen Mary was influenced by the king and her uncles the princes of Lorraine to sign privately three extraordinary deeds or instruments. By the first she conveyed the kingdom of Scotland to the king of France and his heirs, in default of children of her own body. By the second she assigned him, if she should die without children, the possession of Scotland, till he should receive a million of pieces of gold, or be amply recompensed for the sums expended by him in the education of the queen of Scotland in France. By the third she confirmed both these grants in an express declaration, that they contained the pure and genuine sentiments of her mind; and that any papers which might be obtained, either before or after her marriage, by means of the Scottish parliament, should be invalid, and of no force or efficacy. On the 24th of April, the nuptials were celebrated; and the dauphin, Francis, was allowed to assume the title of king of Scotland. The French court demanded for him the crown and other ensigns of royalty belonging to Scotland; but the commissioners had no power to comply with this demand. It was then desired, that when they returned home, they should use all their influence to procure the crown matrimonial of Scotland for the dauphin.

570  
Perfidious  
conduct of  
the court of  
France.

571  
Marriage  
of the  
queen of  
Scots with  
the dau-  
phin of  
France.

Scotland. dauphin. This also was refused; the court of France was disgusted; and four of the commissioners died, it was supposed of poison, given them by the princes of Lorraine. This subject, however, was pressed, on the return of the surviving commissioners, by the king of France himself, the queen of Scotland, and the queen-regent. The Protestants also joined their interest, hoping by that means to gain over the queen and queen-regent to their party; so that an act of parliament was at length passed, by which the crown matrimonial was given to the dauphin during the time of his marriage with Queen Mary; but without any prejudice to the liberties of the kingdom, to the heirs of her body, or to the order of succession. With so many restraints, it is difficult to see the advantages which could accrue from this gift so earnestly fought after; and it is very probable, that the usurpations of France in consequence of it, would have been productive of many disturbances; but these were prevented by the death of Francis in December 1560.

572  
He obtains the crown of Scotland, but under certain restrictions.

573  
The queen of Scots claims the crown of England,

574  
which lays the foundation of a quarrel with Elizabeth,

575  
Scheme to destroy all the leaders of the Protestant party in Scotland.

576  
Tracherous behaviour of the queen-regent.

Before this event took place, however, Scotland was, by the intrigues of France, involved in confusion on another account. After the death of Mary queen of England, and daughter to Henry VIII. the princes of Guise insisted on the claim of Mary queen of Scots to the crown of England, in preference to that of Elizabeth, whom they looked on as illegitimate. This claim was supported by the king of France, who prevailed with the queen of Scots to assume the title of queen of England, and to stamp money under that character. The arms of England were quartered with those of France and Scotland; and employed as ornaments for the plate and furniture of Mary and the dauphin. Thus was laid the foundation of an irreconcilable quarrel between Elizabeth and Mary; and to this, in some measure, is to be ascribed the inveteracy with which the former persecuted the unhappy queen of Scotland, whenever she had it in her power.

But while they imprudently excited a quarrel with England, they still more imprudently quarrelled with the majority of the people of Scotland. As Elizabeth professed the Protestant religion, it was easily foreseen, that the *Congregation*, or body of the reformed in Scotland, would never consent to act against her in favour of a Popish power; and as they could not be gained, it was resolved to destroy them at once, by putting to death all their leaders. The queen-regent gave intimation of her design to re-establish Popery, by proclaiming a solemn observance of Easter, receiving the sacrament according to the Romish communion, herself, and commanding all her household to receive it in the same manner. She next expressed herself in a contemptuous manner against the reformed, affirmed that they had insulted the royal dignity, and declared her intention of restoring it to its ancient lustre. The preachers of the *Congregation* were next cited to appear at Stirling, to answer the charges which might be brought against them. Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, were deputed to admonish her not to persecute the preachers, unless they had been obnoxious by circulating erroneous doctrines, or disturbing the peace of government. The queen-regent in a passion told them, that the preachers should all be banished from Scotland, though their doc-

trines might be as sound as those of St Paul. The deputies urged her former kind behaviour and promises; but the queen-regent answered, that "the promises of princes ought not to be exacted with rigour, and that they were only binding when subservient to their convenience and pleasure." To this they replied, that in such a case they could not look on her as their sovereign, and must renounce their allegiance as subjects.

Soon after this transaction, the queen-regent received the news that the reformation was established in Perth. Lord Ruthven the provost of the city was summoned to answer for this innovation; but his reply was, that he had no dominion over the minds and consciences of men. The provost of Dundee, being ordered to apprehend an eminent preacher, named *Paul Methven*, sent him intelligence of the order, that he might provide for his safety. The proclamation for observing Easter was everywhere despised and neglected, and people exclaimed against the mass as an idol. New citations, in the mean time, had been given to the preachers to appear at Stirling. They obeyed the summons; but attended by such multitudes, that the queen-regent, dreading their power, though they were without arms, intreated Mr Erskine of Dun, whom they had sent before as a deputy, to stop their march; assuring him that all proceedings against the preachers should be stopped. In consequence of this, the multitude dispersed; yet, when the day came on which the preachers should have appeared, the queen-regent, with unparalleled folly and treachery, caused them to be declared traitors, and proclaimed it criminal to afford them any subsistence.

Mr Erskine, exasperated by this shameful conduct, hastened to the *Congregation*, apologized for his conduct, and urged them to proceed to the last extremities. At this critical period John Knox returned from Geneva, and joined the *Congregation* at Perth. The great provocations which the Protestants had already received, joined to the impetuous passions of the multitude, were now productive of the greatest disorders. Images were destroyed, monasteries pulled down, and their wealth either seized by the mob or given to the poor. The example of Perth was followed by Cupar in Fife; and similar insurrections being apprehended in other places, the queen-regent determined to punish the inhabitants of Perth in the most exemplary manner. With this view she collected an army: but being opposed with a formidable power by the Protestants, she thought proper to conclude an agreement. The Protestants, however, dreaded her insincerity; and therefore entered into a new covenant to stand by and defend each other. Their fears were not groundless. The queen-regent violated the treaty almost as soon as it was made, and began to treat the Protestants with severity. The earl of Argyle, and the prior of St Andrew's, who about this time began to take the title of *Lord James Stuart*, now openly headed the Protestant party, and prepared to collect their whole strength. The queen-regent opposed them with what forces she had, and which indeed chiefly consisted of her French auxiliaries; but, being again afraid of coming to an engagement, she consented to a truce until commissioners should be sent to treat with the lords for an effectual peace. No commissioners, however, were sent on her part; and the nobles, provoked at such complicated and unceasing treachery,

Scotland. Proceed- ings against the Protestants.

578  
They become formidable by their numbers.

579  
John Knox returns to Scotland.

580  
Second covenant. Treachery of the queen-regent.

Scotland.  
581  
Perth taken by the Protestants.

treachery, resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity. The first exploit of the reformed was the taking of the town of Perth, where the queen-regent had placed a French garrison. The multitude, elated with this achievement, destroyed the palace and abbey of Scone, in spite of all the endeavours of their leaders, even of John Knox himself, to save them. The queen-regent, apprehensive that the Congregation would commit farther ravages to the southward, resolved to throw a garrison into Stirling; but the earl of Argle and Lord James Stuart were too quick for her, and arrived there the very day after the demolition of the abbey and palace of Scone. The people, incapable of restraint, and provoked beyond measure by the perfidious behaviour of the Catholic party, demolished all the monasteries in the neighbourhood, together with the fine abbey of Cambuskenneth, situated on the north bank of the Forth. From Stirling they went to Linlithgow, where they committed their usual ravages; after which, they advanced to Edinburgh. The queen-regent, alarmed at their approach, fled to Dunbar; and the Protestants took up their residence in Edinburgh.

582  
The queen-regent flies to Dunbar, and the Protestants become masters of Edinburgh.

Having thus got possession of the capital, the Congregation assumed to themselves the ruling power of the kingdom, appointed preachers in all the churches, and seized the mint, with all the instruments of coining. The queen-regent, unable to dispute the matter in the field, published a manifesto, in which she set forth their seditious behaviour, commanding them to leave Edinburgh within six hours, and enjoining her subjects to avoid their society under the penalties of treason. The Congregation having already lost somewhat of their popularity by their violent proceedings, were now incapable of contending with government. As they had not established themselves in any regular body, or provided a fund for their support, they felt their strength decay, and multitudes of them returned to their habitations. Those who remained found themselves obliged to vindicate their conduct; and, in an address to the regent, to disclaim all treasonable intentions. Negotiations again took place, which ended as usual; the queen-regent, who had taken this opportunity of collecting her forces, marched against the Congregation on the 23d of July 1559. The Protestants now found themselves incapable of making head against their enemies; and therefore entered into a negotiation, by which all differences were for the present accommodated. The terms of this treaty were, that the town of Edinburgh should be open to the queen dowager and her attendants; that the palace of Holyroodhouse and the mint should be delivered up to her; that the Protestants should be subject to the laws, and abstain from molesting the Catholics in the exercise of their religion. On the queen's part, it was agreed, that the Protestants should have the free exercise of their religion, and that no foreign troops should enter the city of Edinburgh.

583  
They lose their popularity, and fall into distress.

584  
A treaty concluded.  
An. 1559.

Notwithstanding this treaty, however, the reformed had no confidence in the queen's sincerity. Having heard of the death of Henry II. of France, which took place on the 8th of March 1559, and the accession of Francis II. and Mary to the throne of that kingdom, they seem to have apprehended more danger than ever. They now entered into a third covenant; in which they engaged to refuse attendance to the

585  
Third covenant.

queen-dowager, in case of any message or letter; and that immediately on the receipt of any notice from her to any of their number, it should be communicated without reserve, and be made a common subject of scrutiny and deliberation. It was not long before they had occasion for all their constancy and strength. The queen-regent repented of the favourable terms she had granted the reformed; and being denied the favour which she requested of saying mass in the high church of Edinburgh, she ordered them to be everywhere disturbed in the exercise of their religion.

Scotland.  
586  
The treaty broken by the queen-regent.

In this imprudent measure the queen-regent was confirmed by letters which now came from Francis and Mary, promising a powerful army to support her interests. The envoy who brought these dispatches also carried letters to the lord James Stuart, now the principal leader of the Protestants, and natural brother to the queen. The letters were filled with reproaches and menaces, mixed with intreaties; and along with them the envoy delivered a verbal message, that the king his master was resolved rather to expend all the treasures of France than not to be revenged on the rebellious nobles who had disturbed the peace of Scotland. The lord James Stuart was not to be frightened by these menaces. He returned a cool and deliberate answer, apologizing for the Protestants, and vindicating them from the charge of rebellion; but at the same time intimating his full resolution of continuing to head the reformed as he had already done.

587  
France supports the Catholic party.

The letters of Francis and Mary were soon followed by 1000 French soldiers, with money and military stores; and the commander was immediately dispatched again to France, to solicit the assistance of as many more soldiers, with four ships of war, and 100 men-at-arms. But before he could set out, La Brosse, another French commander, arrived with 2000 infantry; and that the Congregation might be defeated not only by arms but in disputation, the same ship brought three doctors of the Sorbonne, to show the pernicious tendency of the new doctrines. Thus matters were pushed on beyond all hopes of reconciliation. The nation was universally alarmed on account of the introduction of French troops, to which they saw no end. The queen-regent attempted to quiet the minds of the public by a proclamation: but their fears increased the more. The Congregation assembled at Stirling, where they were joined by the earl of Arran, and soon after by his father the duke of Chatelherault. They next deliberated on the measures to be followed with the queen regent; and the result of their consultations was, that an expostulatory letter should be addressed to her. This was accordingly done; but as the queen behaved with her usual duplicity, the nobles called the people to arms. Mutual manifestoes were now published; and both parties prepared to decide the contest by the sword. The Congregation having seized Broughty castle, marched thence to Edinburgh. The queen-regent retired to Leith, which she had fortified and filled with French troops. Thither the nobles sent their last message to her, charging her with a design to overthrow the civil liberties of the kingdom. They requested her to command her Frenchmen and mercenaries to depart from Leith, and to make that place open, not only to the inhabitants who had been dispossessed of their houses, but to all the inhabitants of Scotland. They

588  
French auxiliaries arrive, which alarms the nation.  
An. 1560.

589  
The nobles send their last message to the queen-regent.

Scotland. They declared, that her denial of this request should be considered by them as a proof of her intention to reduce the kingdom to slavery; in which case, they were determined to employ their utmost power to preserve its independence. Two days after this message, the queen-regent sent to them the lord Lyon, whom she enjoined to tell them, that she considered their demand not only as presumptuous, but as an encroachment on the royal authority; that it was an indignity to her to be dictated to by subjects; that Frenchmen were not to be treated as foreigners, being entitled to the same privileges with Scotmen; and that she would neither disband her troops, nor command the town of Leith to be made open. The lord Lyon then, in the name of the queen regent, commanded the lords of the Congregation to depart from Edinburgh, and disperse, under the pain of high treason. The Protestants irritated by this answer, after some deliberation degraded the queen-regent; and for this purpose the nobility, barons, and burgeses, all agreed in subscribing an edict, which was sent to the principal cities in Scotland, and published in them.

590  
Receive an  
unfavour-  
able an-  
swer.

591  
They de-  
grade her  
from her  
office, and  
lay siege to  
Leith.

592  
Divisions  
take place  
among  
them.

393  
They fall  
into distress  
and treat  
with Queen  
Elizabeth.

The next step taken by the Congregation was to summon Leith to surrender; but meeting with defiance instead of submission, it was resolved to take the town by scalade. For this service ladders were made in the church of St Giles; a business which, interrupting the preachers in the exercise of public worship, made them prognosticate misfortune and miscarriage to the Congregation. In the displeasure of the preachers, the common people found a source of complaint; and the emissaries of the queen-dowager acting with indefatigable industry to divide her adversaries, and to spread chagrin and dissatisfaction among them, discontent, animosity, and terror, came to prevail to a great degree. The duke of Chatelherault discouraged many by his example. Defection from the Protestants added strength to the queen-dowager. The most secret deliberations of the confederated lords were revealed to her. The soldiery were clamorous for pay; and it was very difficult to procure money to satisfy their claims. Attempts to soothe and appease them, discovering their consequence, engendered mutinies. They put to death a domestic of the earl of Argyle, who endeavoured to compose them to order: they insulted several persons of rank who discovered a solicitude to pacify them; and they even ventured to declare, that, for a proper reward, they were ready to suppress the reformation, and to re-establish the mass.

It was absolutely necessary to give satisfaction to the Protestant soldiers. The lords and gentlemen of the Congregation collected a considerable sum among them; but it was not equal to the present exigency. The avarice of many taught them to withhold what they could afford, and the poverty of others did not permit them to indulge their generosity. It was resolved, that each nobleman should surrender his silver-plate to be coined. By the address, however, of the queen-dowager, the officers of the mint were bribed to conceal, or to convey to a distance, the stamps and instruments of coinage. A gloomy despair gave disquiet to the Congregation, and threatened their ruin. Queen Elizabeth, with whose ministers the confederated lords maintained a correspondence at this time, had frequently promised them her assistance; but they could not now

wait the event of a deputation to the court of England. In an extremity so pressing, they therefore applied for a sum of money to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, the governors of Berwick; and Cockburn of Ormilton, who was entrusted with this commission, obtained from them a supply of 4000 crowns. Traitors, however, in the councils of the Congregation, having informed the queen-dowager of his errand and expedition, the earl of Bothwell, by her order, intercepted him upon his return, discomfited his retinue, and made a prize of the English subsidy.

Scotland.  
594  
English  
subsidy  
taken by  
the queen-  
regent.

To rouse the spirit of the party, an attack was projected upon Leith, and some pieces of artillery were planted against it. But before any charge could be made, the French soldiers sallied out to give battle to the troops of the Congregation, possessed themselves of their cannon, and drove them back to Edinburgh. A report that the victors had entered this city with the fugitives, filled it with disorder and dismay. The earl of Argyle and his Highlanders hastened to recover the honour of the day, and harassed the French in their retreat. This petty conflict, while it elated the queen-dowager, served to augment the despondence of the Protestants.

595  
The Pro-  
testants  
defeated.

Vain of their prowess, the French made a new sally from Leith, with a view to intercept a supply of provisions and stores for the Congregation. The earl of Arran and the lord James Stuart advanced to attack them, and obliged them to retire. But pursuing them with too much precipitation, a fresh body of French troops made its appearance. It was prudent to retreat, but difficult. An obstinate resistance was made. It was the object of the French to cut off the soldiery of the Congregation from Edinburgh, and by these means to divide the strength of that station. The earl of Arran and the lord James Stuart had occasion for all their address and courage. Though they were able, however, to effect their escape, their loss was considerable, and the victory was manifestly on the side of their adversaries.

596  
The Pro-  
testants  
again de-  
feated.

About this time William Maitland of Lethington, secretary to the queen-dowager, withdrew secretly from Leith, and joined himself to the confederated nobles. He had been disgusted with the jealousies of the French counsellors, and was exposed to danger from having embraced the doctrines of the reformed. His reception was cordial, and corresponded to the opinion entertained of his wisdom and experience. He was skilled in business, adorned with literature, and accustomed to reflection. But as yet it was not known, that his want of integrity was in proportion to the greatness of his talents.

597  
Maitland,  
the queen-  
dowager's  
secretary,  
revolts to  
the Prote-  
stants.

The accession of this statesman to their party could not console the lords of the Congregation for the unpromising aspect of their affairs. The two discomfures they had received sunk deeply into the minds of their followers. Those who affected prudence, retired privately from a cause which they accounted desperate; and the timorous fled with precipitation. The wallings and distrust of the brethren were melancholy and infectious; and by exciting the ridicule and scorn of the partisans of the queen-dowager, were augmented the more. A distress not to be comforted seemed to have invaded the Protestants; and the associated nobles consented to abandon the capital. A little after midnight, they re-

tired.

Scotland.

598  
They retire  
from Edin-  
burgh to  
Stirling.

599  
John Knox  
encourages  
them.

tired from Edinburgh; and so great was the panic which prevailed, that they marched to Stirling without making any halt.

John Knox, who had accompanied the Congregation to Stirling, anxious to recover their unanimity and courage, addressed them from the pulpit. He represented their misfortunes as the consequences of their sins; and entreating them to remember the goodness of their cause, assured them in the end of joy, honour, and victory. His popular eloquence corresponding to all their warmest wishes, diffused satisfaction and cheerfulness. They passed from despair to hope. A council was held, in which the confederated nobles determined to solicit, by a formal embassy, the aid of Queen Elizabeth. Maitland of Lethington, and Robert Melvil, were chosen to negotiate this important business; and they received the fullest instructions concerning the state and difficulties of the Congregation, the tyrannical designs of the queen-dowager, and the danger which threatened England from the union of Scotland with France.

600  
Elizabeth  
determines  
to assist the  
reformers.

The queen of England having maturely considered the case, determined to assist the reformers; whose leaders now dispersed, and went to different parts of the kingdom, to employ their activity there for the common cause. The queen-dowager, imagining that the lords were fled, conceived great hopes of being able at once to crush the reformed. Her sanguine hopes, however, were soon checked, on receiving certain intelligence that Queen Elizabeth was resolved to assist them. She now took the best measures possible, as circumstances then stood; and determined to crush her enemies before they could receive any assistance from England. Her French troops took the road to Stirling, and wasted in their march all the grounds which belonged to the favourers of the reformation. After renewing their depredations at Stirling, they passed the bridge; and proceeding along the side of the river, exercised their cruelties and oppressions in a district which had distinguished itself by an ardent zeal against popery. While the terror of their arms was thus diffusing itself, they resolved to seize on the town and castle of St Andrew's, which they considered as an important military station, and as a convenient place of reception for the auxiliaries which they expected from France.

601  
The French  
troops  
waste the  
estates of  
the reform-  
ed.

602  
They are  
opposed  
with suc-  
cess by  
Lord James  
Stuart.

But the lord James Stuart exerted himself to interrupt their progress and frustrate their attempts; and it was his object at the same time to keep the force of the Congregation entire, to hazard no action of importance, and to wait the approach of the English army. A small advantage was obtained by the French at Petticur; and they possessed themselves of Kinghorn. The lord James Stuart, with 500 horse and 100 foot, entered Dyfart. With this inconsiderable force he proposed to act against an army of 4000 men. His admirable skill in military affairs, and his great courage, were eminently displayed. During 20 days he prevented the march of the French to St Andrew's, intercepting their provisions, harassing them with skirmishes, and intimidating them by the address and the boldness of his stratagems.

Monsieur d'Oysel, enraged and ashamed at being disconcerted and opposed by a body of men so disproportioned to his army, exerted himself with vigour. The lord James Stuart was obliged to retire. Dyfart and

Wemyss were delivered up to the French troops to be pillaged; and when d'Oysel was in full march to St Andrew's he discovered a powerful fleet bearing up the frith. It was concluded, that the supplies expected from France were arrived. Guns were fired by his soldiers, and their joy was indulged in all its extravagance. But this fleet having taken the vessels which contained their provisions, and the ordnance with which they intended to improve the fortifications of the castle at St Andrew's, an end was put to their rejoicings. Certain news was brought, that the fleet they observed was the navy of England, which had come to support the Congregation. A consternation, heightened by the giddiness of their preceding transports, invaded them. Monsieur d'Oysel now perceived the value and merit of the service which had been performed by the lord James Stuart; and thinking no more of St Andrew's and conquest, fled to Stirling, in his way to Leith, from which he dreaded to be intercepted; but he reached that important station after a march of three days.

Scotland.  
603  
Arrival of  
the English  
fleet.

A formal treaty was now concluded between the lords of the Congregation and Queen Elizabeth; and in the mean time the queen-dowager was disappointed in her expectations from France. The violent administration of the house of Guise had involved that nation in troubles and distress. Its credit was greatly funk, and its treasury nearly exhausted. Persecutions, and the spirit of Calvinism, produced commotions and conspiracies; and amidst domestic and dangerous intrigues and struggles, Scotland failed to engage that particular distinction which had been promised to its affairs. It was not, however, altogether neglected. The count De Martignes had arrived at Leith with 1000 foot and a few horse. The marquis D'Elbeuf had embarked for it with another body of soldiers; but, after losing several ships in a furious tempest, was obliged to return to the haven whence he had sailed.

604  
The French  
general  
flies.

605  
Treaty  
between  
Elizabeth  
and the  
Scots Pro-  
testants.

606  
The queen-  
regent dis-  
appointed  
in her ex-  
pectations  
from  
France.

In this sad reverse of fortune many forsook the queen-dowager. It was now understood that the English army was on its march to Scotland. The Scottish lords who had affected a neutrality, meditated an union with the Protestants. The earl of Huntly gave a solemn assurance that he would join them. Proclamations were issued throughout the kingdom, calling on the subjects of Scotland to assemble in arms at Linlithgow, to re-establish their ancient freedom, and to assist in the utter expulsion of the French soldiery.

607  
She is de-  
serted by  
great num-  
bers of her  
subjects.

The English fleet, in the mean time, under Winter the vice-admiral, had taken and destroyed several ships, had landed some troops upon Inchkeith, and discomfited a body of French mercenaries. On being apprised of these acts of hostility, the princes of Lorraine dispatched the chevalier de Seure to Queen Elizabeth, to make representations against this breach of peace, and to urge the recal of her ships. This ambassador affected likewise to negotiate concerning the evacuation of Scotland by the French troops, and to propose methods by which the king of France might quarter the arms of England without doing a prejudice to Queen Elizabeth; but to prevent the execution of vigorous resolutions against the queen-dowager, and to gain time, were the only objects which he had in view. With similar intentions, John Monluc bishop of Valence, a man of greater address and ability, and equally devoted to the

608  
The princes  
of Lorraine  
attempt  
to negotiate  
with Queen  
Elizabeth  
in vain.

house



Scotland. house of Guise, was also sent at this time to the court of England. Queen Elizabeth, however, and her ministers, were too wise to be amused by artifice and dexterity. The lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of 1200 horse and 6000 foot; and the lord Scroop, Sir James Croft, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Francis Lake, commanded under him. By a cruel policy, the queen-dowager had already wasted all the country around the capital. But the desolation which she had made, while it was ruinous to the Scottish peasants, affected not the army of England. The leaders of the Congregation did not want penetration and foresight, and had themselves provided against this difficulty. The duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Menteith, the lord James Stuart, and the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, with a numerous and formidable force, joined the English commander at Preston.

609  
An English  
army enters  
Scotland.

610  
The queen-  
dowager  
retires to  
Edinburgh  
castle.

611  
The Pro-  
testants in-  
vite her to  
an accom-  
modation.

Struck with the sad condition of her affairs, despairing of a timely and proper succour from France, and reminded by sickness of her mortality, the queen-dowager retired from Leith to the castle of Edinburgh, and put herself under the protection of the lord Erskine. At the period when she was appointed to the regency, the lord Erskine had received from the three estates the charge of this important fortress, with the injunction to hold it till he should know their farther orders; and he giving way to the solicitations of neither faction, had kept it with fidelity. By admitting the queen-dowager, he yielded to sentiments of honour and humanity, and did not mean to depart from his duty. Only a few of her domestics accompanied her, with the archbishop of St Andrew's, the bishop of Dunkeld, and the earl Marischal.

The confederated nobles now assembled at Dalkeith to hold a council; and conforming to those maxims of prudence and equity which, upon the eve of hostilities, had been formerly exercised by them, they invited the queen-dowager to an amicable conclusion of the present troubles. In a letter which they wrote to her, they called to her remembrance the frequent manifestos and messages in which they had pressed her to dismiss the French soldiery, who had so long oppressed the lower ranks of the people, and who threatened to reduce the kingdom to servitude. The aversion, however, with which she had constantly received their suit and prayers, was so great, that they had given way to a strong necessity, and had intreated the assistance of the queen of England to expel these strangers by force of arms. But though they had obtained the powerful protection of this princess, they were still animated with a becoming respect for the mother of their sovereign; and, abhorring to stain the ground with Christian blood, were disposed once more to solicit the dismissal of these mercenaries, with their officers. And that no just objection might remain against the grant of this last request, they assured her, that a safe passage by land, to the ports of England, should be allowed to the French; or that, if they judged it more agreeable, the navy of Queen Elizabeth should transport them to their own country. If these proposals should be rejected, they appealed and protested to God and to mankind, that it should be understood and believed, that no motive of malice, or hatred, or wickedness of any kind, had induced them to employ the fatal expedient of arms and battles; but

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that they had been compelled to this disagreeable and distressful remedy, for the preservation of their commonwealth, their religion, their persons, their estates, and their posterity. They begged her to weigh the equity of their petition, to consider the inconveniences of war, and to think of the rest and quiet which were necessary to relieve the afflictions of her daughter's kingdom; and they besought her to embalm her own memory, by an immortal deed of wisdom, humanity, and justice.

To give authority and weight to the letter of the associated lords, the lord Grey directed Sir George Howard and Sir James Croft to wait on the queen-dowager and stipulate the peaceable departure of the English troops, on condition that the French mercenaries should be immediately dismissed from her service, and prohibited from residing in Scotland. Returning no direct answer to the applications made to her, she desired time to deliberate upon the resolution which it became her to adopt. This equivocal behaviour corresponded with the spirit of intrigue which had uniformly distinguished the queen-dowager; and it is probable, that her engagements with France did not permit her to be open and explicit.

The combined armies marched towards Leith. A body of the French, posted on a rising ground called *Hawk-hill*, disputed their progress. During five hours the conflict was maintained with obstinate valour. At length the Scottish horsemen charged the French with a fury which they were unable to resist. They fled to Leith with precipitation; and might have been cut off from it altogether, if the English cavalry had exerted themselves. Three hundred of the French soldiers perished in this action, and a few combatants only fell on the side of the Congregation.

Leith was invested. The pavilions and tents of the English and Scottish nobility were planted at Restalrig, and around it. Trenches were cast; and the ordnance from the town annoying the combined armies, a mount was raised, upon which eight cannons were erected. A continued fire from these, against St Anthony's tower in South Leith, being kept up and managed with skill, the walls of this fabric were shaken, and the French found it necessary to dismount their artillery.—Negligent from security, and apprehensive of no attack, the English and Scottish officers occupied themselves in amusements, and permitted a relaxation of military discipline. The French, informed of this supineness and levity, made a sally from Leith. While some of the captains were diverting themselves at Edinburgh, and the soldiery were engaged at dice and cards, they entered the trenches unobserved, and, improving their advantage, put 600 men to the sword. After this slaughter, the Protestants were more attentive to their affairs.—Mounts were built at proper distances, and these being fortified with ordnance, served as places of retreat and defence in the event of sudden incursions; and thus they continued the blockade in a more effectual manner.

The army under the marquis D'Elbeuf, promised so often to the queen-regent, was in vain expected by her; but she received, at this time, supplies in money and military stores; and Monluc bishop of Valence, though defeated in dexterity by Elizabeth and her ministers, had arrived in Scotland to try once more the arts of

Scotland.

612  
She still be-  
haves with  
insincerity.

613  
The French  
defeated by  
the Prote-  
stant allies,

614  
who lay  
siege to  
Leith.

615  
A party of  
them cut  
off.

Scotland  
616  
Fruitless  
negotiation  
with Eng-  
land.

delay and negociation. Conferences were held by him with the queen-dowager, with the English commanders, and with the confederated nobles; but no contract or agreement could be concluded. His credentials extended neither to the demolition of Leith, nor to the recal of the French mercenaries: and though he obtained powers from his court to consent to the former of these measures, they were yet burdened with conditions which were disgraceful to the Congregation; who, in the present prosperous state of their affairs, were not disposed to give up any of the objects for which they had struggled so long, and to the attainment of which they now looked forward with a settled hope and expectation.

617  
The fourth  
covenant.

Though the grave and measured orations of Monluc could not overpower the plain and stubborn sense of the Congregation, yet as he affected to give them admonitions and warnings, and even ventured to insult them with menaces, they appear to have conceived a high indignation against him. Under this impulse, and that, in so advanced a stage of their affairs, they might exhibit the determined firmness of their resolutions, and bind to them by an indissoluble tie the earl of Huntly and the other persons who had joined them in consequence of the English alliance, they thought of the assurance and stability of a *new league and covenant*, more solemn, expressive, and resolute, than any which they had yet entered into and subscribed.

The nobles, barons, and inferior persons, who were parties to this bond and association, bound themselves in the presence of Almighty God, as a society, and as individuals, to advance the reformation of religion, and to procure, by all possible means, the true preaching of the gospel, with the proper administration of the sacraments, and the other ordinances in connection with it. Deeply affected, at the same time, with the misconduct of the French statesmen, who had been promoted to high offices; with the oppressions of the French mercenaries, whom the queen-dowager kept up and maintained under the colour of authority; with the tyranny of their officers; and with the manifest danger of conquest to which the country was exposed, by different fortifications on the sea-coast, and by other dangerous innovations; they promised and engaged, collectively and individually, to join with the queen of England's army, and to concur in an honest, plain, and unreserved resolution of expelling all foreigners from the realm, as oppressors of public liberty; that, by recovering the ancient rights, privileges, and freedom of their nation, they might live for the future under the due obedience of their king and queen, be ruled by the laws and customs of the country, and by officers and statesmen born and educated among themselves. It was likewise contracted and agreed by the subscribers to this bond and covenant, that no private intelligence by writing or message, or communication of any kind, should be kept up with their adversaries; and that all persons who resisted the godly enterprise in which they were united, should be regarded as their enemies, and reduced to subjection.

618  
The queen-  
dowager  
gives herself  
up to de-  
spair.

When the strong and fervid sentiment and expression of this new association were communicated to the queen-dowager, she abandoned herself to sorrow. Her mind, inclined to despondence by the increase of her malady,

Scotland.

felt the more intensely the cruel distractions and disquiets into which the kingdom had been driven by the ambition of France, her own doating affection for the princes of Lorraine, and the vain prognostications of flatterers and courtiers. In the agony of passion, she besought the malediction and curse of God to alight upon all those who had counselled her to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the most honourable portion of her subjects.

In the mean time the siege of Leith was prosecuted. But the strength of the garrison amounting to more than 4000 soldiers, the operations of the besiegers were slow and languid. An accidental fire in the town, which destroyed many houses and a great part of the public granary, afforded them an opportunity of playing their artillery with some advantage; and a few days after they made a general assault. But the scaling-ladders which were applied to the walls being too short, and Sir James Croft, who had been gained over to the queen-dowager, having acted a treacherous part, the attempt failed of success, and 1000 men were destroyed. The combined armies, however, did not lose their resolution or their hopes. The English and Scots animated the constancy of each other; and in the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, which was now made, a new source of cordiality opened itself. Letters had also come from the duke of Norfolk, promising a powerful reinforcement, giving the expectation of his taking on himself the command of the troops, and ordering his pavilion to be erected in the camp. Leith began to feel the misery of famine, and the French gave themselves up to despair. The besiegers abounded in every thing; and the arrival of 2000 men, the expected reinforcement from England, gave them the most decisive superiority over their adversaries. Frequent sallies were made by the garrison, and they were always unsuccessful. Discouraged by defeats, depressed with the want of provisions, and languishing under the negligence of France, they were ready to submit to the mercy of the Congregation.

619  
The Pro-  
testants  
make an  
unsuccessful  
attack on  
Leith.

620  
A rein-  
forcement  
arrives  
from Eng-  
land.

621  
Death of  
the queen-  
regent  
June 10th  
An. 1560.

Amidst this distress the queen-dowager, wasted with a lingering distemper and with grief, expired in the castle of Edinburgh. A few days before her death, she invited to her the duke of Chatelherault, the lord James Stuart, and the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marischal, to bid them a last adieu. She expressed to them her sorrow for the troubles of Scotland, and made it her earnest suit, that they would consult their constitutional liberties, by dismissing the French and English from their country; and that they would preserve a dutiful obedience to the queen their sovereign. She professed an unlimited forgiveness of all the injuries which had been done to her; and entreated their pardon for the offences she had committed against them. In token of her kindness and charity, she then embraced them by turns; and, while the tear started in her eye, presented to them a cheerful and smiling aspect. After this interview, the short portion of life which remained to her was dedicated to religion; and that she might allure the Congregation to be compassionate to her Popish subjects and her French adherents, she flattered them, by calling John Willocks, one of the most popular of their preachers, to assist and comfort her by his exhortations and prayers. He made long discourses to her about

Scotland. about the abominations of the mass; but she appears to have died in the communion of the Romish church; and her body being transported to France, was deposited in the monastery of St Peter, at Rheims, in Champagne, where her sister Renée was an abbess.

622 The French troops submit. The death of the queen-dowager, at a period so critical, broke altogether the spirit of the French troops. They were blocked up so completely, that it was almost impossible for any supplies to reach them either by sea or land; and France had delayed so long to fulfil its magnificent promises, that it was no longer in a capacity to take any steps towards their accomplishment. Its internal distress and disquiets were multiplying. The nobility, impoverished by wars, were courting the rewards of service, and struggling in hostility. The clergy were avaricious, ignorant, and vindictive. The populace, knowing no trade but arms, offered their swords to the factious. Francis II. the husband of Mary, was without dignity or understanding. Catharine de Medicis his mother was full of artifice and falsehood. Insurrections were dreaded in every province. The house of Guise was encompassed with difficulties, and trembling with apprehensions, so that they could not think of persisting in their views of distant conquests. It was necessary that they should abandon for a time all the proud projects they had formed for the extension of the French monarchy. It was chiefly in the exemption from foreign wars that they could hope to support their own greatness, and apply a remedy to the domestic disturbances of France.

623 Francis and Mary enter into a negotiation with Elizabeth. It appeared to Francis and Mary, that they could not treat in a direct method with the Congregation, whom they affected to consider as rebellious subjects, without derogating from their royal dignity. In negotiating a peace, therefore, they addressed themselves to Queen Elizabeth. It was by her offices and interference that they projected a reconciliation with the confederated lords, and that they sought to extinguish the animosities which, with so much violence, had agitated the Scottish nation. They granted their commission to John Monluc bishop of Valence, Nicholas Pelleve bishop of Amiens, Jacques de la Brosse, Henry Clentin sieur d'Oysel, and Charles de la Rochefaucault sieur de Randan; authorising them in a body or by two of their number, to enter into agreements with the queen of England. The English commissioners were Sir William Cecil principal secretary of state, Nicolas Wotton dean of Canterbury and York, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Peter Crew; and the powers of treaty were to be exercised by them all in conjunction, or by four, three, or two of them.

624 Promise an indemnity to the Protestants. The plenipotentiaries of France, though empowered only to treat with England, were yet, by a separate commission, entrusted to assure the Congregation, that, notwithstanding the heinous guilt incurred by them, Francis and Mary were inclined to receive them into favour, upon their repentance and return to obedience; and to abstain for ever from all inquiry into their conduct. They had full authority, at the same time, by this new deed, to hear, in conjunction with the commissioners of Elizabeth, the complaints of the Congregation, and to grant, with their consent, the relief which appeared to them to be the most proper and salutary.

The nobility and people of Scotland, choosing for

their representatives the lord James Stuart, the lord Ruthven, and Maitland of Lethington, expressed their willingness to concur in reasonable measures for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. By the mode of a formal petition, they enumerated their grievances, laid claim to redress, and besought an uniform protection to their constitution and laws. To this petition the intercession of Queen Elizabeth effected the friendly attention of Francis and Mary; and on a foundation concerted with so much propriety, Monluc and Randan, Cecil and Wotton, the acting plenipotentiaries of France and England, drew up and authenticated the celebrated deed of relief and concession which does so much honour to the spirit, perseverance and magnanimity of the Scottish nation.

625 And at last grant their petition. By this agreement, Francis and Mary stipulated and consented, that no French soldiers and no foreign troops should ever be introduced into Scotland without the counsel and advice of the three estates. They concurred in opinion, that the French mercenaries should be sent back to France, and that the fortifications of Leith should be demolished. They agreed that commissioners should be appointed to visit Dunbar, and to point out the works there which ought to be destroyed; and they bound themselves to build no new fortress or place of strength within the kingdom, and to repair no old one, without a parliamentary sanction. They consented to extinguish all debts which had been contracted for the maintenance of the French and Scotch soldiery in their service. They appointed the estates of the realm to hold a parliament for the discussion of affairs of state; and they obliged themselves to consider the acts of this assembly as valid and effectual in every respect. They confirmed the ancient law of the country, which prohibited the princes of Scotland from making peace and war without the advice of the three estates. It was agreed by them that the three estates, in concurrence with the queen, should elect a council for the administration of affairs during her majesty's absence. They became bound to employ the natives of Scotland in the management of justice both civil and criminal, in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, comptroller, and in other stations of a similar nature; and to abstain from the promotion of all foreigners to places of trust and honour, and from investing any clergyman in the charge of affairs of the revenue. They determined to establish an act of oblivion, and to forget for ever the memory of all the late transactions of war and offence. It was concluded by them, that a general peace and reconciliation should take place among all parties. They expressed their determination, that no pretence should be assumed by them, from the late contentions, to deprive any of their subjects of their estates or offices. And they referred the reparation which might be proper to compensate the injuries which had been sustained by bishops and ecclesiastics, to the judgement of the three estates in parliament.

626 Nature of their treaty with the Protestants. On the subject of the reformation, the plenipotentiaries of England and France did not choose to deliberate and decide, though articles with regard to it had been presented to them by the nobles and the people. They referred this delicate topic to the ensuing meeting of parliament; and the leaders of the Congregation engaged, that deputies from the three estates should repair

Scotland. to the king and queen, to know their intention concerning matters of such high importance.

627  
Articles relating to the French troops.

After having granted these concessions to the nobility and the people of Scotland, on the part of their respective courts, Monluc and Randan, Cecil and Wotton, concluded another treaty. By this convention it was determined, that the English and French troops should depart out of Scotland; that all warlike preparations should cease; that the fort of Eymouth should be razed to the ground, in terms of the treaty of Cambray; that Francis and Mary should abstain from bearing the title and arms of England or Ireland; that it should be considered, whether a farther compensation should be made to Elizabeth for the injuries committed against her; and that the king and queen of Scots should be fully and sincerely reconciled to the nobility and the people of their kingdom. The interests of England and France were the particular objects of this agreement. But though the concessions to the Protestants were not inserted in it at full length, an expressive reference was made to them; and they received a confirmation in terms which could not be misunderstood. This deed recorded the clemency of Francis and Mary to their subjects of Scotland, the extreme willingness of the nobility and the people to return to their duty and allegiance, the representation they had offered of their grievances, and the request of Queen Elizabeth that redress should be afforded them; and it appealed to the consequent concessions which had been stipulated to their advantage.

628  
Peace proclaimed.

By these important negotiations, the Protestants, while they humbled France, flattered Queen Elizabeth; and while they acquired a power to act in the establishment of the reformation, restored to Scotland its civil constitution. The exclusion of foreigners from offices of state, the limitation of the Scottish princes with regard to peace and war, the advancement of the three estates to their ancient consequence, and the act of oblivion of all offences, were acquisitions most extensively great and useful; and, while they gave the fullest security to the reformed, gratified their most sanguine expectations.

629  
Appointment of preachers in different places.

The peace, so fortunately concluded, was immediately proclaimed. The French mercenaries embarked for their own country, and the English army took the road to Berwick. Amidst events so joyful, the preachers exhorted the confederated nobles to command the solemnity of a thanksgiving. It was ordered accordingly; and after its celebration, the commissioners of the boroughs, with several of the nobility, and the tenants *in capite*, were appointed to choose and depute ministers to preach the gospel in the principal towns throughout the kingdom. John Knox was called to discharge the pastoral functions at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St Andrew's, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, William Christison at Dundee, David Ferguson at Dunfermline, and David Lindsey at Leith. That the business of the church, at the same time, might be managed with propriety, superintendants were elected to preside over the ecclesiastical affairs of particular provinces and districts. Mr John Spotswood was named the superintendant for the division of Lothian, Mr John Willocks for that of Glasgow, Mr John Wiram for that of Fife, Mr

John Erskine of Dun for that of Angus and Mearns, Scotland. and Mr John Carswell for that of Argyle and the Isles. This inconsiderable number of ministers and superintendants gave a beginning to the reformed church of Scotland.

630  
The parliament meets.

Amidst the triumph and exultation of the Protestants, the meeting of parliament approached. All persons who had a title from law, or from ancient custom, to attend the great council of the nation, were called to assemble. While there was a full convention of the greater barons and the prelates, the inferior tenants *in capite*, or the lesser barons, on an occasion so great, instead of appearing by representation, came in crowds to give personally their assistance and votes; and all the commissioners for the boroughs, without exception, presented themselves.

It was objected to this parliament when it was assembled, that it could not be valid, since Francis and Mary were not present, and had not empowered any person to represent them. But by the terms of the late concessions to the nobility and the people, they had in effect dispensed with this formality; and the objection, after having been warmly agitated for some days, was rejected by a majority of voices. The lords of the articles were then chosen; and as the protestant party were superior to the popish faction, they were careful, in electing the members of this committee, to favour all those who were disposed to forward the work of the reformation. The first object which the lords of the articles held out to parliament was the supplication of the nobility, gentry, and all the other persons who professed the new doctrines. It required, that the Romish church should be condemned and abolished. It reprobated the tenet of transubstantiation, the merit of works, papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints; and considering them as pestilent errors, and as fatal to salvation, it demanded, that all those who should teach and maintain them should be exposed to correction and punishment. It demanded, that a remedy should be applied against the profanation of the holy sacraments by the catholics, and that the ancient discipline of the church should be restored. In fine, it insisted, that the supremacy and authority of the pope should be abolished; and that the patrimony of the church should be employed in supporting the reformed ministry, in the provision of schools, and in the maintenance of the poor.

631  
Supplication of the Protestants.

This supplication of the Protestants was received in parliament with marks of the greatest deference and respect. The popish doctrines it censured, and the strong language it employed, excited no dispute or altercation. The nobility, however, and the lay members, did not think it expedient that the patrimony of the church, in all its extent, should be allotted to the reformed ministry, and the support of schools and the poor. Avoiding, therefore, any explicit scrutiny into this point, the parliament gave it in charge to the ministers and the leading men of the reformation, to draw up, under distinct heads, the substance and sense of those doctrines which ought to be established over the kingdom. Within four days this important business was accomplished. The writing or instrument to which the reformed committed their opinions was termed, "The Confession of Faith, professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm

632  
A Confession of Faith drawn up.

Scotland. realm of Scotland (Q).” It was read first to the lords of the articles. It was then read to the parliament; and the prelates of the Romish church were commanded, in the name of God, to make publicly their objections to the doctrines it proposed. They perceived a profound silence. A new diet was appointed for concluding the transaction. The articles of the Confession were again read over in their order, and the votes of parliament were called. Of the temporal nobility, three only refused to bestow on it their authority. The earl of Athol, and the lords Somerville and Bothwell, protested, that “they would believe as their fathers had done before them.” The bishops and the estate ecclesiastical, from a consciousness of the weakness of popery, seemed to have lost all power of speech. No dissent, no vote, was given by them. “It is long (said the earl Marischal), since I entertained a jealousy of the Romish faith, and an affection to the reformed doctrines. But this day has afforded me the completest conviction of the falsehood of the one, and the truth of the other. The bishops, who do not conceive themselves to be deficient in learning, and whose zeal for the maintenance of the hierarchy cannot be doubted, have abandoned their religion, and their interest in it, as objects which admit of no defence or justification.” All the other constituent members of this great council were zealous for the establishment of the reformation, and affirmed the propriety of its doctrines. Thus the high court of parliament, with great deliberation and solemnity, examined, voted, and ratified the confession of the reformed faith.

633  
Abolition  
of the mass

A few days after the establishment of the Confession of Faith, the parliament passed an act against the mass and the exercise of the Romish worship. And it scrupled not to ordain, that all persons saying or hearing mass should, for the first offence, be exposed to the confiscation of their estates, and to a corporeal chastisement, at the discretion of the magistrate; that for the second offence, they should be banished the kingdom; and that for the third offence they should suffer the pains of death. This fierceness, it is to be acknowledged, did not suit the generosity of victory; and while an excuse is sought for it in the perfidiousness of the Romish priesthood, it escapes not the observation of the most superficial historians, that these severities were exactly those of which the Protestants had complained so loudly, and with so much justice. By another ordination, the parliament, after having declared, that the pope, or bishop of Rome, had inflicted a deep wound and a humiliating injury upon the sovereignty and government of Scotland, by his frequent interferences and claims of power, commanded and decreed, that, for the future, his jurisdiction and authority should be extinct; and that all persons maintaining the smallest connection with him, or with his sect, should be liable to the loss of honour and offices, proscription, and banishment.

634  
Persecuting  
spirit of the  
Protestants.

635  
Francis and  
Mary refuse  
to confirm  
the acts of  
this parliament.

These memorable and decisive statutes produced the overthrow of the Romish religion. To obtain for these proceedings, and to its other ordinances, the approbation of Francis and Mary was an object of the greatest anxiety, and of infinite moment to the three estates.

Scotland. Sir James Sandilands lord St John was therefore appointed to go to France, and to express to the king and queen the affection and allegiance of their subjects, to explain what had been done in consequence of the late concessions and treaty, and to solicit their royal ratification of the transactions of parliament. The spirited behaviour of the congregation had, however, exceeded all the expectations of the princes of Lorraine; and the business of the embassy, and the ambassador himself, though a man of character and probity, were treated not only with ridicule, but with insult and contumely. He returned accordingly without any answer to his commission. Instead of submitting the heads and topics of a reformation to Francis and Mary, by a petition or a narrative, the parliament had voted them into laws; and from this informality the validity of its proceedings has been suspected. But it is observable of the Protestants, that they had not concealed their views with regard to religion and the abolition of Popery; that in the grant of redress and concession, and in the deed of treaty, no actual prohibition was made to prevent the establishment of the reformation; that a general authority was given to parliament to decide in affairs of state; and that Francis and Mary were solemnly bound to authenticate its transactions. Though a formality was infringed, the spirit of the treaties was yet respected and maintained. The nation, of consequence, imputed the conduct of Francis and Mary to political reasons suggested by the princes of Lorraine, and to the artifices of the Popish clergy; and as Elizabeth did not refuse, on her part, the ratification of the agreements, and solicited and pressed the French court in vain to adopt the same measure, a strength and force were thence communicated to this conclusion.

When the three estates dispatched Sir James Sandilands to France, they instructed the earls of Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland of Lethington, to repair to the court of England. By these ambassadors they presented to Elizabeth their sincere and respectful thanks, for the attention shown by her to Scotland, in her late most important services. And while they solicited the continuance of her favour and protection, intreated, in an earnest manner, that her majesty, for the establishment of a perpetual peace and amity, would be pleased to take in marriage the earl of Arran, the next heir after his father to the Scottish monarchy. The queen made new and fervent protestations of her regard and attachment; and gave the promise of her warmest aid when it would be necessary, in their just defence, upon any future occasion. She spoke in obliging terms of the earl of Arran; but as she found in herself no present disposition to marriage, she desired that he might consult his happiness in another alliance. She expressed a favourable opinion of the Scottish nobility; and as a demonstration of her affection and esteem, she took the liberty to remind them of the practices which had been employed to overturn their independency, and begged them to consider the unanimity and concord of their order as a necessary guard against the ambition and the artifice of the enemies of their nation.

The

(Q) It is given at full length in Knox, in the collection of confessions of faith, vol. ii. and in the statute book, parl. 1567.

Scotland.

The success of the Congregation, though great and illustrious, was not yet completely decisive. The refusal of Francis and Mary to ratify their proceedings opened a source of bitterness and inquietude. The Popish party, though humbled, was not annihilated. Under the royal protection it would soon be formidable. Political considerations might arise, not only to cool the amity of England, but even to provoke its resentment. And France, though it could now transport no army against Scotland, might soon be able to adopt that expedient. Great distractions and severe calamities were still to be dreaded. In the narrowness of their own resources they could find no solid and permanent security against the rage and weight of domestic faction, and the strenuous exertions of an extensive kingdom. All their fair achievements might be blasted and overthrown. Popery might again build up her towers, and a sanguinary domination destroy alike their religious and civil liberties.

636  
Death of  
Francis II.  
4th Dec.  
An. 1560.

While the anguish of melancholy apprehensions repressed the triumph of the Congregation, the event which could operate most to their interests was announced to them. This was the death of Francis II. The tie which knit Scotland to France was thus broken. A new scene of politics displayed itself. Catharine de Medicis, the queen-mother, ruled Charles IX. and was the personal enemy of the queen of Scots. The power and the credit which Mary had lent to her uncles, and the frequent and humiliating disappointments which the queen-mother had suffered from her influence over Francis, were now repaid with a studied indifference and neglect. In the full perfection of her charms, with two crowns upon her head, and looking towards a third, she felt herself to be without grandeur and without consequence. Leaving a court where she had experienced all the enjoyments of which humanity is susceptible, she retired to Rheims, to indulge her sorrow.

637  
Ecclesiastical government of Scotland new-modelled.  
An. 1561.

In the humiliation of their queen, and in the change produced in the councils of France, the Protestants of Scotland found every possible encouragement to proceed with vigour towards the full establishment of the reformed doctrines. After the parliament had been dissolved, they turned their thoughts and attention to the plan of policy which might best suit the tenets and religion for which they had contended. The three estates, amidst their other transactions, had granted a commission to John Winram, John Spottiswood, John Willocks, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox, to frame and model a scheme of ecclesiastical government. They were not long in complying with an order so agreeable to them, and composed what is termed the *First Book of Discipline*; in which they explained the uniformity and method which ought to be preserved concerning doctrine, the administration of the sacraments, the election and provision of ministers, and the policy of the church.

638  
The revenues of the ancient church refused to the reformed preachers.

A convention of the estates gave its sanction to the Presbyterian form of government. But while the Book of Discipline sketched out a policy beautiful for its simplicity, still it required that the patrimony and the rich possessions of the ancient church should be allotted to the new establishment. The reformers, however, so successful in the doctrines and the policy which they had proposed, were in this instance very unfortunate. This convention of the estates did not pay

a more respectful regard to this proposal than had been done by the celebrated parliament, which demolished the mass and the jurisdiction of the see of Rome. They affected to consider it as no better than a dream. The expression "a devout imagination" was applied to it in mockery; and it was not till after long and painful struggles, that the new establishment was able to procure a becoming and necessary provision and support. The Romish clergy were strenuous to continue in their possessions, and to profit by them; and the nobles and the laity having seized on great proportions of the property of the church, were no less anxious to retain the acquisitions they had made.

The aversion entertained to the bestowing of riches on the Presbyterian establishment, encouraged the ardour which prevailed for advancing all the other views and interests of the reformed. And this end was also promoted in no inconsiderable degree by the insidious policy of Catharine de Medicis. She was willing to increase and to foster all the difficulties and dangers in the situation of the queen of Scots and her subjects. On this account she had engaged Charles IX. to dispatch Monsieur Noailles to the Scotch parliament, to urge it in strong terms to renew the ancient league between the two kingdoms, to dissolve the alliance with England, and to re-establish over Scotland the Popish doctrines and the Popish clergy. A new meeting of the estates was assembled, which considered these strange requisitions, and treated them with the indignation they merited. Monsieur Noailles was instructed to inform his sovereign, that France having acted with cruelty and perfidiousness towards the Scots, by attacking their independence and liberties under pretence of amity and marriage, did not deserve to know them any longer as an ally; that principles of justice, a love of probity, and a high sense of gratitude, did not permit the Scottish parliament to break the confederacy with England, which had generously protected their country against the tyrannical views of the French court, and the treacherous machinations of the house of Guise; and that they were never to acknowledge the Popish clergy as a distinct order of men, or the legal possessors of the patrimony of the church; since, having abolished the power of the pope, and renounced his doctrines, they could bestow no favour or countenance upon his vassals, and servants.

To this council of the estates a new supplication was presented by the Protestants. They departed from the high claim which they had made for the riches and patrimony of the Popish church; and it was only requested by them, that a reasonable provision should be allotted to the true preachers of the gospel. This application, however, no less than their former exorbitant demand, was treated with neglect. But amidst the anxiety manifested by the nobles and the tenants of the crown to hold the Presbyterian clergy in subjection and in poverty, they discovered the warmest zeal for the extension and continuance of the reformed opinions. For in this supplication of the Protestants, an ardent desire being intimated and urged, that all the monuments of idolatry which remained should be utterly destroyed, the fullest and most unbounded approbation was given to it. An act was accordingly passed, which commanded that every abbey-church, every cloister, and every memorial whatever of Popery, should be

Scotland.

639  
Final destruction of monasteries and every mark of the Popish religion in Scotland.

Scotland. finally demolished; and the care of this barbarous, but popular employment, was committed to those persons who were most remarkable for their keenness and ardour in the work of the reformation. Its execution in the western counties was given in charge to the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn; the lord James Stuart attended to it in the more northern districts; and in the inland divisions of the country, it was intrusted to the barons in whom the Congregation had the greatest confidence. A dreadful devastation ensued. The populace, armed with authority, spread their ravages over the kingdom. It was deemed an execrable lenity to spare any fabric or place where idolatry had been exercised. The churches and religious houses were everywhere defaced, or demolished; and their furniture, utensils, and decorations, became the prize of the invader. Even the sepulchres of the dead were ransacked and violated. The libraries of the ecclesiastics, and the registers kept by them of their own transactions and of civil affairs, were gathered into heaps, and committed to the flames. Religious antipathy, the sanction of law, the exhortation of the clergy, the hope of spoil, and, above all, the ardent desire of putting the last hand to the reformation, concurred to drive the rage of the people to its wildest fury; and, in the midst of havoc and calamity, the new establishment surveyed its importance and its power.

640  
Mary solicited to return to her own country.

The death of Francis II. having left his queen, Mary, in a very disagreeable situation while she remained in France, it now became necessary for her to think of returning to her own country. To this she was solicited both by the Protestants and Papists; the former, that they might gain her over to their party; and the latter, hoping that, as Mary was of their own persuasion, Popery might once more be established in Scotland. For this deputation, the Protestants chose Lord James Stuart, natural brother to the queen; and the Papists, John Lesly, official and vicar-general of the diocese of Aberdeen. The latter got the start of the Protestant ambassador, and thus had the opportunity of first delivering his message. He advised her strongly to beware of the lord James Stuart, whom he represented as a man of unbounded ambition, who had espoused the Protestant cause for no other reason than that he might advance himself to the highest employments in the state; nay, that he had already fixed his thoughts on the crown. For these reasons he advised that the lord James Stuart should be confined in France till the government of Scotland could be completely established. But if the queen were averse to this measure, he advised her to land in some of the northern districts of Scotland, where her friends were most numerous; in which case an army of 20,000 men would accompany her to Edinburgh, to restore the Popish religion, and to overawe her enemies. The next day the lord James Stuart waited on her, and gave an advice very different from that of Lesly. The surest method of preventing insurrections, he said, was the establishment of the Protestant religion; that a standing army and foreign troops would certainly lose the affections of her subjects; for which reason he advised her to visit Scotland without guards and without soldiers, and he became solemnly bound to secure their obedience to her. To this advice Mary, though she distrusted its author, listened with attention; and Lord

Scotland. James, imagining that she was prejudiced in his favour, took care to improve the favourable opportunity; by which means he obtained a promise of the earldom of Marr.

Before Mary set out from France, she received an embassy from Queen Elizabeth, pressing her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, in which she had taken care to have a clause inserted, that Francis and Mary should for ever abtain from assuming the title and arms of England and Ireland. But this was declined by the queen of Scotland, who, in her conference with the English ambassador, gave an eminent proof of her political abilities\*. Her refusal greatly augmented the jealousies which already prevailed between her and Elizabeth, insomuch that the latter refused her a safe passage through her dominions into Scotland. This was considered by Mary as a high indignity; she returned a very spirited answer, informing her rival, that she could return to her own dominions without any assistance from her, or indeed whether she would or not. In the month of August 1561, Mary set sail from Calais for Scotland. She left France with much regret; and at night ordered her couch to be brought upon deck, desiring the pilot to awaken her in the morning if the coast of France should be in view. The night proved calm, so that the queen had an opportunity of once more indulging herself with a sight of that beloved country. A favourable wind now sprang up, and a thick fog coming on, she escaped a squadron of men of war which Elizabeth had set out to intercept her; and on the 20th of the month she landed safely at Leith.

641  
Her disputes with Elizabeth.

\* See Robertson's History of Mary Queen of Scotland.

642  
Mary lands in Scotland.

But though the Scots received their queen with the greatest demonstrations of joy, it was not long before an irreconcilable quarrel began to take place. The Protestant religion was now established all over the kingdom; and its professors had so far deviated from their own principles, or what ought to have been their principles, that they would grant no toleration to the opposite party, not even to the sovereign herself. In consequence of this, when the queen attempted to celebrate mass in her own chapel of Holyroodhouse, a violent mob assembled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the lord James Stuart and some other persons of high distinction could appease the tumult. Mary attempted to allay these ferments by a proclamation, in which she promised to take the advice of the states in religious matters; and, in the mean time, declared it to be death for any person to attempt an innovation or alteration of the religion which she found generally established upon her arrival in Scotland. Against this proclamation the earl of Arran protested, and formally told the herald, the queen's proclamation should not protect her attendants and servants if they presumed to commit idolatry and to say mass. John Knox declared from the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible to him than if 10,000 armed enemies had landed in any part of the kingdom to re-establish Popery. The preachers everywhere declaimed against idolatry and the mass; keeping up, by their mistaken zeal, a spirit of discontent and sedition throughout the whole kingdom. John Knox was called before the queen to answer for the freedom of his speeches; but his unbounded boldness when there gave Mary much disquiet, as not knowing in what manner to treat him.

643  
Is insulted by the Protestants.

The

Scotland. The freedoms, however, which were taken with the queen, could not induce her to depart from that plan of government which she had laid down in France. To the Protestants she resolved to pay the greatest attention; from among them she chose her privy-council, and heaped favours upon the lord James Stuart, who for his activity in promoting the reformation was the most popular man in the kingdom; while to her courtiers of the Catholic persuasion she behaved with a distant formality.

644  
Bigotry of  
the magi-  
strates of  
Edinburgh.

In the mean time, the differences between the two rival queens became every day greater. The queen of Scotland pressed Elizabeth to declare her the nearest heir to the crown of England, and Elizabeth urged Mary to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh. With this the latter could not comply, as it would in fact have been renouncing for ever the title to that crown for which she was so earnestly contending. Endless negotiations were the consequence, and the hatred of Elizabeth to Mary continually increased. This year the queen of Scotland amused herself by making a circuit through part of her dominions. From Edinburgh she proceeded to Stirling; thence to Perth, Dundee, and St Andrew's. Though received everywhere with the greatest acclamations and marks of affection, she could not but remark the rooted aversion which had universally taken place against Popery; and upon her return to Edinburgh, her attention was called to an exertion of this zeal, which may be considered as highly characteristic of the times. The magistrates of this city, after their election, enacted rules, according to custom, for the government of their borough. By one of these acts, which they published by proclamation, they commanded all monks, friars, and priests, together with all adulterers and fornicators, to depart from the town and its limits within 24 hours, under the pains of correction and punishment. Mary, justly interpreting this exertion of power to be an usurpation of the royal authority, and a violation of order, displaced the magistrates, commanded the citizens to elect others in their room, and granted by proclamation a plenary indulgence to all her subjects not convicted of any crime, to repair to and remain in her capital at their pleasure.

645  
Disordered  
state of the  
nation.

646  
Suppressed  
by lord  
James  
Stuart.

Besides these disturbances on account of religion, the kingdom was now in confusion from another cause. The long continuance of civil wars had every where left a proneness to tumults and insurrections; and thefts, rapine, and licentiousness of every kind, threatened to subvert the foundations of civil society. Mary made considerable preparations for the suppression of these disorders, and appointed the lord James Stuart her chief judiciary and lieutenant. He was to hold two criminal courts, the one at Jedburgh, and the other at Dumfries. To assist his operations against the banditti, who were armed, and often associated into bodies, a military force was necessary; but as there were at present neither standing army nor regular troops in the kingdom, the county of Edinburgh, and ten others, were commanded to have their strength in readiness to assist him. The feudal tenants, and the allodial or free proprietors of these districts, in complete armour, and with provisions for 20 days, were appointed to be subservient to the purposes of his commission, and to obey his orders in establishing the public tranquillity. In this expe-

dition he was attended with his usual success. He destroyed many of the strong-holds of the banditti; hanged 20 of the most notorious offenders; and ordered 50 more to be carried to Edinburgh, there to suffer the penalties of law on account of their rebellious behaviour. He entered into terms with the lord Grey and Sir John Foster, the wardens of the English borders, for the mutual benefit of the two nations; and he commanded the chiefs of the disorderly clans to submit to the queen, and to obey her orders with regard to the securing of the peace, and preventing insurrections and depredations in future.

Scotland.

In the mean time the queen was in a very disagreeable situation, being suspected and mistrusted by both parties. From the concessions which she had made to the Protestants, the Papists supposed that she had a design of renouncing their religion altogether; while, on the other hand, the Protestants could scarcely allow themselves to believe that they owed any allegiance to an idolater. Disquiets of another kind also now took place. The duke of Chatelherault, having left the Catholics to join the opposite party, was neglected by his sovereign. Being afraid of some danger to himself, he fortified the castle of Dumbarton, which he resolved to defend; and in case of necessity to put himself under the protection of the queen of England.—The earl of Arran was a man of very slender abilities, but of boundless ambition. The queen's beauty had made an impression on his heart, and his ambition made him fancy himself the fittest person in the kingdom for her husband. But his fanaticism, and the violence with which he had opposed the mass, had disgusted her. He bore her dislike with an uneasiness that preyed upon his intellects and disordered them. It was even supposed that he had concerted a scheme to possess himself of her person by armed retainers; and the lords of her court were commanded to be in readiness to defeat any project of this nature. The earl of Bothwell was distinguished chiefly by his prodigalities and the licentiousness of his manners. The earl Marischal had every thing that was honourable in his intentions, but was wary and slow. The earl of Morton possessed penetration and ability, but was attached to no party or measures from any principles of rectitude: His own advantage and interests were the motives by which he was governed. The earl of Huntly the lord chancellor, was unquiet, variable, and vindictive: His passions, now fermenting with violence, were soon to break forth in the most dangerous practices. The earls of Glencairn and Menteith were deeply tinctured with fanaticism; and their inordinate zeal for the new opinions, not less than their poverty, recommended them to Queen Elizabeth. Her ambassador Randolph, advised her to secure their services, by addressing herself to their necessities. Among courtiers of this description, it was difficult for Mary to make a selection of ministers in whom she might confide. The consequence and popularity of the lord James Stuart, and of Maitland of Lethington, had early pointed them out to this distinction; and hitherto they had acted to her satisfaction. They were each of eminent capacity: but the former was suspected of aiming at the sovereignty; the latter was prone to refinement and duplicity; and both were more attached to Elizabeth than became them as the ministers and subjects of another sovereign.

647  
Mary dis-  
trusted by  
both par-  
ties.

648  
Characters  
of her dif-  
ferent cour-  
tiers.



Scotland.

649  
She obtains  
a part of  
the eccle-  
siastical re-  
venues.

Beside the policy of employing and trusting statesmen who were Protestants, and the precaution of maintaining a firm peace with England, Mary had it also at heart to enrich the crown with the revenues of the ancient church. A convention of estates was assembled to deliberate on this measure. The bishops were alarmed at their perilous situation. It was made known to them, that the charge of the queen's household required an augmentation; and that as the rents of the church had flowed chiefly from the crown, it was expedient that a proper proportion of them should now be resumed to uphold its splendour. After long consultations, the prelates and ecclesiastical estate considering that they existed merely by the favour of the queen, consented to resign to her the third part of their benefices, to be managed at her pleasure; with the reservation that they should be secured during their lives against all farther payments, and relieved from the burden of contributing to the maintenance of the reformed clergy. With this offer the queen and the convention of estates were satisfied. Rentals, accordingly, of all their benefices throughout the kingdom, were ordered to be produced by the ancient ecclesiastics; the reformed ministers, superintendants, elders, and deacons, were enjoined to make out registers of the grants or provisions necessary to support their establishment; and a supereminent power of judging in these matters was committed to the queen and the privy-council.

While the prelates and ecclesiastical estate submitted to this offer from the necessity of their affairs, it was by no means acceptable to the reformed clergy, who at this time were holding an assembly. It was their earnest wish to effect the entire destruction of the ancient establishment, to succeed to a large proportion of their emoluments, and to be altogether independent of the crown. But while the Protestant preachers were naturally and unanimously of these sentiments, the nobles and gentlemen who had promoted the reformation were disposed to think very differently. To give too much of the wealth of the church to the reformed clergy, was to invest them with a dangerous power. To give too great a proportion of it to the crown, was a step still more dangerous. At the same time it was equitable, that the ancient clergy should be maintained during their lives; and it accorded with the private interests of the nobles and gentlemen, who had figured during the reformation, not to consent to any scheme that would deprive them of the spoils of which they had already possessed themselves out of the ruins of the church, or which they might still be enabled to acquire.

650  
Bad success  
of the de-  
mands of  
the Prote-  
stants.

Thus public as well as private considerations contributed to separate and divide the lay Protestants and the preachers. The general assembly, therefore, of the church, was not by any means successful in the views which had called them together at this time, and which they submitted to the convention of estates. Doubts were entertained whether the church had any title to assemble itself. The petition preferred for the complete abolition of idolatry, or for the utter prohibition of the mass, was rejected, notwithstanding all the zeal manifested by the brethren. The request that Mary should give authority to the book of discipline, was not only refused, but even treated with ridicule. The only point pressed by the church which attracted any notice, was its requisition of a provision or a maintenance; but the

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measure proposed for this end was in opposition to all its warmest desires.

Scotland.

This measure, however, so unpromising to the preachers in expectation, was found to be still more unsatisfactory on trial. The wealth of the Romish church had been immense, but great invasions had been made on it. The fears of the ecclesiastics, on the overthrow of popery, induced them to engage in fraudulent transactions with their kinsmen and relations; in consequence of which many possessions were conveyed from the church to private hands. For valuable considerations, leases of church-lands, to endure for many years, or in perpetuity, were granted to strangers and adventurers. Sales also of ecclesiastical property, to a great extent, had been made by the ancient incumbents; and a validity was supposed to be given to these transactions by confirmations from the pope, who was zealous to assist his votaries. Even the crown itself had contributed to make improper dispositions of the ecclesiastical revenues. Laymen had been presented to bishoprics and church-livings, with the power of disposing of the territory in connection with them. In this diffusion of the property of the church, many great acquisitions, and much extensive domain, came to be invested in the nobles and the gentry.

From these causes, the grant of the third of their benefices, made by the ancient ecclesiastics to the queen, with the burden of maintaining the reformed clergy, was not nearly so considerable as might have been expected. But the direction of the scheme being lodged in the queen and the privy-council, the advantage to the crown was still greater than that bestowed upon the preachers. Yet the carrying the project into execution was not without its inconveniences. There were still many opportunities for artifice and corruption; and the full third of the ecclesiastical benefices, even after all the previous abstractions of them which had been made, could not be levied by any diligence; for the ecclesiastics often produced false rentals of their benefices; and the collectors for the crown were not always faithful to the trust reposed in them. The complete produce of the thirds did not amount to a great sum; and it was to contribute towards the expences of the queen, as well as to the support of the preachers. A scanty proportion went to the latter; and yet the persons who were chosen to fix their particular stipends were the firm friends of the reformation. For this business was committed in charge to the earls of Argyle and Morton, the lord James Stuart, and Maitland of Lethington, with James Mackgill the clerk-register, and Sir John Ballenden the justice-clerk. One hundred Scottish merks were deemed sufficient for a common minister. To the clergymen of greater interest or consideration, or who exercised their functions in more extensive parishes, 300 merks were allotted; and, excepting to superintendants, this sum was seldom exceeded. To the earl of Argyle, to the lord James Stuart, to Lord Erskine, who had large ecclesiastical revenues, their thirds were usually remitted by the queen; and on the establishment of this fund or revenue, she also granted many pensions to persons about her court and of her household.

651  
Provision  
made for  
the Prote-  
stant  
preachers.

The complaints of the preachers were made with little decency, and did not contribute to improve their condition. The coldness of the Protestant laity, and the hu-

652  
The whole  
party dis-  
satisfied.

<sup>Scotland.</sup> manity shown to the ancient clergy, were deep wounds both to their pride and to their interests. To a mean spirit of flattery to the reigning power, they imputed the defection of their friends; and against the queen they were animated with the bitterest animosity. The poverty in which they were suffered to remain inflamed all their passions. They industriously sought to indulge their rancour and turbulence; and inveterate habits of insult fortified them with a contempt of authority.

653  
Honours  
conferred  
on Lord  
James  
Stuart.

To the queen, whose temper was warm, the rudeness of the preachers was a painful and endless inquietude, which, while it fostered her religious prejudices, had the good effect of confirming her constancy to her friends, and of keeping alive her gratitude for their activity. The lord James Stuart, who was intitled to her respect and esteem from his abilities, and his proximity to her in blood, had merited rewards and honours by his public services and the vigour of his counsels. After his successful discharge of her commission as chief justice and lord lieutenant, she could not think of allowing him to descend from these offices, without bestowing on him a solid and permanent mark of her favour. She advanced him to the rank of her nobility, by conferring on him the earldom of Mar. At the same time she contributed to augment his consequence, by facilitating his marriage with Agnes the daughter of the earl Marischal; and the ceremonial of this alliance was celebrated with a magnificence and ostentation so extravagant in that age, as to excite the fears of the preachers lest some avenging judgement or calamity should afflict the land. They exclaimed with virulence against his riotous feasting and banquets; and the masquerades which were exhibited on this occasion, attracting in a still greater degree their attention, as being a species of entertainment hitherto unknown in Scotland, and which was favourable to the profaneness of gallantry, they pointed against them the keenest strokes of their censure and indignation.

654  
Enmity of  
the earl of  
Huntly  
towards him.  
An. 1562.

The abilities of the earl of Mar, the ascendancy he maintained in the councils of his sovereign, and the distinctions which he had acquired, did not fail to expose him to uncommon envy. The most desperate of his enemies, and the most formidable, was the earl of Huntly. In their rivalry for power, many causes of disgust had arisen. The one was at the head of the Protestants, the other was the leader of the Papists. On the death of Francis II. Huntly and the Popish faction had sent a deputation to Mary, inviting her to return to Scotland, and offering to support her with an army of 20,000 men. His advances were treated with attention and civility, but his offer was rejected. The invitation of the Protestants, presented by the earl of Mar, was more acceptable to her. Huntly had advised her to detain his rival in confinement in France till the Catholic religion should be re-established in Scotland. This advice she not only disregarded, but caressed his enemy with particular civilities. On her arrival in her own country, Huntly renewed his advances, offering to her to set up the mass in all the northern counties. He even conversed in a pressing manner upon this subject with her uncles and the French courtiers who attended her. Still no real attention was paid to him. He came to her palace, and was received only with respect. He was lord high chancellor without influence, and a privy counsellor without trust. The earl of Mar had the

655  
Huntly  
presses the  
queen to  
restore the  
Popish reli-  
gion.

confidence of his sovereign, and was drawing to him the authority of government. These were cruel mortifications to a man of high rank, inordinate ambition, immense wealth, and who commanded numerous and warlike retainers. But he was yet to feel a stroke still more severely excruciating, and far more destructive of his consequence. The opulent estate of Mar, which Mary had erected into an earldom, and conferred on his rival, had been lodged in his family for some time. He considered it as his property, and that it was never to be torn from his house. This blow was at once to insult most sensibly his pride, and to cut most fatally the sinews of his greatness.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

After employing against the earl of Mar those arts of detraction and calumny which are so common in courts, he drew up and subscribed a formal memorial, in which he accused him of aiming at the sovereignty of Scotland. This paper he presented to the queen; but the arguments with which he supported his charge being weak and inconclusive, she was the more confirmed in her attachment to her minister. Huntly then addressing himself to the earl of Bothwell, a man disposed to desperate courses, engaged him to attempt involving the earl of Mar and the house of Hamilton in open and violent contention. Bothwell represented to Mar the enmity which had long subsisted between him and the house of Hamilton. It was an obstacle to his greatness; and while its destruction might raise him to the highest pinnacle of power, it would be most acceptable to the queen, who, beside the hatred which princes naturally entertain to their successors, was animated by particular causes of offence against the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Arran. He concluded his exhortation with making an unlimited offer of his most strenuous services in the execution of this flagitious enterprise. The earl of Mar, however, abhorring the baseness of the project, suspicious of the sincerity of the proposer, or satisfied that his eminence did not require the aid of such arts, rejected all his advances. Bothwell, disappointed on one side, turned himself to the other. He practised with the house of Hamilton to assassinate the earl of Mar, whom they considered as their greatest enemy. The business, he said, might be performed with ease and expedition. The queen was accustomed to hunt in the park of Falkland; and there the earl of Mar, not suspecting any danger, and ill attended, might be overpowered and put to death. The person of the queen, at the same time, might be seized; and by keeping her in custody, a sanction and security might be given to their crime. The integrity of the earl of Arran revolting against this conspiracy, defeated its purposes. Dreading the perpetration of so cruel an action, and yet sensible of the resolute determination of his friends, he wrote privately to the earl of Mar, informing him of his danger. But the return of Mar to his letter, thanking him for his intelligence, being intercepted by the conspirators, Arran was confined by them under a guard in Kenneil-house. He effected his escape, however, and made a full discovery of the plot to the queen. Yet as in a matter so dark he could produce no witnesses and no written vouchers to confirm his accusations, he, according to the fashion of the times, offered to prove his information, by engaging Bothwell in single combat. And though, in his examinations before the privy-council, his

656  
He accuses  
the lord  
James  
Stuart of  
treason.

657  
And at-  
tempts to  
assassinate  
him.

658  
But fails  
in his at-  
tempt.

Scotland. his love to the queen, his attachment to the earl of Mar, the atrocity of the scheme he revealed, and, above all, his duty and concern for his father the duke of Chatelherault, threw him into a perturbation of mind which expressed itself violently in his speech, his countenance, and his actions; yet his declarations, in general, were so consistent and firm, that it was thought advisable to take the command of the castle of Dumbarton from the duke of Chatelherault, to confine the other conspirators to different prisons, and to wait the farther discoveries which might be made by time and accident.

The earl of Huntly, inflamed by these disappointments, invented other devices. He excited a tumult while the queen and the earl of Mar were at St Andrew's with only a few attendants; imagining that the latter would sally forth to quell the insurgents, and that a convenient opportunity would thus be afforded for putting him to the sword without detection. The caution, however, of the earl of Mar, defeating this purpose, he ordered some of his retainers to attack him in the evening when he should leave the queen; but these assassins being surprised in their station, Huntly affected to excuse their being in arms in a suspicious place and at a late hour, by frivolous apologies, which, though admitted, could not be approved.

About this period, too, letters were received by Mary from the pope and the cardinal of Lorraine, in consequence of the intrigues of the earl of Huntly and the Catholic faction. They pressed her to consider, that while this nobleman was the most powerful of her subjects, he was by far the most zealous in the interests of the church of Rome. They intreated her to flatter him with the hope of her marriage with Sir John Gordon his second son; held out to her magnificent promises of money and military supplies, if she would set herself seriously to recover to power and splendour the ancient religion of her country; and recommended it to her to take measures to destroy the more strenuous Protestants about her court, of whom a roll was transmitted to her, which included the name of her confidant and minister the earl of Mar. These letters could not have reached her at a juncture more unfavourable to their success. The earl of Mar, to whom she communicated them, was encouraged to proceed with the greatest vigour in undermining the designs and the importance of his enemies.

659  
Sir John Gordon wounds lord Ogilvy, and is apprehended;

New incidents exasperated the animosities of the enemies of the earl of Mar and his own. Sir John Gordon and the lord Ogilvie having a private dispute, happened to meet each other in the high street of Edinburgh. They immediately drew their swords; and the lord Ogilvie receiving a very dangerous wound, Sir John Gordon was committed to prison by the magistrates. The queen, at this time in Stirling, was informed by them of the riot; and while they expressed a fear lest the friends of the prisoner should rise up in arms to give him his liberty, they mentioned a suspicion which prevailed, that the partizans of the lord Ogilvie were to assemble themselves to vindicate his quarrel. The queen, in her reply, after commending their diligence, instructed them to continue to have a watch over their prisoner; made known her desire that the law should take its course; and counselled them to have no apprehensions of the kindred of the parties at variance, but to re-

ly on the earl of Mar for providing a sufficient force for their protection. Sir John Gordon, however, found means to break from his confinement; and flying into Aberdeenshire, filled the retainers of his family with his complaints, and added to the disquiets of his father the earl of Huntly.

Scotland.  
660  
but escapes from prison.

The queen, on returning to Edinburgh, held a consultation on affairs of state with her privy council; and soon after set out on a progress to the northern parts of her kingdom. At Aberdeen she was met by the lady Huntly, a woman of deep dissimulation and of refined address; who endeavoured to conciliate her affections, was prodigal of flattery, expressed her zeal for the Popish religion, and let fall insinuations of the great power of her husband. She then interceded with the queen for forgiveness to her son: and begged with a keen importunity, that he might be permitted to have the honour to kiss her hand. But Mary having told her, that the favour she had solicited could not be granted till her son should return to the prison from which he had escaped, and submit to the justice of his country, the lady Huntly engaged that he should enter again into custody, and only intreated, that, instead of being confined at Edinburgh, he should be conducted to the castle of Stirling. This request was complied with; and in the prosecution of the business, a court of justice being called, Sir John Gordon made his appearance, and acknowledged himself to be the queen's prisoner. The lord Glamis was appointed to conduct him to the castle of Stirling. But on the road to this fortress, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, hastened back, and gathering 1000 horsemen among his retainers, entrusted his security to the sword.

661  
and attempts to raise a rebellion.

In the mean time, the queen continued her progress. The earl of Huntly joined himself to her train. His anxiety to induce her to allow him to attend her to his house of Strathbogy was uncommon; his intracies were even pressed beyond the bounds of propriety. The intelligence arrived of the escape and rebellion of Sir John Gordon. The behaviour of the father and the son awakened in her the most alarming suspicions. Assembling her privy-council, who, according to the fashion of those times, constituted her court, and attended her person in her progresses through her dominions; she, with their advice, commanded her heralds to charge Sir John Gordon and his adherents to return to their allegiance, and to surrender to her their houses of strength and castles, under the penalties of high treason and forfeiture. Disdaining now to go to the house of the earl of Huntly, where, as it afterwards appeared, that nobleman had made secret preparations to hold her in captivity, she advanced to Inverness by a different route. In the castle of Inverness she proposed to take up her residence; but Alexander Gordon the deputy governor, a dependent of the family of Huntly, refused to admit her. She was terrified with the prospect of certain and imminent danger. Her attendants were few in number, the town was without walls, and the inhabitants were suspected. In this extremity, some ships in the river were kept in readiness as a last refuge; and she issued a proclamation, commanding all her loyal subjects in those parts immediately to repair to her for her protection. The Frasers and Monroes came in crowds to make her the offer of their swords. The Clan Chattan, though called to arms by the earl of Huntly, for-

Scotland. took his standard for that of their sovereign, when they discovered that his intentions were hostile to her. She employed this strength in laying siege to the castle, which surrendered itself on the first assault. The lives of the common soldiers were spared, but the deputy-governor was instantly executed. The queen, full of apprehensions, returned to Aberdeen.

To intimidate the earl of Huntly, to revenge the troubles which his family had created to the queen, and to convince him that his utter ruin was at hand, a measure infinitely humiliating was now concerted and put in practice. The earl of Mar resigned the rich estate of that name to the lord Erskine, who laid claim to it as his right; and received in recompense, after its erection into an earldom, the territory of Murray, which made an extensive portion of the possessions of the earl of Huntly.

662  
Earl of  
Huntly de-  
feated by  
the earl of  
Murray.

The lady Huntly hastened to Aberdeen to throw herself at the feet of her sovereign, to make offer of the most humble submissions on the part of her husband, and to avert by every possible means the downfall of his greatness. But all access to the queen was refused her; and the earl of Huntly was summoned to appear in person before the privy council, to answer for his conduct, and to make a full resignation of all his castles and fortresses. He did not present himself, and was declared to be in open rebellion. A new proclamation was circulated by the queen to collect a sufficient strength to subdue the insurgents. The command of her troops was given to the earl of Murray, who put them instantly in motion. Huntly advancing towards Aberdeen to give them battle, was informed of their approach. He halted at Corrichie, solacing himself with the hope of a decisive victory. The army of the queen was the more numerous; but there were several companies in it in whom little confidence could be placed. These the earl of Murray posted in front of the battle, and commanded them to begin the attack. They recoiled on him in disorder, according to his expectation; but a resolute band in whom he trusted, holding out their spears, obliged them to take a different course. Their confusion and slight made Huntly conceive that the day was his own. He therefore ordered his soldiers to throw aside their lances, and to rush on the enemy sword in hand. His command was obeyed, but with no precaution or discipline. When his men came to the place where the earl of Murray had stationed himself, the points of the extended spears of his firm battalion put a termination to their progress. The panic communicated by this unexpected resistance was improved by the vigour with which he pressed the assailants. In their turn they took to flight. The companies of the queen's army which had given way in the beginning of the conflict were now disposed to atone for their misconduct; and taking a share in the battle, committed a signal slaughter upon the retainers of the earl of Huntly. This nobleman himself expired in the throng of the pursuit. His sons Sir John Gordon and Adam Gordon were made prisoners, with the principal gentlemen who had assisted him.

Mary, on receiving the tidings of this success, discovered neither joy nor sorrow. The passions, however, of the earl of Murray and his party were not yet completely gratified. Sir John Gordon was brought immediately to trial, confessed his guilt, and was con-

demned to suffer as a traitor. The sentence was accordingly executed, amidst a multitude of spectators, whose feelings were deeply affected, while they considered his immature death, the manliness of his spirit, and the vigour of his form. Adam Gordon, upon account of his tender age, was pardoned; and fines were levied from the other captives of rank according to their wealth. The lord Gordon, after the battle of Corrichie, fled to his father-in-law the duke of Chatelherault, and put himself under his protection; but was delivered up by that nobleman, all whose endeavours in his favour were ineffectual. He was convicted of treason, and condemned; but the queen was satisfied with confining him in prison. The dead body of the earl of Huntly was carried to Edinburgh, and kept without burial, till a charge of high treason was preferred against him before the three estates. An ostentatious display was made of his criminal enterprises, and a verdict of parliament pronounced his guilt. His estates, hereditary and moveable, were forfeited; his dignity, name, and memory, were pronounced to be extinct; his armorial ensigns were torn from the book of arms; and his posterity were rendered unable to enjoy any offices, honour, or rank, within the realm.

While these scenes were transacting, Mary, who was sincerely solicitous to establish a secure amity between the two kingdoms, opened a negotiation to effect an interview with Elizabeth. Secretary Maitland, whom she employed in this business, met with a most gracious reception at the court of London. The city of York was appointed as the place where the two queens should express their mutual love and affection, and bind themselves to each other in an indissoluble union; the day of their meeting was fixed; the fashion and articles of their interview were adjusted; and a safe-conduct into England was granted to the queen of Scots by Elizabeth. But in this advanced state of the treaty it was unexpectedly interrupted. The disturbances in France, the persecution of the Protestants there, and the dangerous consequence which threatened the reformed countries, seemed to require Elizabeth to be particularly on her guard, and to watch with eagerness the machinations of the adversaries of her religion. On these pretences she declined for a time the projected interview; sending to Mary with this apology Sir Henry Sidney, a minister of ability, whom she instructed to dive into the secret views of the Scottish queen. This was a severe disappointment to Mary; but it is reasonable to believe, that Elizabeth acted in the negotiation without sincerity, and on principles of policy. It was not her interest to admit into her kingdom a queen who had pretensions to her crown, and who might there strengthen them; who might raise the expectations of her Catholic subjects, and advance herself in their esteem; and who far surpassed her in beauty, and in the bewitching allurements of conversation and behaviour.

Amidst affairs of great moment, a matter of smaller consequence, but which is interesting in its circumstances, deserves to be recorded. Chatelard, a gentleman of family in Dauphiny, and a relation of the chevalier de Bayard, had been introduced to Queen Mary by the sieur Damville, the heir of the house of Montmorency. Polished manners, vivacity, attention to please, the talent of making verses, and an agreeable figure, were recommendations of this man. In the court they

Scotland.

663  
An inter-  
view pro-  
posed be-  
tween Ma-  
ry and Eli-  
zabeth, but  
in vain.

664  
Chatelard  
falls in love  
with the  
queen.

draw

Scotland. drew attention to him. He made himself necessary in all parties of pleasure at the palace. His assiduities drew on him the notice of the queen; and, at different times, she did him the honour of dancing with him. His complaisance became gradually more familiar. He entertained her with his wit and good humour; he made verses on her beauty and accomplishments; and her politeness and condescension instilled into him other sentiments than those of gratitude and reverence. He could not behold her charms without feeling their power: and instead of stifling in its birth the most dangerous of all the passions, he encouraged its growth. In an unhappy moment, he entered her apartment; and, concealing himself under her bed, waited the approach of night. While the queen was undressing, her maids discovered his situation, and gave her the alarm. Chatelard was dismissed with disgrace, but soon after received her pardon. The frenzy, however, of his love compelling him to repeat his crime, it was no longer proper to show any compassion to him. The delicate situation of Mary, the noise of these adventures, which had gone abroad, and the rude suspicions of her subjects, required that he should be tried for his offences and punished. This imprudent man was accordingly condemned to lose his head; and the sentence was put in execution.

665  
Is put to death.

666  
Mary inclines to a second marriage, and is addressed by a number of suitors. An. 1563.

The disagreeable circumstances in which Mary found herself involved from her quarrel with Elizabeth, the excessive bigotry and overbearing spirit of her Protestant subjects, together with the adventure of Chatelard, and the calumnies propagated in consequence of it, determined her to think of a second marriage. Her beauty and expectations of the crown of England, joined to the kingdom which she already possessed, brought her many suitors. She was addressed by the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the duke of Ferrara, Don Carlos of Spain, the archduke Charles of Austria, and the duke of Anjou. Her own inclination was to give the preference, among these illustrious lovers, to the prince of Spain; but her determination, from the first moment, was to make her wishes bend to other considerations, and to render her decision on this important point as agreeable as possible to Queen Elizabeth, to the English nation, and to the Protestants in both kingdoms. Her succession to the crown of England was the object nearest her heart; and Elizabeth, who wished to prevent her from marrying altogether, contrived to impress on her mind an opinion that any foreign alliance would greatly obstruct that much desired event. She therefore pitched on two of her own subjects, whom she successively recommended as fit matches for the queen of Scots; and she promised, that on her acceptance of either her right of inheritance should be inquired into and declared. Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was the first person proposed; and except a manly face and fine figure he had not one quality that could recommend him to the Scottish princess. Whilst Mary received this suitor with some degree of composure, she did not altogether repress her scorn. "She had heard good accounts (she owned) of the gentleman; but as Queen Elizabeth had said, that in proposing a husband to her, she would consult her honour, she asked what honour there could be in marrying a subject?" The English queen then proposed to Mary another suitor, left her thoughts should

return to a foreign alliance. This was Lord Darnley, of the house of Stuart itself, whose birth was almost equal to her own, and whom the Scottish princess was induced to accept as a husband by motives which we have detailed elsewhere. (See MARY.) Elizabeth, however, was not more sincere in this proposal than in the former; for after permitting Darnley and his father the earl of Lenox to visit Scotland merely with the view of diverting the attention of the queen from the continent, she threw, in the way of the marriage, every obstacle which art and violence could contrive. When she found Mary so much entangled, that she could scarcely retract or make any other choice than that of Darnley, Elizabeth attempted to prevent her from going farther; and now intimated her disapprobation of that marriage, which she herself had not only originally planned, but, in these latter stages, had forwarded by every means in her power. The whole council of Elizabeth declared against the marriage. Even from her own subjects Mary met with considerable opposition. An inveterate enmity had taken place between the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Lenox, in consequence of which the former deserted the court, and very few of the Hamiltons repaired to it. The lord James Stuart, now earl of Murray, fought to promote the match with Lord Dudley. In consequence of this he was treated openly with disrespect by the earl of Lenox; he lost the favour of his sovereign, and Darnley threatened him with his vengeance when he should be married to the queen. John Knox in the mean time behaved in the most furious manner, forgetting not only the meek and peaceable behaviour of a Christian, but the allegiance of a subject. This preacher even interfered with the marriage of his sovereign. He warned the nobility, that if they allowed a Papist or an infidel to obtain her person and the government of Scotland, they would be guilty, to the full extent of their power, of banishing Jesus Christ from the kingdom, of bringing down on it the vengeance of God, of being a curse to themselves, and of depriving their queen of all comfort and consolation. As Darnley was a Papist, he was of consequence execrated by the whole body of Protestants, laity as well as clergy; while, on the other hand, he was supported by the earls of Athol and Caithness, the lords Ruthven and Hume, and the whole Popish faction.

It was exceedingly unfortunate for the queen, that neither Lord Darnley himself, nor his father the earl of Lenox, had any talents for business; and as they naturally had the direction of the queen's affairs, it is no wonder that these were very ill managed. But a source of opposition, more violent than any imperfections of their own, rose against them in the attachment which they discovered to a person on whom the queen had of late bestowed her favour with an imprudent prodigality. David Rizzio from a mean origin had raised himself to distinguished eminence. He was born at Turin, where his father earned a subsistence as a musician. Varieties of situation and adventure, poverty, and misfortunes, had taught him experience. In the train of the count de Morette, the ambassador from the duke of Savoy, he had arrived in Scotland. The queen, desirous of completing her band of music, admitted him into her service. In this humble station he had the dexterity to attract her attention; and her French secretary falling into disgrace, from negligence and incapacity, he was promoted

Scotland.  
667  
She makes choice of Lord Darnley.

668  
Extravagant behaviour of John Knox.

669  
Account of David Rizzio.

to

Scotland. to discharge the duties of that office. A necessary and frequent admission to her company afforded him now the fullest opportunity of recommending himself to her; and while she approved his manners, she was sensible of his fidelity and his talents. His mind, however, was not sufficiently vigorous to bear such prosperity. Ambition grew on him with preferment. He interfered in affairs of moment, intruded himself into the conventions of the nobles at the palace, and was a candidate for greatness. The queen consulted him on the most difficult and important business, and intrusted him with real power. The suppleness, servility, and unbounded complaisance which had characterised his former condition, were exchanged for insolence, pride, and ostentation. He exceeded the most potent barons in the stateliness of his demeanour, the sumptuousness of his apparel, and the splendour of his retinue. The nobles, while they despised the lowness of his birth, and detested him as a foreigner and a favourite, were mortified with his grandeur, and insulted with his arrogance. Their anger and abhorrence were driven into fury; and while this undeserving minion, to uphold his power, courted Darnley, and with officious assiduities advanced his suit with the queen, he hastened not only his own ruin, but laid the foundation of cruel outrages and of public calamity.

670  
The earl of Murray loses the queen's favour.

To the earl of Murray the exaltation of Rizzio, so offensive in general to the nation, was humiliating in a more particular degree. His interference for the earl of Leicester, the partiality he entertained for Elizabeth, his connections with Secretary Cecil, and the favour he had shown to Knox, had all contributed to create in Mary a suspicion of his integrity. The practices of Darnley and Rizzio were thence the more effectual; and the fullest weight of their influence was employed to undermine his power. His passions and disgusts were violent; and in his mind he meditated revenge. Mary, aware of her critical situation, was solicitous to add to her strength. Bothwell, who had been imprisoned for conspiring against the life of the earl of Murray, and who had escaped from confinement, was recalled from France; the earl of Sutherland, an exile in Flanders, was invited home to receive his pardon; and George Gordon, the son of the earl of Huntly, was admitted to favour, and was soon reinstated in the wealth and honours of his family.

An. 1565.

As soon as Bothwell arrived, the earl of Murray insisted that he should be brought to trial for having plotted against his life, and for having broke from the place of his confinement. This was agreed to; and on the day of trial Murray made his appearance with 800 of his adherents. Bothwell did not choose to contend with such a formidable enemy; he therefore fled to France, and a protestation was made, importing that his fear of violence had been the cause of his flight. The queen commanded the judge not to pronounce sentence. Murray complained loudly of her partiality, and engaged more deeply in cabals with Queen Elizabeth. Darnley, in the mean time, pressed his suit with eagerness. The queen used her utmost endeavours to make Murray subscribe a paper expressing a consent to her marriage; but all was to no purpose. Many of the nobility, however, subscribed this paper; and she ventured to summon a convention of the estates at Stirling, to whom she opened the business of the marriage; and who approved

her choice, provided the Protestant should continue to be the established religion of the country.

In the mean time ambassadors arrived from England, with a message importing Elizabeth's entire disapprobation and disallowance of the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley. But to these ambassadors Mary replied only, that matters were gone too far to be recalled; and that Elizabeth had no solid cause of displeasure, since, by her advice, she had fixed her affections not on a foreigner, but on an Englishman; and since the person she favoured was descended of a distinguished lineage, and could boast of having in his veins the royal blood of both kingdoms. Immediately after this audience she created Lord Darnley a lord and a knight. The oath of knighthood was administered to him. He was made a baron and a banneret, and called *Lord Armanagh*. He was belted earl of Ross. He then promoted 14 gentlemen to the honour of knighthood, and did homage to the queen, without any reservation of duty to the crown of England, where his family had for a long time resided. His advancement to be duke of Albany was delayed for a short time; and this was so much resented by him, that, when informed of it by the lord Ruthven, he threatened to stab that nobleman.

In the mean time the day appointed for the assembly of parliament, which was finally to determine the subject of the marriage, was now approaching. The earl of Murray, encouraged by the apparent firmness of Elizabeth, goaded on by ambition, and alarmed with the approbation bestowed by the convention of the estates on the queen's choice of Lord Darnley, perceived that the moment was at hand when a decisive blow should be struck. To heighten the resentments of his friends, and to justify in some measure the violence of his projects, he affected to be under apprehensions of being assassinated by the lord Darnley. His fears were founded abroad; and he avoided going to Perth, where he affirmed that the plot against him was to be carried into execution. He courted the enemies of Darnley with unceasing assiduity; and united to him in a confederacy the duke of Chatelherault, and the earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn. It was not the sole object of their association to oppose the marriage. They engaged in more criminal enterprises. They meditated the death of the earl of Lenox and the lord Darnley; and while the queen was on the road to Calander place to visit the lord Livingston, they proposed to intercept her and to hold her in captivity. In this state of her humiliation, Murray was to advance himself to the government of the kingdom, under the character of its regent. But Mary having received intelligence of their conspiracy, the earl of Athol and the lord Ruthven suddenly raised 300 men to protect her in her journey. Defeated in this scheme, the earl of Murray and his associates did not relinquish their cabals. They projected new achievements; and the nation was filled with alarms, suspicions, and terror.

Amidst the arts employed by the Scottish malcontents to inflame the animosities of the nation, they forgot not to insist on the dangers which threatened the Protestant religion from the advancement of Lord Darnley, and from the rupture that must ensue with England. Letters were everywhere dispersed among the faithful, reminding them of what the eternal God had wrought for them in the abolition of idolatry, and ad-

671  
An association against the queen and Darnley.

672  
Disturbances raised by the Protestants.

Scotland. monishing them to oppose the restoration of the mass. A supplication was presented to the queen, complaining of idolaters, and insisting on their punishment. In the present juncture of affairs it was received with unusual respect; and Mary instructed the Popish ecclesiastics to abstain from giving offence of any kind to the Protestants. A priest, however, having celebrated the mass, was taken by the brethren, and exposed to the insults and fury of the populace at the market-place of Edinburgh, in the garments of his profession, and with the chalice in his hand; and the queen having given a check to this tumultuous proceeding, the Protestants, rising in their wrath, were the more confirmed in the belief that she meant to overthrow their religion. The most learned and able of the clergy held frequent consultations together; and while the nation was disturbed with dangerous ferment, the general assembly was called to deliberate on the affairs of the church. Their hope of success being proportioned to the difficulties in the situation of the queen, they were the less scrupulous in forming their resolutions; and the commissioners, whom they deputed to her, were ordered to demand a parliamentary ratification of their desires.

673 Their demands. They insisted, that the mass, with every remnant of popery, should be universally suppressed throughout the kingdom; that in this reformation, the queen's person and household should be included; and that all Papists and idolaters should be punished on conviction according to the laws. They contended, that persons of every description and degree should resort to the churches on Sunday, to join in prayers, and to attend to exhortations and sermons; that an independent provision should be assigned for the support of the present clergy, and for their successors; that all vacant benefices should be conferred on persons found qualified for the ministry, on the trial and examination of the superintendants; that no bishopric, abbey, priory, deanery, or other living, having many churches, should be bestowed on a single person; but that, the plurality of the foundation being dissolved, each church should be provided with a minister; that glebes and manes should be allotted for the residence of the ministers, and for the reparation of churches; that no charge in schools or universities, and no care of education, either public or private, should be intrusted to any person who was not able and sound in doctrine, and who was not approved by the superintendants; that all lands which had formerly been devoted to hospitality, should again be made subservient to it; that the lands and rents which formerly belonged to the monks of every order, with the annuities, alterages, obits, and the other emoluments which had appertained to priests, should be employed in the maintenance of the poor and the upholding of schools; that all horrible crimes, such as idolatry, blasphemy, breaking of the sabbath, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, the keeping of brothels, murder, and oppression, should be punished with severity; that judges should be appointed in every district, with powers to pronounce sentences and to execute them; and, in fine, that for the ease of the labouring husbandmen, some order should be devised concerning a reasonable payment of the tythes.

674 Moderation of the queen. To these requisitions, the queen made an answer full of moderation and humanity. She was ready to agree with the three estates in establishing the reformed reli-

gion over the subjects of Scotland; and she was steadily resolved not to hazard the life, the peace, or the fortune, of any person whatever on account of his opinions. As to herself and her household, she was persuaded that her people would not urge her to adopt tenets in contradiction to her own conscience, and thereby involve her in remorse and uneasiness. She had been educated and brought up in the Romish faith; she conceived it to be founded on the word of God; and she was desirous to continue in it. But, setting aside her belief and religious duty, she ventured to assure them, that she was convinced from political reasons, that it was her interest to maintain herself firm in the Catholic persuasion. By departing from it, she would forfeit the amity of the king of France, and that of other princes who were now strongly attached to her; and their disaffection could not be repaired or compensated by any new alliance. To her subjects she left the fullest liberty of conscience; and they could not surely refuse to their sovereign the same right and indulgence. With regard to the patronage of benefices, it was a prerogative and property which it would ill become her to violate. Her necessities, and the charge of her royal dignity, required her to retain in her hands the patrimony of the crown. After the purposes, however, of her station, and the exigencies of government, were satisfied, she could not object to a special assignment of revenue for the maintenance of the ministry; and, on the subject of the other articles which had been submitted to her, she was willing to be directed by the three estates of the kingdom, and to concur in the resolutions which should appear to them most reasonable and expedient.

675 The Protestants are displeased with her answer. The clergy, in a new assembly or convention, expressed great displeasure with this return to their address. They took the liberty of informing the queen, that the doctrines of the reformation which she refused to adopt, were the religion which had been revealed by Jesus Christ, and taught by his apostles. Popery was of all persuasions the least alluring, and had the fewest recommendations. In antiquity, consent of people, authority of princes, and number of profelytes, it was plainly inferior to Judaism. It did not even rest on a foundation so solid as the doctrines of the Koran. They required her, therefore, in the name of the eternal God, to embrace the means of attaining the truth, which were offered to her in the preaching of the word, or by the appointment of public disputations between them and their adversaries. The terrors of the mass were placed before her in all their deformity. The performer of it, the action itself, and the opinions expressed in it, were all pronounced to be equally abominable. To hear the mass, or to gaze on it, was to commit the complicated crimes of sacrilege, blasphemy, and idolatry. Her delicacy in not renouncing her opinions from the apprehension of offending the king of France and her other allies, they ridiculed as impertinent in the highest degree. They told her, that the true religion of Christ was the only means by which any confederacy could endure; and that it was far more precious than the alliance of any potentate whatever, as it would bring to her the friendship of the King of kings. As to patronages, being a portion of her patrimony, they intended not to defraud her of her rights: but it was their judgement, that the superintendants ought to make a trial of the qualifications of candidates for the ministry; and

Scotland. and as it was the duty of the patron to present a person to the benefice, it was the business of the church to manage his institution or collation. For without this restraint, there would be no security for the fitness of the incumbent; and if no trials or examinations of ministers took place, the church would be filled with misrule and ignorance. Nor was it right or just that her majesty should retain any part of the revenue of benefices; as it ought to be all employed for the uses of the clergy, for the purposes of education, and for the support of the poor. And as to her opinion, that a suitable assignment should be made for them, they could not but thank her with reverence: but they begged leave to solicit and importune her to condescend on the particulars of a proper scheme for this end, and to carry it into execution; and that, taking into due consideration the other articles of their demands, she would study to comply with them, and to do justice to the religious establishment of her people.

676  
They rise  
in arms,  
but are  
soon quell-  
ed.

From the fears of the people about their religion, disturbances and insurrections were unavoidable; and before Mary had given her answer to the petitions or address of the clergy, the Protestants, in a formidable number, had marched to St Leonard's Craig; and, dividing themselves into companies, had chosen captains to command them. But the leaders of this tumult being apprehended and committed to close custody, it subsided by degrees; and the queen, on the intercession of the magistrates of Edinburgh, instead of bringing them to trial, gave them a free pardon. To quiet, at the same time, the apprehensions which had gone abroad, and to controvert the insidious reports which had been industriously spread of her inclination to overturn the reformed doctrines, she repeatedly issued proclamations, assuring her subjects, that it was her fixed determination not to molest or disturb any person whatever on account of his religion or conscience; and that she had never presumed even to think of any innovation that might endanger the tranquillity or prejudice the happiness of the commonwealth.

677  
Intrigues of  
the rebel-  
lious nobles  
with Eliza-  
beth.

While Mary was conducting her affairs with discernment and ability, the earl of Murray and his confederates continued their consultations and intrigues. After their disappointment in the conspiracy against the queen and the lord Darnley, they perceived that their only hope of success or security depended on Elizabeth; and as Randolph had promised them her protection and assistance, they scrupled not to address a letter to her, explaining their views and situation. The pretences of their hostility to their sovereign which they affected to insist on, were her settled design of overturning the Protestant religion, and her rooted desire to break off all correspondence and amity with England. To prevent the accomplishment of these purposes, they said, was the object of their confederacy; and with her support and aid they did not doubt of being able effectually to advance the emolument and advantage of the two kingdoms. In the present state of their affairs, they applied not, however, for any supply of troops. An aid from her treasury only was now necessary to them; and they engaged to bestow her bounty in the manner most agreeable to her inclinations and her interests. The pleasure with which Elizabeth received their applications was equal to the aversion she had conceived against the queen of Scots. She not only granted them the re-

lief they requested, but assured them by Randolph of her esteem and favour while they should continue to uphold the reformed religion and the connection of the two nations. Flattered by her assurances and generosity, they were strenuous to gain partisans, and to disunite the friends of their sovereign; and while they were secretly preparing for rebellion, and for trying their strength in the field, they disseminated among the people the tenets, That a Papist could not legally be their king; that the queen was not at liberty of herself to make the choice of a husband; and that, in a matter so weighty, she ought to be entirely directed by the determination of the three estates assembled in parliament.

Elizabeth, at the same time, carrying her dissimulation to the most criminal extremity, commanded Randolph to ask an audience of Mary; and to counsel her to nourish no suspicions of the earl of Murray and his friends; to open her eyes to their sincerity and honour; and to call to mind, that as their services had hitherto preserved her kingdom in repose, her jealousies of them might kindle it into combustion, make the blood of her nobles flow, and hazard her person and her crown. Full of astonishment at a message so rude and improper, the queen of Scots desired him to inform his mistress, that she required not her instructions to distinguish between patriotism and treachery; that she was fully sensible when her will or purpose was resisted or obeyed; and that she possessed a power which was more than sufficient to repress and to punish the enormities and the crimes of her subjects. The English resident went now to the earl of Lenox, and the lord Darnley, and charged them to return to England. The former expressed an apprehension of the severity of his queen, and sought an assurance of her favour before he could venture to visit her dominions. The latter, exerting greater fortitude, told him, that he acknowledged no duty or obedience but to the queen of Scots. The resident treating this answer as disrespectful to Elizabeth, turned his back upon the lord Darnley, and retired without making any reverence, or bidding him adieu.

678  
Treachery-  
of Eliza-  
beth.

The behaviour of Elizabeth, so fierce and so perfidious, was well calculated to confirm all the intentions of Mary; and this, doubtless, was one of the motives by which she was actuated. But while the queen of Scots was eager to accomplish her marriage, she was not inattentive to the rising troubles of her country. The parliament which she had appointed could not now be held: it was therefore prorogued to a more distant period; and the violence of the times did not then permit it to assemble. By letters she invited to her, with all their retainers, the most powerful and most eminent of her subjects. Bothwell was again recalled from France; and by general proclamation she summoned to her standard the united force of her kingdom. The castle of Edinburgh was likewise amply provided with stores and ammunition, that, in the event of misfortunes, it might afford her a retreat and defence. The alacrity with which her subjects flocked to her from every quarter, informed her of her power and popularity; and while it struck Murray and his adherents with the danger to which they were exposed, it declared to them the opinion entertained by the nation of the iniquity and the selfishness of their proceedings.

On the 29th of July 1565, the ceremony of marriage



Scotland. riage between the queen and Lord Darnley was performed. The latter had been previously created duke of Albany. The day before the marriage, a proclamation was published, commanding him to be styled *king of the realm*, and that all letters after their marriage should be directed in the names of her husband and herself. The day after it, a new proclamation was issued confirming this act: he was pronounced king by the sound of trumpets, and associated with the queen in her government. This measure seems to have been the effect of the extreme love the queen had for her husband, which did not permit her to see that it was an infringement of the constitution of the kingdom; though perhaps she might also be urged to it by the pressing eagerness of Lord Darnley himself, and the partial councils of David Rizzio. The earl of Murray made loud complaints, remonstrated, that a king was imposed on the nation without the consent of the three estates, and called on the nation to arm against the beginnings of tyranny. The malecontents accordingly were immediately in arms; but their success was not answerable to their wishes. The bulk of the nation were satisfied with the good intentions of their sovereign, and she herself took the earliest opportunity of crushing the rebellion in its infancy. The earl of Murray was declared a traitor; and similar steps were taken with other chiefs of the rebels. She then took the field against them at the head of a considerable army: and having driven them from one place to another, obliged them at last to take refuge in England. Queen Elizabeth received them with that duplicity for which her conduct was so remarkable. Though she herself had countenanced, and even excited them to revolt, she refused to give an audience to their deputies. Nay, she even caused them to issue a public declaration, that neither she, nor any person in her name, had ever excited them to their rebellious practices. Yet, while the public behaviour of Elizabeth was so acrimonious, she afforded them a secure retreat in her kingdom, treated the earl of Murray in private with respect and kindness, and commanded the earl of Bedford to supply him with money. Mary, however, resolved to proceed against the rebels with an exemplary rigour. The submissions of the duke of Chatelherault alone, who had been less criminal than the rest, were attended to. But even the favour which he obtained was precarious and uncertain; for he was com-

679 Marriage of Mary with Lord Darnley.  
680 He is proclaimed king of Scotland.

681 The rebellious nobles driven into England.

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manded to use the pretence of sickness, and to pass for some time into foreign countries. A parliament was called; and a summons of treason being executed against the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, with others of the principal rebels, they were commanded to appear before the three estates; in default of which their lives and estates were declared forfeited.

In the mean time Throgmorton the English ambassador solicited the pardon of the rebels; which Mary was at first inclined to grant. By the persuasion of the court of France, however, she was not only induced to proceed against them with rigour, but acceded to the treaty of Bayonne, by which the destruction of the Protestants was determined. This measure filled the whole court with terror and dismay. The rebels were acquainted with the danger of their situation; and being now rendered desperate, they were ready to engage in the most atrocious designs. Unhappily, the situation of affairs in Scotland rendered the accomplishment of their purposes but too easy. Violent disputes had taken place between the queen and her husband. Her fondness had been excessive; but she soon perceived that the qualities of his mind were not proportioned to his personal accomplishments. He was proud, disdainful, and suspicious. No persuasions could correct his obstinacy; and he was at the same time giddy and obstinate, insolent and mean. The queen in consequence began to show an indifference towards him; which he took care to augment, by showing the like indifference towards her, and engaging in low intrigues and amours, indulging himself in dissipation and riot, &c. The desire of dominion was his ruling passion however; and the queen, finding his total incapacity for exercising his power to any good purpose, had excluded him from it altogether. He was therefore at present a proper object for the machinations of the rebels, and readily entered into an agreement with them to depose the queen; vainly thinking by that means to secure the crown to himself. As the parliament was soon to assemble, in which the rebels had every reason to believe that they would be condemned for high treason, it was necessary that the kingdom should be thrown into disorder before that time, otherwise their fate was inevitable. Practising on the imbecility of Darnley, they persuaded him that a criminal correspondence subsisted between the queen and David Rizzio (R). For this reason the king resolved on his destruction; and the

682 Mary accedes to the treaty of Bayonne.

683 Quarrels between the queen and her husband.

684 The king conspires the destruction of David Rizzio, with the rebellious nobles.

4 X conspirators

(R) That there subsisted a criminal intercourse between Mary and Rizzio is a scandal which is now given up by her enemies. It seems to rest on the authority of Buchanan and Knox; and their evidence in this case is clearly of no weight, not only from their being the strenuous partisans of her adversaries, but from the multitude of falsehoods which they anxiously detail to calumniate her. The love she felt for Darnley was extreme, and their acquaintance commenced a month or two after the appointment of Rizzio to be her secretary for French affairs. She became pregnant soon after her marriage; and it was during her pregnancy that Rizzio was assassinated. These are striking presumptions in her favour. And what seems to put her innocence out of all question, is the silence of the spies and residents of Elizabeth with regard to this pretended amour; for, if there had been any thing real in it, they could not have made their court to their queen more effectually than by declaring to her its particulars; and their want of delicacy, so observable in other circumstances, would have induced them on this occasion to give the greatest foulness and deformity to their information.

It appears that Rizzio was ill-favoured, and of a disagreeable form. Buchanan says of him, "Non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum destruebat. *Hist. Scot.* lib. xvii. This expression is very strong; but it would have little weight if other authors had not concurred in giving a similar description of Rizzio. In a book intitled, "Le Livre de la Morte de la Reyne d'Ecosse, and printed in the year 1587, he is said to be "disgracié de corps." *Causin, ap. Jebb, p. 37.* This work, too, while it records the unkindness of nature to his person, has observed, that he

Scotland.

conspirators hoped thus not only to get an indemnity to themselves, but to effect a total revolution at court, and the entire humiliation of Bothwel, Huntly, and Athol, who were the associates of Rizzio. In order to save themselves, however, they engaged the king to subscribe a bond, affirming that the project of assassinating Rizzio was altogether of his own devising; acknowledging that he had solicited them to take a part in it, from the apprehensions that resistance might be made to him; and agreeing, on the word and honour of a prince, to protect and secure them against every hazard and injury to which they might be exposed from the achievement of his enterprise. Having procured this security, and having allured the earl of Lenox the king's father to approve of their measures, they adjusted the method of the projected murder; and dispatched a messenger to the English frontier, advertising the earl of Murray and the rebels of their intentions, and inviting them to return to the court.

685  
Rizzio  
cruelly  
murdered.

On the 9th day of March, about seven o'clock in the evening, armed men, to the number of 500, surrounded the palace of Holyroodhouse. The earl of Morton and the lord Lindsay entered the court of the palace, with 160 persons. The queen was in her chamber at supper, having in her company her natural sister the countess of Argyle, her natural brother Robert commendator of Holyroodhouse, Beton of Creich master of the household, Arthur Erskine, and David Rizzio. The king entering the apartment, seated himself by her side. He was followed by the lord Ruthven, who being wasted with sickness, and cased in armour, exhibited an appearance that was hideous and terrible. Four ruffians attended him. In a hollow voice he commanded Rizzio to leave a place which did not become him. The queen, in astonishment and consternation, applied to the king to unfold to her this mysterious enterprise. He affected ignorance. She ordered Ruthven from her presence, under the penalty of treason; declaring at the same time, that if Rizzio had committed any crime, she would produce him before the parliament, and punish him according to the laws. Ruthven drawing his dagger, advanced towards Rizzio. The queen rose to make an exertion of her authority. The unfortunate stranger laid hold of her garments, crying out for justice and mercy. Other conspirators, rushing into the chamber, overturned the table, and increased the dismay and confusion. Loaded pistols were presented to the bosom of the queen. The king held her in his arms. George Douglas, snatching the dagger of his sovereign, plunged it into the body of Rizzio. The wounded and screaming victim was dragged into the antichamber; and so eager were the assassins to complete their work, that he was torn and mangled with 56 wounds.

While the queen was pressing the king to satisfy her inquiries into the meaning of a deed so execrable, Ruth-

ven returned into their presence. She gave a full vent to indignation and reproach. Ruthven, with an intolerable coldness and deliberation, informed her, that Rizzio had been put to death by the counsel of her husband, whom he had dishonoured; and that by the persuasion of this minion she had refused the crown-matrimonial to the king, had engaged to re-establish the ancient religion, had resolved to punish the earl of Murray and his friends, and had entrusted her confidence to Bothwel and Huntly, who were traitors. The king, taking the part of Ruthven, remonstrated against her proceedings, and complained that from the time of her familiarity with Rizzio, she had neither regarded, nor entertained, nor trusted him. His suspicions and ingratitude shocked and tortured her. His connection with the conspirators gave her an ominous anxiety. Apprehensions of outrages still more atrocious invaded her. In these agitated and miserable moments she did not lose herself in the helplessness of sorrow. The loss of her spirit communicated relief to her; and wiping away her tears, she exclaimed, that it was not now a season for lamentation, but for revenge.

The earls of Huntly, Bothwel, and Athol, the lords Fleming and Levingston, and Sir James Balfour, who were obnoxious to the conspirators, and at this time in the palace, found all resistance vain. Some of them eluding the vigilance of Morton, made their escape; and others were allowed to retire. The provost and magistrates of Edinburgh getting intelligence of the tumult, ordered the alarm bell to be rung. The citizens, apprehensive and anxious, approached in crowds to inquire into the welfare of their sovereign; but she was not permitted to address herself to them. The conspirators told her, that if she presumed to make any harangue, they would "cut her in pieces, and cast her over the walls." The king called to the people that she was well, and commanded them to disperse. The queen was shut up in her chamber, uncertain of her fate, and without the consolation or attendance of her women.

686  
The queen  
confined  
and threat-  
ened.

In the morning a proclamation was issued by the king, without the knowledge of his queen, prohibiting the meeting of parliament, and ordering the members to retire from the city. The rebellious lords now returned from England, and arrived at Edinburgh within 24 hours after the assassination of Rizzio. The queen, knowing of how much consequence it was for her to gain the earl of Murray, invited him to wait on her. Notwithstanding the extreme provocation which she had met with, Mary so far commanded her passions, that she gave him a favourable reception. After informing him of the rudeness and severity of the treatment she had received, the queen observed, that if he had remained in friendship with her at home, he would have protected her against such excesses of hardship

687  
She endeavours  
in vain to gain  
the earl of  
Murray.

he was in his old age when he made a figure in the court of Mary. "Elle traittoit ordinairement avec David Riccio son secretaire, homme aagé et prudent, qui possedoit son oreille." *Ibid.* And other authors give their testimonies to the same purpose.

It is probable that the panegyrist of Mary exaggerate somewhat the imperfections as well as the good qualities of Rizzio. But there seems in general to be no reason to doubt his fidelity and talents, any more than his ugliness and senility. He had therefore a better title to be her secretary than her lover. It is an absurdity to think that a queen so young and beautiful would yield herself to deformity and old age.

Scotland. hardship and insult. Murray, with a hypocritical compassion, shed abundance of tears; while the queen seemed to entertain no doubt of his sincerity, but gave him room to hope for a full pardon of all his offences. In the mean time, however, the conspirators held frequent consultations together, and in these it was debated, whether they should hold the queen in perpetual captivity, or put her to death; or whether they should content themselves with committing her to close custody in Stirling castle till they should obtain a parliamentary sanction to their proceedings, establish the Protestant religion by the total overthrow of the mass, and invest the king with the crown-matrimonial and the government of the kingdom.

688  
But prevails on the king to abandon the cause of the conspirators.

Mary now began to perceive the full extent of her wretchedness; and therefore, as her last resource, applied to the king, whom she treated with all those blandishments usually employed by the fair sex when they want to gain the ascendancy over the other. The king, who, with all his faults, had a natural facility of temper, was easily gained over. The conspirators were alarmed at his coldness, and endeavoured to fill his mind with fears concerning the duplicity of his wife: but, finding they could not gain their point, they at last began to treat for an accommodation. The king brought them a message, importing, that Mary was disposed to bury in oblivion all memory of their transgressions; and he offered to conduct them into her presence. The earls of Murray and Morton, with the lord Ruthven, attended him into her presence; and, falling on their knees before the queen, made their apologies and submissions. She commanded them to rise; and having desired them to recollect her abhorrence of cruelty and rapacity, she assured them with a gracious air, that instead of designing to forfeit their lives, and possess herself of their estates, she was inclined to receive them into favour, and to grant a full pardon, not only to the nobles who had come from England, but to those who had assassinated David Rizzio. They were accordingly ordered to prepare the bonds for their security and forgiveness, which the queen promised to take the earliest opportunity of subscribing; but in the mean time the king observed, that the conspirators ought to remove the guards which they had placed around the queen, that all suspicion of restraint might be removed. This measure could not with any propriety be opposed, and the guards were therefore dismissed; on which the queen, that very night, left her palace at midnight, and took the road to Dunbar, accompanied by the king and a few attendants.

689  
And escapes from them.

The news of the queen's escape threw the conspirators into the utmost consternation; as she immediately issued proclamations for her subjects to attend her in arms, and was powerfully supported. They sent therefore the lord Semple, requesting, with the utmost humility, her subscription to their deeds of pardon and security; but to this message she returned an unfavourable answer, and advanced towards Edinburgh with an army of 8000 men. The conspirators now fled with the utmost precipitation. Even John Knox retired to Kyle till the storm should blow over. On the queen's arrival at Edinburgh, a privy council was instantly called, in which the conspirators were charged to appear as guilty of murder and treason; their places of strength were ordered to be surrendered to the officers of the

690  
The rebellious nobles are declared traitors.

Scotland. crown; and their estates and possessions were made liable to confiscation and forfeiture.

But while the queen was thus eager to punish the conspirators, she was sensible that so many of the nobility, by uniting in a common cause, might raise a powerful party in opposition to her; for which reason she endeavoured to detach the earl of Murray from the rest, by making him offers of pardon. Sir James Melvil accordingly pledged himself to produce his pardon and that of his adherents, if he would separate from Morton and the conspirators. He accordingly became cold and distant to them, and exclaimed against the murder as a most execrable action; but notwithstanding his affected anger, when the conspirators fled to England, he furnished them with letters of recommendation to the earl of Bedford. After the flight of the conspirators, the king thought it necessary for him to deny his having any share in the action. He therefore embraced an opportunity of declaring to the privy council his total ignorance of the conspiracy against Rizzio; and not satisfied with this, he, by public proclamations at the market-place of the capital, and over the whole kingdom, protested to the people at large that he had never bestowed on it, in any degree, the sanction of his command, consent, assistance, or approbation.

691  
Shameful prevarication of the king.

In the mean time the queen granted a full and ample pardon to the earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, and their adherents; but towards the conspirators she remained inexorable. This lenity, to Murray especially, proved a source of the greatest inquietude to the queen; for this nobleman, blind to every motive of action distinct from his own ambition, began to contrive new plots, which, though disappointed for a time, soon operated to the destruction of the queen, and almost to the ruin of the nation.

692  
Murray and some others of the rebels are pardoned.

On the 19th of June 1566, the queen was delivered of a prince, who received the name of *James*. This happy event, however, did not extinguish the quarrel betwixt her and the king. His desire to intrude himself into her authority, and to fix a stain on her honour, his share in the murder of Rizzio, and his extreme meanness in publicly denying it, could not fail to impress her with the strongest sentiments of detestation and contempt. Unable, however, totally to divest herself of regard for him, her behaviour, though cold and distant, was yet decent and respectful. Castelnau, at this time ambassador extraordinary from France, conceived that a reconciliation might be effected, and employed himself for some time in this friendly office. Nor were his endeavours altogether ineffectual. The king and queen spent two nights together; and proceeded, in company with each other, to Meggatland in Tweeddale, in order to enjoy the diversion of the chace, attended by the earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Murray, and other nobles. Thence they passed to Edinburgh, and then took the road to Stirling. Had the king been endowed with any prudence, he would have made the best use of this opportunity to regain the affections of his queen; but, instead of this, finding that he was not immediately intrusted with power, his peevishness suggested to him the design of going abroad. To Monsieur du Croc, the French resident, who had attended Mary at Stirling, he ventured to communicate his chimerical project. This statesman represented to him its wildness and inefficacy; and could scarcely believe that he was seri-

693  
Birth of James VI. 19th June 1566.

694  
A partial reconciliation between the king and queen.

695  
Which is broken off by the king's imprudent behaviour.

Scotland.

ous. To his father the earl of Lenox, who paid him a visit at this place immediately on Mary's departure from it, he likewise communicated his intention; and all the intreaties, arguments, and remonstrances of this nobleman to make him relinquish his design, were without success. He provided a vessel, and kept it in readiness to carry him from Scotland. The earl of Lenox, after returning to Glasgow, where he usually resided, gave way to his paternal anxieties, and solicited the queen by letter to interfere with her authority and persuasions; and on the evening of the day in which she received this dispatch, the king alighted at Holywoodhouse. But the names of the nobles who were with the queen being announced to him, he objected to three of them, and insisted that they should be ordered to depart, before he would enter within the gates of the palace. The queen, alarmed with a demeanour so rude and so unwarrantable, condescended to leave her company and her palace to meet him; and it was with great difficulty that she was able to entice him into her own apartment. There he remained with her during the night. She communicated to him his father's letter, and employed every art and blandishment to engage him to abandon his perverse design. But he gave her no satisfaction. He was unmoved by her kindness; and his silence, dejection, and peevishness, augmented her distress. In the morning, she called her privy council to assemble in the palace, and invited to her Monsieur du Croc the French envoy. By the bishop of Ross she explained the intention of the king, and made known the dispatch of the earl of Lenox. The privy council were urgent to know the reasons of a voyage that appeared to them so inexplicable; and earnestly pressed the king to unobscure himself. If his resolution proceeded from discontent, and if there were persons in the kingdom who had given him causes of offence, they assured him, that they were ready, upon his information, to take the necessary steps to make him easy and happy. No quality or rank should exempt those from inquiry and punishment who had committed misdemeanors against him. This, they said, consisted with his honour, with the honour of the queen, and with their own. If, however, he had received no sufficient provocation to justify his behaviour, and if he had no title to complain of actual injuries, they admonished him to remember, that his flight from a queen so beautiful, and from a kingdom so ancient and noble, would expose him to the greatest ridicule and disgrace. They pointed out the happiness of his fortune, and counselled him not to part lightly with all its flattering advantages. The queen herself, taking his hand into hers, and pressing it with affection, besought him to say by what act or deed she had unfortunately induced him to conceive so fatal a purpose. Her memory did not reproach her with any crime or indiscretion which affected his honour or her integrity: yet if, without any design on her part, she had incurred his displeasure, she was disposed to atone for it; and she begged him to speak with entire freedom, and not in any degree to spare her. Monsieur du Croc then addressed him, and employed his interest and persuasions to make him reveal his inquietudes. But all this respectful attention and ceremonious duty were ineffectual. Obstinately froward, he refused to confess that he intended any voyage, and made no mention of any reasons of discontent.

Scotland.

He yet acknowledged with readiness, that he could not with justice accuse the queen of any injury or offence. Oppressed with uneasiness and perturbation, he prepared to retire; and, turning to her, said, "Adieu, Madam! you shall not see me for a long time." He then bowed to the French envoy, and to the lords of the privy council.

He hastened back to Stirling, leaving the queen and her council in surprise and astonishment. They resolved to watch his motions with anxiety, and could not conjecture what step he would take. Mary, to prevent the effect of rumours to her disadvantage, dispatched a courier to advertise the king of France and the queen-mother of his conduct. It was not possible that a prince so meanly endowed with ability could make any impression on her allies. Nor did it appear to be in his power to excite any domestic insurrection or disturbance. He was universally odious; and, at this time, the queen was in the highest estimation with the great body of her subjects. After passing some days at Stirling, he addressed a letter to the queen, in which, after hinting at his design of going abroad, he insinuated his reasons of complaint. He was not trusted by her with authority, and she was no longer studious to advance him to honour. He was without attendants; and the nobility had deserted him. Her answer was sensible and temperate. She called to his remembrance the distinctions she had conferred on him, the uses to which he had put the credit and reputation accruing from them, and the heinous offences he had encouraged in her subjects. Though the plotters against Rizzio had represented him as the leader of their enterprize, she had yet abstained from any accusation of him, and had even behaved as if she believed not his participation in the guilt of that project. As to the defects of his retinue, she had uniformly offered him the attendance of her own servants. As to the nobility, they were the supports of the throne, and independent of it. Their countenance was not to be commanded, but won. He had discovered too much stateliness towards them; and they were the proper judges of the deportment that became them. If he wished for consequence, it was his duty to pay them court and attention; and whenever he should procure and conciliate their regard and commendation, she would be happy to give him all the importance that belonged to him.

In the mean time, the earls of Murray and Bothwell were industriously striving to widen the breach between the king and queen, and at the same time to foment the division between the king and his nobles. The earl of Morton excited disturbances on the borders; and as no settled peace had taken place there since Mary's marriage, there was the greatest reason to believe that he would succeed in his attempts. Proclamations were therefore issued by the queen to call her subjects to arms; and she proceeded to Jedburgh, to hold justice-courts, and to punish traitors and disorderly persons. In the course of this journey she was taken dangerously ill; inasmuch that, believing her death to be at hand, she called for the bishop of Ross, telling him to bear witness, that she had persevered in that religion in which she had been nourished and brought up; taking the promise of her nobles, that after her death they would open her last will and testament, and pay to it that respect which consisted with the laws, recommending

696  
Mary falls  
sick, but  
recovers.

Scotland. mending to them the rights of her infant son, and the charge of educating him in such a manner as might enable him to rule the kingdom of his ancestors with honour; and intreating them to abstain from all cruelty and persecution of her Catholic subjects. Notwithstanding her apprehensions, however, and the extreme violence of her distemper, the queen at last recovered perfect health. As soon as she was able to travel, she visited Kelso, Werk castle, Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn. The licentious borderers, on the first news of her recovery, laid down their arms. Being desirous to take a view of Berwick, the queen advanced to it with an attendance of 1000 horse. Sir John Forster, the deputy warden of the English marches, came forth with a numerous retinue, and conducted her to the most proper station for surveying it, and paid her all the honours in his power, by a full discharge of the artillery, and other demonstrations of joy. Continuing her journey, she passed to Eymouth, Dunbar, and Tantallon; proceeding thence to Craigmillar castle, where she proposed to remain till the time of the baptism of the prince, which was soon to be celebrated at Stirling.

<sup>697</sup> Unkindness of the king. During the severe sickness of the queen, her husband kept himself at a distance: but when she was so far recovered as to be out of danger, he made his appearance; and being received with some coldness and formality, he retired suddenly to Stirling. This cruel neglect was a most sensible mortification to her; and while she suffered from his ingratitude and haughtiness, she was not without suspicion that he was attempting to disturb the tranquillity of her government. She was seized with a settled melancholy; and, in her anguish, often wished for death to put a period to her existence. Her nobles, who were caballing against her, remarked her condition, and took advantage of it. Bothwel, who had already recommended himself by his services, redoubled his efforts to heighten the favour which these services had induced her to conceive for him. At this time, it is probable, he sought to gain the affection of the queen, with a view to marry her himself, providing a divorce from her husband could be obtained; and this was now become the subject of consultation by Murray and his associates. After much deliberation, the queen herself was made acquainted with this project; and it was told her, that provided she would pardon the earl of Morton and his associates, the means should be found of effecting the divorce. This was urged as a matter of state by the earls of Murray, Lethington, Argyle, and Huntly; and the queen was invited to consider it as an affair which might be managed without any interference on her part. The queen replied, that she would listen to them, on condition that the divorce could be obtained according to law, and that it should not be prejudicial to her son: but if they meant to effect their purpose by a disregard to these points, they must think no more of it; for rather than consent to their views, she would endure all the torments, and abide by all the perils, to which her situation exposed her.

<sup>698</sup> A divorce is proposed. Lethington on this, in the name of the rest, engaged to rid her of her husband, without prejudice to her son; words which could not be understood otherwise than as pointing at murder. Lord Murray (added he), who is here present, scrupulous as he is, will

Scotland. connive; and behold our proceedings without opening his lips. The queen immediately made answer, "I desire that you will do nothing from which any stain may be fixed upon my honour or conscience; and I therefore require the matter to rest as it is, till God of his goodness send relief: What you think to be of service to me may turn out to my displeasure and harm."

It appears, however, that from this moment a plot was formed by Murray, Bothwel, and Lethington, against the life of Darnley, and by some of them probably against the queen herself; and that Morton, who with the other conspirators against Rizzio had received a pardon, was closely associated with them in their nefarious designs. That profligate peer was, in his way to Scotland, met at Whittingham by Bothwel and the secretary. They proposed to him the murder of the king, and required his assistance, alleging that the queen herself consented to the deed; to which Morton by his own account replied, that he was disposed to concur, provided he were sure of acting under any authority from her; but Bothwel and Lethington having returned to Edinburgh, on purpose to obtain such an authority, sent him back a message, That the queen would not permit any conversation on that matter.

In the mean time, preparations were made for the baptism of the young prince; to assist at which the queen left Craigmillar and went to Stirling. The ceremony was performed on the 17th of December 1566. After the baptismal rites were performed, the name and titles of the prince were three times proclaimed by the heralds to the sound of trumpets. He was called and designed, Charles James, James Charles, prince and steward of Scotland, duke of Rothesay, earl of Carrick, lord of the Isles, and baron of Renfrew. Amidst the scenes of joy displayed on this occasion, the king showed his folly more than he had ever done. As Elizabeth did not mean to acknowledge him in his sovereign capacity, it was consistent neither with the dignity of the queen, nor his own, that he should be present at the baptism. He did not indeed present himself either at the ceremony or the entertainments and masquerades with which it was accompanied. At this juncture, however, though he had often kept at a greater distance before, he took up his residence at Stirling, as if he meant to offend the queen, and to expose their quarrels to the world. Du Croc, who was inclined to be favourable to him, was so struck with the impropriety of his behaviour, that he affected to have instructions from France to avoid all intercourse with him: and when the king proposed to pay him a visit, he took the liberty of informing him, that there were two passages in his chamber; and that if his majesty should enter by the one, he should be constrained to go out by the other.

While he resided at Stirling, the king confined himself chiefly to his chamber. His strange behaviour to the queen did not give the public any favourable idea of him; and as the earl of Murray and his faction took care to augment the general odium, no court was paid to him by foreign ambassadors. His situation, therefore, was exceedingly uncomfortable; but though he must have been conscious of his folly and imprudence, he did not alter his conduct. In a fullen humour he left Stirling, and proceeded to Glasgow. Here he fell sick,

Scotland.

<sup>699</sup> Aburd behaviour of the king.

An. 1567.

Scotland.  
700  
He falls  
sick,

sick, with such symptoms as seemed to indicate poison. He was tormented with violent pains, and his body was covered over with pustules of a bluish colour; so that his death was daily expected. Mary did not repay his coldness to her by negligence. She set out immediately for Glasgow, and waited on him with all the assiduity of an affectionate wife, until he recovered: after which she returned with him to Edinburgh; and as the low situation of the palace of Holyroodhouse was thought to render it unhealthy, the king was lodged in a house which had been appointed for the superior of the church, called *St Mary's in the Fields*. This house stood on an high ground, and in a salubrious air; and here she staid with him some days.— Here the conspirators thought proper to finish their plot in the most execrable manner. On the 10th of February 1567, about two o'clock in the morning, the house where the king resided was blown up by gunpowder. The explosion alarming the inhabitants, excited a general curiosity, and brought multitudes to the place whence it proceeded. The king was found dead and naked in an adjoining field, with a servant who used to sleep in the same apartment with him. On neither was there any mark of fire or other external injury.

701  
and is mur-  
dered.

702  
Attempts  
to discover  
the mur-  
derers.

The queen was in the palace of Holyroodhouse, taking the diversion of a masked ball, which was given to honour the marriage of a favourite domestic, when the news of the king's death was brought to her. She showed the utmost grief, and appeared exasperated to the last degree against the perpetrators of a deed at once so shocking and barbarous. The most exprest and peremptory orders were given to inquire after the perpetrators by every possible method. A proclamation was issued by the privy-council, assuring the people, that the queen and nobility would leave nothing undone to discover the murderers of the king. It offered the sum of 2000*l.* and an annuity for life, to any person who should give information of the devisers, counsellors, and perpetrators of the murder; and it held out this reward, and the promise of a full pardon, to the conspirator who should make a free confession of his own guilt, and that of the confederates. On the fourth day after this proclamation was published, a placard was affixed to the gate of the city prison, af-

firming, that the earl of Bothwel, James Balfour, David Chalmers, and black John Spence, were the murderers. No name, however, was subscribed to this intelligence, nor was any demand made for the proffered reward; so that it was difficult to know whether this advertisement had been dictated by a spirit of calumny or the love of justice.

Scotland.

In the mean time, the earl of Murray conducted himself with his usual circumspection and artifice. On a pretence that his wife was dangerously sick at his castle in Fife, he, the day before the murder, obtained the queen's permission to pay her a visit. By this means he proposed to prevent all suspicion whatever of his guilt. He was so full, however, of the intended project, that while he was proceeding on his journey, he observed to the person who accompanied him, "This night, before morning, the lord Darnley shall lose his life." When the blow was struck, he returned to Edinburgh to carry on his practices. Among foreign nations, the domestic disputes of the queen and her husband being fully known, it was with the greater ease that reports could be propagated to her disadvantage. Letters were dispatched to France, expressing, in fervent terms, her participation in the murder. In England, the ministers and courtiers of Elizabeth could not flatter that princess more agreeably, than by industriously detracting from the honour and the virtue of the Scottish queen. Within her own dominions a similar spirit of outrage exerted itself, and not without success. As her reconciliation with her husband could not be unknown to her own subjects, it was regarded as dissimulation and treachery. The Protestant clergy, who were her most determined enemies, possessed a leading direction among the populace; and they were the friends and the partizans of the earl of Murray. Open declamations from the pulpit were made against Bothwel, and strong insinuations and biting surmises were thrown out against the queen. Papers were dispersed, making her a party with Bothwel in the murder. Every art was employed to provoke the frenzy of the people. Voices, interrupting the silence of the night, proclaimed the infamy of Bothwel; and portraits of the regicides were circulated over the kingdom (s).

703  
Strong pre-  
sumption of  
the guilt  
of the earl  
of Murray.

704  
He accuses  
the queen.

The queen's determination, however, to scrutinize  
the

(s) In the article *MARY Queen of Scotland*, we have stated at considerable length the arguments for and against the participation in the murder of Darnley, of which Mary has been accused. As we have concluded that article with the arguments brought by one of her ablest accusers, justice and impartiality require that we should embrace this only opportunity of presenting our readers with the arguments in favour of the queen, brought forward by her most recent defender Mr Chalmers. "Mary herself (says Mr Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 850.) seems to have been the only person of any consequence who was unacquainted with a design which was attended with such mighty consequence; yet has it been a question of debate, from that age to the present, whether Mary had been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley her husband. The prejudice of the late Lord Orford led him to say, that a plea of such length serves rather to confirm than weaken the evidence for the fact. But, it had been an observation full as just, as well as logical, to have said that, since the criminations of 240 years have not proved her guilty, she ought to be fairly deemed innocent. Party has, however, entered into this question, with its usual unfairness; and it is supposed, that she ought to be presumed to be guilty, rather than innocent; it being more likely that a wife would murder her husband, and a queen act as an assassin, than that nobles who were accustomed to crimes, should perform this atrocious action, and cast the offence from themselves on an innocent person. The same inconsistency argues that, as she was educated in a corrupt court, she must have been corrupt; yet, her sonnet and her sorrow for the loss of Francis, her first husband, attest that her heart was yet uncontaminated with corruption; and the steadiness with which she adhered to her faith, amidst 20 years persecution, evinces that religion had

its

Scotland. the matter was unabated; and to the earl of Lenox, the king's father, she paid an attention which he could have expected from her only on an emergency of this kind. Having pressed her by letter to the most diligent inquiry after the regicides, she returned an answer so completely to his wishes, that he was fully convinced of the sincerity and rigour with which she intended to proceed against them: and he urged her to assemble the three estates, that their advice might direct the order and manner of their trial. She wrote to him, that an assembly of the estates was already proclaimed; and that it was her earnest and determined will and purpose, that no step should be neglected that could promote the advancement and execution of justice. Yielding to his anxieties, he addressed her again, intreating that the trial might not be delayed; observing, that it was not a matter of parliamentary inquiry; advising that it would be more proper to proceed with the greatest expedition; and urging her to commit to prison all the persons who had been named and described in the papers and placards which had been put up in the public places of the city. The queen informed him, that although she had thought it expedient to call a meeting of parliament at this juncture, it was not her intention that the proceedings against the regicides should be delayed till it was actually assembled. As to the placards and papers to which he alluded, they were so numerous and contradictory, that she could not well determine on which to act: but if he would condescend to mention the names which, in his opinion, were most suspicious, she would instantly command that those steps should be taken which the laws directed and authorized. He named the earl of Bothwel, James Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spence, Francis Sebastian, John de Burdeaux, and Joseph the brother of David Rizzio; and assured her majesty, that his suspicions of these persons

705  
The queen determines to find out and punish the murderers

706  
Lenox accuses several persons,

were weighty and strong. In reply to his information, Mary gave him her solemn promise, that the persons he had named should undergo their trial in conformity to the laws, and that they should be punished according to the measure of their guilt: and she invited him to leave his retirement immediately, and meet her at court, that he might witness the proceedings against them, and the zeal with which she was animated to perform the part that became her.

Scotland.

While the queen carried on this correspondence with the earl of Lenox, she resided partly at the palace of the lord Seton, at the distance of a few miles from the capital, and partly at Holyroodhouse. By the time that she sent her invitation to him, she was residing in the capital. She delayed not to confer with her counsellors, and to lay before them the letters of the earl of Lenox. Bothwel was earnest in his protestations of innocence; and he even expressed his wish for a trial, that he might establish his integrity. No facts indicated his guilt; there had appeared no accuser but the earl of Lenox; and no witnesses had been found who could establish his criminality. Her privy-council seemed to her to be firmly persuaded that he was suffering under the malice of defamation. Murray, Morton, and Lethington, whatever their private machinations might be, were publicly his most strenuous defenders; and they explained the behaviour of the earl of Lenox to be the effect of hatred and jealousy against a nobleman who had outrun him so far in the career of ambition. But though all the arts of Murray and Bothwel, Morton and Lethington, were exerted to the utmost to mislead the queen, they were not able to withhold her from adopting the conduct which was the most proper and the most honourable to her. It was her own ardent desire that the regicides should be punished; she had given her solemn promise to the earl of Lenox, that the persons whom he suspected should

its proper influence upon her soul. Hitherto, in this argument, no positive evidence has been adduced to prove her guilt; and therefore she ought to be acquitted as innocent. But at length certain *letters, sonnets, and contracts* between Mary and Bothwel, have been introduced as proofs of a guilty intercourse, rather than a direct participation in the crime; and those *letters, sonnets, and contracts*, were first produced by the earl of Morton, the queen's chancellor for life, who pretended to have found them in the custody of Dalgliesh, a servant of Bothwel. Yet this wretched magistrate had committed murder and treason at the assassination of Rizzio; he knew of the design to assassinate Darnley, yet he concealed it, and was thereby guilty of misprison; he knew of the crime, and was of course a participant, for which he was brought to the scaffold, where he acknowledged his crimes; now, this convicted criminal would not be admitted as a witness in any court of justice within Great Britain; and the production of such documents by such a wretch, at such a time, casts strong suspicion on such papers, which were contaminated by his guilty touch. When those suspicious epistles were first introduced into the privy-council, they appeared, as the register asserts, to have been written and subscribed by her own hand, and sent to James Earl of Bothwel. When those *previe letters* were first brought into the Scottish parliament, they appear only to have been heale written with her own hand, as the record evinces, and not subscribed by her. When those dubious letters were first produced before the commissioners at York, for judging of the proofs of her guilt, they seem to have been superscribed to Bothwel; yet, they afterwards appeared before Elizabeth's commissioners at Westminster, without any superscription to any man; and those letters finally appear to have been neither subscribed by Mary, nor superscribed to Bothwel. When those letters were first produced before the privy-council of Scotland, they were written in the Scottish language; so they appeared to the commissioners at York; but when they were produced to the commissioners at Westminster, they were written in French. The whole thus appears to have been a *juggle* of state, to cozen the people into obedience. The sonnets and contracts have been equally convicted, by their own contents, of forgery. I have read the whole controversy on the genuineness or forgery of those documents; I have ransacked the Paper office for information on this interesting subject, and there does not appear to me to be a tittle of evidence, exclusive of those despicable forgeries, to prove that Mary Stuart had any knowledge of the murder of her husband."

Scotland. should be prosecuted; and amidst all the appearances in favour of Bothwel, and all the influence employed to serve him, it is to be regarded as a striking proof of her honour, vigour, and ability, that she could accomplish this measure. An order of the privy-council was accordingly made, which directed, that the earl of Bothwel, and all the persons named by Lenox, should be brought to trial for the murder of the king, and that the laws of the land should be carried into execution. The 12th of April was appointed for the trial. A general invitation was given to all persons to prefer their accusations. The earl of Lenox was formally cited to do himself justice, by appearing in the high court of justiciary, and by coming forward to make known the guilt of the culprits.

707  
and is invited to prove his accusations.

In the mean time, it was proper to repress that spirit of outrage which had manifested itself against the queen. No discoveries, however, were made, except against James Murray, brother to Sir William Murray of Tulibardin, who at different times had published placards injurious to her. He was charged to appear before the privy-council: but refusing to obey its citation, it was made a capital offence for any commander of a vessel to convey him out of the kingdom; and the resolution was taken to punish him with an exemplary severity. Effecting his escape, however, he avoided the punishment due to his repeated and detestable acts of calumny and treason.

708  
He is intimidated,

The day for the trial of Bothwel approached. The conspirators, notwithstanding their power, were not without apprehensions. Their preparations, however, for their safety had been anxious; and, among other practices, they neglected not to attempt to infuse a panic into the earl of Lenox. They were favoured by his consciousness of his unpopularity, and his want of strength, by his timidity and his spirit of jealousy. Suspicions of the queen's guilt were insinuated; and the dangers to which he might be exposed by insisting on the trial were placed before him in the strongest colours. He was sensible of her aversion to him; and his weakness and the sovereign authority were contrasted. His friends concurred with his enemies to intimidate him, from the spirit of flattery, or from a real belief that his situation was critical. By the time he reached Stirling on his way to Edinburgh, his fears predominated. He made a full stop. He was no longer in haste to proceed against the regicides. He addressed a letter to the queen, in which he said he had fallen into such sickness, that he could not travel; and he affirmed, that he had not time to prepare for the trial and to assemble his friends. He complained, too, that Bothwel and his accomplices had not been committed to custody; he insisted, that this step should be taken; and he requested, that a more distant day might be appointed for the trial. After the lengths to which matters had been carried, this conduct was most improper; and it is only to be accounted for from terror or caprice. His indisposition was affected; he had been invited by Mary to wait on her at Edinburgh at an early period, to concert his measures; and the delay he asked was contradictory to his former intreaties. After the invitation sent to him, he might have relied with safety on the protection of the queen, without any gathering of his friends; from the time of her private intimation to him, and of the legal citations of her officers, there had passed a period more than suf-

709  
and wishes to defer the trial;

Scotland. ficient for the purpose of calling them together; and indeed to suppose that there was any necessity for their assistance, was an insult to government, and a matter of high indecency. There was more justice in the complaint, that the earl of Bothwel and his accomplices had not been taken into custody; and yet even in this peculiarity he was to blame in a great degree. For he had not observed the precaution of that previous display of evidence, known in the Scottish law under the term of a precognition, which is common in all grosser offences, and which the weighty circumstances of the present case rendered so necessary as a foundation for the confinement and conviction of the criminals.

An application for the delay of a trial so important, on the night immediately preceding the day slated for it, and reciting inconclusive reasons, could not with propriety be attended to. The privy-council refused the demand of the earl of Lenox. The court of justiciary was assembled. The earl of Argyle acted in his character of lord high justiciary; and was aided by four assessors, Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dumfermline, and the lord Lindfay, with Mr James Macgill and Mr Henry Balnaves, two lords of session. The indictment was read, and the earls of Bothwel and Lenox were called on; the one as the defender, the other as the accuser. Bothwel, who had come to court with an attendance of his vassals, and a band of mercenary soldiers, did not fail to present himself: but Lenox appeared only by his servant Robert Cunyngham; who, after apologizing for his absence, from the shortness of the time, and the want of the presence of his friends, desired that a new day might be appointed for the trial; and protested, that if the jury should now enter on the business, they should incur the guilt of a wilful error, and their verdict be of no force or authority.

710  
but his petition is refused.

This remonstrance and protestation did not appear to the court of sufficient importance to interrupt the trial. They paid a greater respect to the letters of the earl of Lenox to the queen insisting on an immediate prosecution, and to the consequent order of the privy-council. The jury, who consisted of men of rank and condition, after considering and reasoning on the indictment for a considerable time, were unanimous in acquitting Bothwel of all share and knowledge of the king's murder. The machinations however of Morton, which we have mentioned in the life of MARY, were so apparent, that the earl of Caithness, the chancellor of the assize, made a declaration in their name and his own, that no wilful error ought to be imputed to them for their verdict; no proof, vouchers, or evidence, to confirm or support the criminal charge having been submitted to them. At the same time, he offered a protestation for himself, that there was a mistake in the indictment, the 9th day of February instead of the 10th being expressed in it as the date of the murder. It is not to be doubted, that this flaw in the indictment was a matter of design, and with a view to the advantage of Bothwel, if the earl of Lenox had made his appearance against him. And it has been remarked as most indecent and suspicious, that soldiers in arms should have accompanied him to the court of justice; that during the trial, the earl of Morton stood by his side to give him countenance and to assist him; and that the four assessors to the chief justiciary were warm and strenuous friends to the earl of Murray.

711  
Bothwel acquitted.

Immediately



<sup>Scotland.</sup> Immediately after his trial, Bothwel placed a writing in a conspicuous place, subscribed by him, challenging to single combat, any person of equal rank with himself, who should dare to affirm that he was guilty of the king's murder. To this challenge an answer was published, in which the defiance was accepted, on the condition that security should be given for a fair and equal conflict: but no name being subscribed to this paper, it was not understood to correspond with the law of arms; and of consequence no step was taken for the fighting of the duel. Two days after parliament met, and there the party of Bothwel appeared equally formidable. The verdict in his favour was allowed to be true and just. He was continued in his high offices; and obtained a parliamentary ratification of the place of keeper of Dunbar castle, with the estates connected with it; and other favours were conferred on Murray, with the rest of the nobles suspected as accomplices in the murder.

<sup>712</sup>  
He aspires at a marriage with the queen.

A very short time after the final acquittal of Bothwel, he began to give a greater scope to his ambition, and conceived hopes of gaining the queen in marriage. It has been already remarked, that he had insidiously endeavoured to gain her affection during the lifetime of her husband; but though he might have succeeded in this, the recent death of the king in such a shocking manner, and the strong suspicions which must unavoidably still rest on him, notwithstanding the trial he had undergone, necessarily prevented him from making his addresses to her openly. He therefore endeavoured to gain the nobility over to his side; which having done one by one, by means of great promises, he invited them to an entertainment, where they agreed to ratify a deed pointing him out to the queen as a person worthy of her hand, and expressing their resolute determination to support him in his pretensions. This extraordinary bond was accordingly executed; and Murray's name was the first in the list of subscribers, in order to decoy others to sign after him; but that he might appear innocent of what he knew was to follow, he had, before any use was made of the bond, asked and obtained the queen's permission to go to France. In his way thither he visited the court of Elizabeth, where he did not fail to confirm all the reports which had arisen to the disadvantage of Mary; and he now circulated the intelligence that she was soon to be married to Bothwel. Her partizans in England were exceedingly alarmed; and even Queen Elizabeth herself addressed a letter to her, in which she cautioned her not to afford such a mischievous handle to the malice of her enemies.

<sup>713</sup>  
Is recommended by the nobility as a proper husband for her.

<sup>714</sup>  
Schemes of the earl of Murray to hurt the queen.

<sup>715</sup>  
Bothwel carries her off to Dunbar.

Mary, on the dissolution of parliament, had gone to Stirling to visit the young prince. Bothwel, armed with the bond of the nobles, assembled 1000 horse, under the pretence of protecting the borders, of which he was the warden; and meeting her on her return to her capital, dismissed her attendants, and carried her to his castle of Dunbar. The arts which he used there to effect the accomplishment of his wishes we have mentioned under another article, (see MARY). But having been married only six months before to Lady Jane Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntly, it was necessary to procure a divorce before he could marry the queen. This was easily obtained. The parties were cousins within the prohibited degrees, and had not obtained a dispensation from Rome. Their marriage, therefore, in the opinion of the queen and her Catholic subjects, was illi-

cit, and a profane mockery of the sacrament of the church. The husband had also been unfaithful; so that two actions of divorce were instituted. The lady commenced a suit against him in the court of the commissaries, charging him as guilty of adultery with one of her maids. The earl himself brought a suit against his wife before the court of the archbishop of St Andrew's, on the plea of consanguinity. By both courts their marriage was declared to be void; and thus two sentences of divorce were pronounced.

<sup>Scotland.</sup>  
<sup>716</sup>  
Is divorced from his wife.

Bothwel now conducted the queen from Dunbar to her capital. But instead of attending her to her palace of Holyroodhouse, his jealousy and apprehensions induced him to lodge her in the castle of Edinburgh, where he could hold her in security against any attempt of his enemies. To give satisfaction, however, to her people, and to convince them that she was no longer a prisoner, a public declaration on her part appeared to be a measure of expediency. She presented herself, therefore, in the court of session; the lords chancellor and president, the judges, and other persons of distinction, being present. After observing that some stop had been put to the administration of justice on account of her being detained at Dunbar against her will by the lord Bothwel, she declared, that though she had been highly offended with the outrage offered to her, she was yet inclined to forget it. His courteousness, the sense she entertained of his past services to the state, and the hope with which she was impressed of his zeal and activity for the future, compelled her to give him and his accomplices in her imprisonment a full and complete pardon. She at the same time desired them to take notice, that she was now at liberty; and that she proposed, in consideration of his merits, to take an early opportunity of promoting him to new and distinguished honours.

It was understood that the queen was immediately to advance him to be her husband. The order was given for the proclamation of the banns; and Mr John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was desired to perform this ceremony. But though the order was subscribed by the queen, he absolutely refused his compliance without the authority of the church. The brethren, after long reasonings, granted him permission to discharge this duty. His scruples and delicacy were not yet removed. He protested, that, in obeying their desire, he should be allowed to speak his own sentiments concerning the marriage, and that his publishing the banns should infer no obligation in him to officiate in the solemnity. In his congregation, accordingly, before a crowded audience, and in the presence of several noblemen and privy-counsellors, he declared that the marriage of the queen and the earl of Bothwel was unlawful, and that he was prepared to give his reasons for this opinion to the parties themselves. He added, that if leave to do this was denied him, he would either abstain altogether from proclaiming the banns, or take the liberty, after proclaiming them, to inform his people of the causes of his disapprobation of the marriage. He answered, that the church had prohibited the marriage of persons separated for adultery; and that the divorce between him and his wife must have been owing to collusion; since the sentence had been given with precipitation, and since his new contract was so sudden; and he objected to him the abduction and ravishment of the queen, and his suspicion of his guilt of the king's murder.

<sup>717</sup>  
Banns of the marriage proclaimed.

<sup>718</sup>  
Fortitude of Mr John Craig.

Scotland.

der. This bold language drew no reply from Bothwel that was satisfactory to Mr Craig, or that could intimidate him. He proclaimed in his church the bans of marriage; but he told the congregation, that he discharged the suggestions of his conscience in pronouncing it to be a detestable and scandalous engagement. He expressed the sorrow he felt for the conduct of the nobility, who seemed to approve it from their flattery or silence; and addressing himself to the faithful, he besought them to pray to the Almighty that he would turn a resolution intended against law, reason, and religion, into a comfort and benefit to the church and the kingdom. These freedoms were too great to pass unnoticed. Mr Craig was ordered again to attend the privy-council; and he was reprimanded with severity for exceeding the bounds of his commission. He had the courage to defend himself. His commission, he said, was founded in the word of God, positive law, and natural reason; and on the foundation of these topics he was about to prove that the marriage must be universally odious, when the earl of Bothwel commanded him to be silent. The privy-council, struck with the vigour of the man, and apprehensive of the public discontents, did not dare to inflict any punishment on him; and this victory over Bothwel, while it heightened all the suspicions against him, served to encourage the enemies of the queen, and to undermine the respect of her subjects.

719  
The marriage celebrated.

Mary, before she gave her hand to Bothwel, created him duke of Orkney. The ceremony was performed in a private manner, after the rules of the Popish church; but, to gratify the people, it was likewise solemnized publicly according to the Protestant rites by Adam Bothwel bishop of Orkney, an ecclesiastic who had renounced the episcopal order for the reformation. It was celebrated with little pomp and festivity. Many of the nobles had retired to their seats in the country; and those who attended were thoughtful and sad. Du Croc, the French ambassador, sensible that the match would be displeasing to his court, refused to give his countenance to the solemnity. There were no acclamations of the common people. Mary herself was not unconscious of the imprudence of the choice she had made, and looked back with surprise and sorrow to the train of circumstances which had conducted her to this fatal event. Forsaken by her nobles, and imprisoned at Dunbar, she was in so perilous a situation that no remedy could save her honour but death. Her marriage was the immediate and necessary consequence of that situation (T). It was the point for which her enemies had laboured with a wicked and relentless policy.

Mary was unfortunate in her second marriage, but much more so in her third. Bothwel had neither talents for business nor affection for his wife. Ambitious

and jealous to the last degree, he fought only to establish himself in power, while his fears and jealousies made him take the most improper means. The marriage had already thrown the nation into a ferment; and the least improper exercise of power, or indeed an appearance of it, even on the part of the queen, would have been sufficient to ruin them both for ever. Perhaps the only thing which at this juncture could have pacified the people, would have been the total abolition of Popery, which they had often required. But this was not thought of. Instead of taking any step to please the people, Bothwel endeavoured to force the earl of Mar to deliver up the young prince to his custody.—This was sufficient to rekindle the flame which had hitherto been smothered, and make it burst out with all its violence. It was universally believed that Bothwel, who had been the murderer of the father, designed also to take away the life of the son, and the queen was thought to participate in all his crimes. The earl of Murray now took advantage of the queen's unfortunate situation to aggrandize himself and effect her ruin. After having visited the English court, he proceeded to France, where he assiduously disseminated all the reports against the queen which were injurious to her reputation; and where, without being exposed to suspicion, he was able to maintain a close correspondence with his friends Morton and Lethington, and to inspire their machinations. His associates, true to his ambition and their own, had promoted all the schemes of Bothwel on the queen with a power and influence which insured their success. In confederacy with the earl of Murray, they had conspired with him to murder the king. Assisted with the weight of the earl of Murray, they had managed his trial, and promoted the verdict by which he was acquitted. By the same arts, and with the same views, they had joined with him to procure the bond of the nobles recommending him to the queen as a husband, asserting his integrity and innocence, recounting his noble qualities, expressing an unalterable resolution to support the marriage against every opposer and adversary, and recording a wish that a defection from its objects and purposes should be branded with everlasting infamy, and held out as a most faithless and perjured treachery. When the end, however, was accomplished for which they had been so zealous, and when the marriage of the queen was actually celebrated, they laid aside the pretence of friendship, and were in haste to entitle themselves to the ignominy which they had invited to fall on them. The murder of the king, the guilt of Bothwell, his acquittal, his divorce, and his marriage, became the topics of their complaints and declamation. On the foundation of this hated marriage, they even ventured privately to infer the privy of the

Scotland.

720  
Bothwel attempts to get the young prince into his power.

721  
Murray calumniates the queen.

(T) "The queen (says Melvil) could not but marry him; seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will." *Memoirs*, p. 159. In the following passage, from a writer of great authority, in our history, this topic is touched with no less exactness, but with greater delicacy. "After Mary had remained a fortnight under the power of a daring profligate adventurer," says Lord Hailes, "few foreign princes would have solicited her hand. Some of her subjects might still have fought that honour; but her compliance would have been humiliating beyond measure. It would have left her at the mercy of a capricious husband; it would have exposed her to the disgrace of being reproached, in some fullen hour, for the adventure at Dunbar. Mary was so situated, at this critical period, that she was reduced to this horrid alternative, either to remain in a friendless and hazardous celibacy, or to yield her hand to Bothwel." *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, p. 204.

Scotland. queen to all his iniquitous transactions; and this step seemed doubtless, to the mass of her own subjects and to more distant observers, a strong confirmation of all the former suspicions to her shame which had been circulated with so much artifice. Their imputations and devices excited against her, both at home and abroad, the most indignant and humiliating odium. Amidst the ruins of her fame, they thought of burying for ever her tranquillity and peace; and in the convulsions which they had meditated, they were already anticipating the downfall of Bothwel, and snatching at the crown that tottered on her head.

722  
A confederacy formed against Bothwel.

But while this cabal were prosecuting their private ends, several noblemen, not less remarkable for their virtue than their rank, were eager to vindicate the national integrity and honour. The earl of Athol, on the king's murder, had retired from court, and was waiting for a proper season to take revenge on the regicides. The earl of Mar, uneasy under the charge of the young prince, was solicitous to make himself strong, that he might guard him from injury. Motives so patriotic and honourable drew applause and partisans. It was sufficient to mention them. By private conference and debate, an association was insensibly formed to punish the murderers of the king, and to protect the person of the prince. Morton and Lethington encouraged and promoted a combination from which they might derive so much advantage. A convention was accordingly appointed at Stirling, for the purpose of consulting on the measures which it was most expedient to pursue. They agreed to take an early opportunity of appearing in the field; and when they separated, it was to collect their retainers, and to inspire their passions.

Of this confederacy, the leading men were the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn; the lords Hume, Semple, and Lindsay; the barons Kirkcaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and Maitland of Lethington. The earl of Bothwel was sensible, that if he was to sit on a throne, he must wade to it through blood. By his advice, two proclamations were issued in the name of the queen, under pretence of suppressing insurrections and depredations on the borders. By the former, she called together in arms, on an early day, the earls, barons, and freeholders of the districts of Forfar and Perth, Strathern and Menteith, Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife. By the latter she charged the greater and lesser baronage, with all the inferior proprietors of the shires of Linlithgow and Edinburgh, and the constabulary of Haddington and Berwick, to prepare immediately for war, and to keep themselves in readiness to march at her order. These military preparations admonished the association to be firm and active, and added to the public inquietudes and discontents. The rumours against the queen were most violent and loud. It was said, that she meant to overturn the constitution and the laws; that she had been careless of the health of her son, and was altogether indifferent about his preservation; that she had separated herself from the councils and assistance of her nobles; and that she wished to make her whim or discretion the only rule of her government. Agitated with the hazardous state of her affairs, she published a new proclamation, in which she employed herself to refute these accusations; and in which she took the opportunity of

723  
The queen prepares for war;

expressing in a very forcible manner, not only her attachment to her people and the laws, but the fond affection which she bore to the prince, whom she considered as the chief joy of her life, and without whom all her days would be comfortless.

The declarations of the queen were treated with scorn. The nobles, abounding in vassals, and having the hearts of the people, were soon in a situation to take the field. They were advancing to the capital. The royal army was not yet assembled; and the queen and Bothwel suspected that the castle of Edinburgh would shut its gates upon them. The fidelity of Sir James Balfour the deputy-governor had been shaken by the practices of the earl of Mar and Sir James Melvil. Mary left her palace of Holyroodhouse, and was conducted to Borthwick castle. The associated lords, informed of her flight, took the road to this fortress with 2000 horse. The lord Hume, by a rapid march, presented himself before it with the division under his command: but being unable to guard all its avenues, the queen and Bothwel effected their escape to Dunbar; where the strength of the fortifications gave them a full security against a surprize.

724  
But is obliged to fly to Dunbar.

On this second disappointment, the nobles resolved to enter Edinburgh, and to augment their strength by new partisans. The earl of Huntly and the lord Boyd were here on the side of the queen, with the archbishop of St Andrew's, the bishop of Ross, and the abbot of Kilwinning. They endeavoured to animate the inhabitants to defend their town and the cause of their sovereign. But the tide of popularity was favourable to the confederated lords. The magistrates ordered the gates of the city to be shut; but no farther resistance was intended. The lords, forcing St Mary's port, found an easy admittance, and took possession of the capital. The earl of Huntly and the queen's friends fled to the castle, to Sir James Balfour, who had been the confidant of Bothwel, and who agreed to protect them, although he was now concluding a treaty with the insurgents.

The associated lords now formed themselves into a council, and circulated a proclamation. By this paper they declared, that the queen being detained in captivity, was able neither to govern her realm, nor to command a proper trial to be taken of the king's murder. In an emergency so pressing, they had not despaired of their country; but were determined to deliver the queen from bondage, to protect the person of the prince, to revenge the murder of the king, and to vindicate the nation from the infamy which it had hitherto suffered through the impunity of the regicides. They therefore commanded in general all the subjects of Scotland, and the burghesses and inhabitants of Edinburgh in particular, to take part with them, and to join in the advancement of purposes so beneficial and salutary. The day after they published this proclamation, they issued another in terms that were stronger and more resolute. They definitively expressed their persuasion of Bothwel's guilt in the rape and seduction of the queen, and in his perpetration of the king's murder, in order to accomplish his marriage. They inculcated it as their firm opinion, that Bothwel had now formed the design of murdering the young prince, and that he was collecting troops with this view. Addressing themselves, therefore, to all the subjects of the realm, whether they resided in counties

725  
Proclamation by the rebellious nobles.

Scotland. or in boroughs, they invited them to come forward to their standard; and desired them to remember, that all persons who should presume to disobey them would be treated as enemies and traitors.

Bothwel, in the mean time, was not inactive; and the proclamations of the queen had brought many of her vassals to her assistance. Four thousand combatants ranged themselves on her side. This force might augment as she approached to her capital; and Bothwel was impatient to put his fortunes to the issue of a battle. He left the strong castle of Dunbar, where the nobles were not prepared to assail him, and where he might have remained in safety till they dispersed; for their proclamations were not so successful as they had expected; their provisions and stores were scanty; and the zeal of the common people, unsupported by prosperity, would soon have abated. Imprudent precipitation served them in a most effectual manner. When the queen had reached Gladsmuir, she ordered a manifesto to be read to her army, and to be circulated among her subjects. By this paper, she replied to the proclamations of the confederated nobles, and charged them with treachery and rebellion. She treated their reasons of hostility as mere pretences, and as inventions which could not bear to be examined. As to the king's murder, she protested, that she herself was fully determined to revenge it, if she could be so fortunate as to discover its perpetrators. With regard to the bondage from which they were so desirous to relieve her, she observed, that it was a falsehood so notorious, that the simplest of her subjects could confute it; for her marriage had been celebrated in a public manner, and the nobles could scarcely have forgotten that they had subscribed a bond recommending Bothwel to be her husband. With regard to the industrious defamations of this nobleman, it was urged, that he had discovered the utmost solicitude to establish his innocence. He had invited a scrutiny into his guilt; the justice of his country had absolved him; the three estates assembled in parliament were satisfied with the proceedings of his judges and jury; and he had offered to maintain his quarrel against any person whatever who was equal to him in rank and of an honest reputation. The nobles, she said, to give a fair appearance to their treason, pretended, that Bothwel had schemed the destruction of the prince, and that they were in arms to protect him. The prince, however, was actually in their own custody; the use they made of him was that of a cover to their perfidiousness; and the real purposes by which they were animated, were the overthrow of her greatness, the ruin of her posterity, and the usurpation of the royal authority. She therefore entreated the aid of her faithful subjects; and as the prize of their valorous service, she held out to them the estates and possessions of the rebels.

The associated nobles, pleased with the approach of the queen, put themselves in motion. In the city of Edinburgh they had received an addition to their force; and it happened that the Scottish officer who commanded the companies, which, in this period, the king of Denmark was permitted to enlist in Scotland, had been gained to assist them. He had just completed his levies; and he turned them against the queen. The nobles, after advancing to Musselburgh, refreshed their troops. Intelligence was brought that the queen was on her march. The two armies were nearly equal in num-

bers; but the preference, in point of valour and discipline, belonged decisively to the soldiers of the nobles. The queen posted herself on the top of Carberry hill. The lords, taking a circuit to humour the ground, seemed to be retreating to Dalkeith; but wheeling about, they approached to give her battle. They were ranged in two divisions. The one was commanded by the earl of Morton and the lord Hume; the other by the earls of Athol, Marr, and Glencairn, with the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Sempil, and Sanquhar. Bothwel was the leader of the royal forces; and the lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, served under him.

It was not without apprehensions that Mary surveyed the formidable appearance of her enemies. Du Croc, the French ambassador, hastened to interpose his good offices, and to attempt an accommodation. He assured the nobles of the peaceful inclinations of the queen; and that the generosity of her nature disposed her not only to forgive their present insurrection, but to forget all their former transgressions. The earl of Morton informed him, that they had not armed themselves against the queen, but against the murderer of the late king; and that if she would surrender him up to them, or command him to leave her, they would consent to return to their duty. The earl of Glencairn desired him to observe, that the extremity to which they had proceeded might have instructed him that they meant not to ask pardon for any offences they had committed, but that they were resolved to take cognizance of injuries which had provoked their displeasure. This aspiring language confounded Du Croc, who had been accustomed to the worshipful submissions which are paid to a despot. He conceived that all negotiation was fruitless, and withdrew from the field in the expectation that the sword would immediately give its law and determine every difference.

Mary was full of perturbation and distress. The state into which she had been brought by Bothwel did not fail to engage her serious reflection. It was with infinite regret that she considered the consequences of her situation at Dunbar. Nor had his behaviour since her marriage contributed to allay her inquietudes. The violence of his passions, his suspicions, and his guilt, had induced him to surround her with his creatures, and to treat her with insult and indignity. She had been almost constantly in tears. His demeanor, which was generally rude and indecent, was often savage and brutal. At different times his provocations were so insulting, that she had even attempted to arm her hand against her life, and was desirous of relieving her wretchedness by spilling her blood. On this account, she was now encompassed with dangers. Her crown was in hazard. Under unhappy agitations, she rode through the ranks of her army, and found her soldiers dispirited. Whatever respect they might entertain for her, they had none for her husband. His own retainers and dependents only were willing to fight for him. He endeavoured to awaken the royal army to valour, by throwing down the gauntlet of defiance against any of his adversaries who should dare to encounter him. His challenge was instantly accepted by Kirkaldy of Grange, and by Murray of Tullibardin. He objected that they were not peers. The lord Lindsay discovered the greatest impatience to engage him, and his offer was admitted; but the queen interposing her prerogative, prohibited

726  
Manifesto  
by the  
queen.

Scotland.  
727  
The two  
armies ap-  
proach  
each other.

728  
Du Croc  
negotiates  
with the  
rebels.

729  
Bothwel  
challenged  
to single  
combat.

the

Scotland. the combat. All the pride and hopes of Bothwel funk within him. His soldiers in small parties were secretly abandoning their standards. It was equally perilous to the queen to fight or to fly. The most prudent expedient for her was to capitulate. She desired to confer with Kirkaldy of Grange, who remonstrated to her against the guilt and wickedness of Bothwel, and counselled her to abandon him. She expressed her willingness to dismiss him on condition that the lords would acknowledge their allegiance and continue in it. Kirkaldy passed to the nobles, and received their authority to assure her that they would honour, serve, and obey her as their prince and sovereign. He communicated this intelligence to her. She advised Bothwel to provide for his safety by flight; and Kirkaldy admonished him not to neglect this opportunity of effecting his escape. Overwhelmed with shame, disappointment, terror, remorse, and despair, this miserable victim of ambition and guilt turned his eyes to her for the last time. To Kirkaldy of Grange she stretched out her hand: he kissed it; and taking the bridle of her horse, conducted her towards the nobles. They were approaching her with becoming reverence. She said to them, "I am come, my lords, to express my respect, and to conclude our agreement; I am ready to be instructed by the wisdom of your counsels; and I am confident that you will treat me as your sovereign." The earl of Morton, in the name of the confederacy, ratified their promises, and addressed her in these words: "Madam, you are here among us in your proper place; and we will pay to you as much honour, service, and obedience, as ever in any former period was offered by the nobility to the princes your predecessors."

730  
He is obliged to fly.

731  
Mary surrenders herself to the rebels.

732  
By whom she is cruelly used.

This gleam of sunshine was soon overcast. She remained not many hours in the camp, till the common soldiers, instigated by her enemies, presumed to insult her with the most unseemly reproaches. They exclaimed indignantly against her as the murderer of her husband. They reviled her as a lewd adulteress in the most open manner, and in language the coarsest and most opprobrious. The nobility forgot their promises, and seemed to have neither honour nor humanity. She had changed one miserable scene for a distress that was deeper and more hopeless. They surrounded her with guards, and conducted her to her capital. She was carried along its streets, and shown to her people in captivity and sadness. She cried out to them to commiserate and protect her. They withheld their pity, and afforded her no protection. Even new insults were offered to her. The lowest of the populace, whom the declamations of the clergy had driven into rage and madness, vied with the soldiery in the licentious outrage of invective and execration. She besought Maitland to solicit the lords to repress the insupportable atrocity of her treatment. She conjured him to let them know, that she would submit herself implicitly to the determination of parliament. Her intreaties and her sufferings made no impression on the nobles. They continued the savage cruelty of their demeanour. She implored, as the last request she would prefer to them, that they would lead her to her palace. This consolation, too, was refused to her. They wished to accustom her subjects to behold her in disgrace, and to teach them to triumph over her misfortunes. In the most mortifying and afflicting hour she had ever ex-

perienced, oppressed with fatigue, and disfigured with dust and sorrow, they shut her up in the house of the lord provost: leaving her to revolve in her anxious and agitated mind the indignities she had already endured, and to suffer in anticipation the calamities they might yet inflict on her.

The malice of Morton and his adherents was still far from being gratified. In the morning, when the queen looked from the window of the apartment to which she had been confined, she perceived a white banner displayed in such a manner as to fix her attention. There was delineated on it the body of the late king stretched at the foot of a tree, and the prince on his knees before it, with a label from his mouth, containing this prayer, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" This abominable banner revived all the bitterness of her afflictions. The curiosity of the people drew them to a scene so new and so affecting. She exclaimed against the treachery of her nobles; and she begged the spectators to relieve her from their tyranny. The eventful story of the preceding day had thrown her capital into a ferment. The citizens of a better condition crowded to behold the degraded majesty of their sovereign. Her state of humiliation, so opposite to the grandeur from which she had fallen, moved them with compassion and sympathy. They heard her tale, and were filled with indignation. Her lamentations, her disorder, her beauty, all stimulated their ardour for her deliverance. It was announced to the nobles, that the tide of popular favour had turned towards the queen. They hastened to appear before her, and to assure her, with smiles and courtesy, that they were immediately to conduct her to her palace, and to reinstate her in her royalty. Imposing on her credulous nature, and that beautiful humanity which characterized her even in the most melancholy situations of her life, they prevailed with her to inform the people, that she was pacified, and that she wished them to disperse. They separated in obedience to her desire. The nobles now conveyed her to Holyroodhouse. But nothing could be farther from their intentions than her re-establishment in liberty and grandeur. They held a council, in which they deliberated concerning the manner in which they ought to dispose of her. It was resolved, that she should be confined during her life in the fortress of Lochleven; and they subscribed an order for her commitment.

733  
The common people take her part;

734  
But by the advice of the nobles she dismisses them.

A resolution so sudden, so perfidious, and so tyrannical, filled Mary with the utmost astonishment, and drew from her the most bitter complaints and exclamations. Kirkaldy of Grange, perceiving with surprise the lengths to which the nobles had proceeded, felt his honour take the alarm for the part he had acted at their desire. He expostulated with them on their breach of trust, and censured the extreme rigour of the queen's treatment. They counselled him to rely on the integrity of their motives; spoke of her passion for Bothwel as most vehement, and insisted on the danger of intrusting her with power. He was not convinced by their speeches; and earnestly recommended lenient and moderate measures. Discreet admonitions, he said, could not fail of impressing her with a full sense of the hazards and inconveniences of an improper passion, and a little time would cure her of it. They assured him, that when it appeared that she detested Bothwel, and had

735  
She is defended by Kirkaldy of Grange.

Scotland.

736  
But he is  
silenced by  
a forgery of  
the nobles.

had utterly abandoned his interests, they would think of kindness and moderation. But this, they urged, could scarcely be expected; for they had recently intercepted a letter from her to this nobleman, in which she expressed, in the strongest terms, the warmth of her love, and her fixed purpose never to forsake him (U). Kirkaldy was desired to peruse this letter; and he pressed them no longer with his remonstrances. The queen, in the mean time, sent a message to this generous soldier, complaining of the cruelty of her nobles, and reminding him that they had violated their engagements. He instantly addressed an answer to it, recounting the reproaches he had made to them; stating his advice; describing the surprise with which he had read her intercepted letter; and conjuring her to renounce and forget a most wicked and flagitious man, and, by this victory over herself, to regain the love and respect of her subjects. The device of a letter from her to Bothwell completed the amazement of the queen. So unprincipled a contempt of every thing that is most sacred, so barbarous a perseverance in perfidiousness and injustice, extinguished every sentiment of hope in her bosom. She conceived that she was doomed to inevitable destruction, and sunk under the pangs of unutterable anguish.

737  
Mary confined in  
Lochleven  
castle.

The lords Ruthven and Lindsay arrived during this paroxysm of her distress, to inform her, that they were commanded to put in execution the order of her commitment. They charged her women to take from her all her ornaments and her royal attire. A mean dress was put on her; and in this disguise they conveyed her with precipitation to the prison appointed for her. The lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, endeavoured to rescue her, but failed in the attempt. She was delivered over to William Douglas the governor of the castle of Lochleven, who had married the mother of the earl of Murray, and was himself nearly related to the earl of Morton. See MARY.

738  
The rebellious lords  
enter into a  
bond of af-  
fociation.

On the same day on which the nobles subscribed the order for the imprisonment of the queen, they entered into a bond of concurrence or confederacy. By this deed they bound themselves to the strenuous prosecution of their quarrel; and it detailed the purposes which they were to pursue. They proposed to punish the murderers of the king, to examine into the queen's rape, to dissolve her marriage, to preserve her from the bondage of Bothwell, to protect the person of

the prince, and to restore justice to the realm. The sanction of a most solemn oath confirmed their reliance on each other; and in advancing their measures, they engaged to expose and employ their lives, kindred, and fortunes.

Scotland.

It is easy to see, notwithstanding all the pretended patriotism of the rebels, that nothing was farther from their intentions than to prosecute Bothwell and restore the queen to her dignity. They had already treated her in the vilest manner, and allowed Bothwell to escape when they might have easily apprehended and brought him to trial. To exalt themselves was their only aim. Eleven days after the capitulation at Carberry hill, they held a convention, in which they very properly assumed the name of *lords of the secret council*, and issued a proclamation for apprehending Bothwell as the murderer of the king; offering a reward of 1000 crowns to any person who should bring him to Edinburgh. A search was made for the murderers of the king that very night in which the queen was confined in Lochleven castle. One Sebastian a Frenchman, and Captain Blackader, were apprehended; and soon after James Edmondstone, John Blackader, and Mynart Frazer, were taken up and imprisoned. The people expected full and satisfactory proofs of the guilt of Bothwell, but were disappointed. The affirmation of the nobles, that they were possessed of evidence which could condemn him, appeared to be no better than an artifice. Sebastian found means to escape; the other persons were put to the torture and sustained it without making any confession that the nobles could publish. They were condemned, however, and executed, as being concerned in the murder. In their dying moments they protested their innocence. Sanguine hopes were entertained that Captain Blackader would reveal the whole secret at the place of execution, and a vast multitude of spectators were present. No information, however, could be derived from what he said with respect to the regicides; but while he solemnly protested that his life was unjustly taken away, he averred it as his belief that the earls of Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the king's murder.

739  
Several persons  
taken up  
on account  
of the  
king's mur-  
der.

740  
But they  
make no  
confession.

The lords of the secret council now proceeded to the greatest enormities. They robbed the palace of Holyroodhouse of its furniture and decorations; converted the queen's plate into coin; and possessed themselves of her jewels, which were of great value; and while the faction at large committed these acts of robbery, the earl

741  
Robberies  
and out-  
rages of the  
confedera-  
ted lords.

(U) "Mr Hume is candid enough to give up the authenticity of this letter; and indeed, so far as I have observed, there is not the slightest pretence of a reason for conceiving it to be genuine; (*Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 120.). It was not mentioned by the earl of Morton and his adherents to Throgmorton, when Elizabeth interfered in the affairs of Scotland upon the imprisonment of the queen in the castle of Lochleven: a period of time when these statesmen were desirous to throw out every imputation to her prejudice, and when in particular they were abusing her with vehemence for her attachment to Bothwell; (*Keith*, p. 419.). Nor was it made use of by Murray before the English commissioners. Mary, in the condition to which the nobles had reduced her, could not well think of a step of this sort, although her attachment to Bothwell had been as strong as they were pleased to pronounce it. For, not to speak of the greatness of her distress, she was guarded by them so strictly, as to make it vain for her to pretend to elude their vigilance. In regard, too, to her love of Bothwell, it is not clear that it was ever real. While the king was alive, there are no traces of their improper intercourse. The affair of Dunbar was a criminal seduction. The arts of a profligate man overcame her. There was no sentiment of love upon either side. After her marriage, his rudeness extinguished in her altogether any remain of kindness and respect; and hence the coldness with which she parted with him." *Stuart's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 253. note.

Scotland.

earl of Glencairn with solemn hypocrisy demolished the altar in the queen's chapel, and defaced and destroyed all its pictures and ornaments. These excessive outrages, however, lost them the favour of the people, and an association was formed in favour of the queen. The court of France, as soon as the news of Mary's imprisonment arrived, dispatched M. de Villeroy to condole with her on her misfortunes: but the lords of the secret council would not admit him to see her, on which he immediately returned to his own country. The earl of Murray, however, was at this time in France; and to the promises of this ambitious and treacherous noble the king trusted, imagining him to be a steady friend to the unfortunate queen. Elizabeth also pretended friendship, and threatened the associated lords; but as they had every reason to doubt her sincerity, they paid no regard to her threats, and even refused to admit her ambassador to Mary's presence.

From all these appearances of friendship Mary neither did nor could derive any real assistance. On the 24th of July 1567, the lord Lindsay, whose imperious behaviour, says Dr Stuart, approached to insanity, was ordered by the lords to wait on the queen at Lochleven. He carried with him three deeds or instruments, and was instructed not to be sparing in rudeness and menaces in order to compel her to subscribe them. By the first, she was to resign her crown to her infant son; by the second, she appointed the earl of Murray regent of Scotland; and by the third, she constituted a council to direct the prince till this nobleman should arrive in Scotland, or on the event of his death or refusal of the office. On the part of the queen all resistance was vain. Sir Robert Melvil assured her, that her best friends were of opinion, that what she did by compulsion, and in a prison, could have no power to bind her; and of this she was also assured by Throgmorton, the English ambassador, in a letter which Sir Robert Melvil brought in the scabbard of his sword. Mary therefore, forlorn and helpless, could not resist the barbarous rudeness with which Lindsay, pressed the subscription of the papers, though she would not read them. Five days after, the lords of the secret council met at Stirling, for the coronation of the young prince, and considered themselves as representing the three estates of the kingdom. A protestation was made in the name of the duke of Chatelherault, that this solemnity should neither prejudice his rights of succession nor those of the other princes of the blood. The young prince being presented to them, the lords Lindsay and Ruthven appeared, and in the name of the queen renounced in his favour her right and title to the crown, gave up the papers, which she had subscribed, and surrendered the sword, sceptre, and royal crown. After the papers were read, the earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, and Menteith, with the master of Graham, the lord Hume, and Bothwel bishop of Orkney, received the queen's resignation in favour of her son in the name of the three estates. After this formality, the earl of Morton, bending his body, and laying his hand on the Scriptures, took the coronation-oath for the prince, engaging that he should rule according to the laws, and root out all heretics and enemies to the word of God. Adam Bothwel then anointed the prince king of Scotland; a ceremony with which John Knox was displeased, as believing it to be of Jewish invention. This prelate next

delivered to him the sword and the sceptre, and finally put the crown on his head. In the procession to the castle from the church, where the inauguration was performed, and where John Knox preached the inauguration sermon, the earl of Athol carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword, and the earl of Mar carried the prince in his arms. These solemnities received no countenance from Elizabeth; and Throgmorton, by her express command, was not present at them.

Soon after this ceremony, the earl of Murray returned from France; and his presence gave such a strength and firmness to his faction, that very little opposition could be given by the partisans of Mary, who were unsettled and desponding for want of a leader. A short time after his arrival, this monstrous hypocrite and traitor waited on his distressed and insulted sovereign at Lochleven. His design was to get her to desire him to accept of the regency, which he otherwise pretended to decline. The queen, unsuspecting of the deepness of his arts, conscious of the gratitude he owed her, and trusting to his natural affection, and their tie of a common father, received him with a tender welcome. She was in haste to pour forth her soul to him; and with tears and lamentations related her condition and her sufferings. He heard her with attention: and turned occasionally his discourse to the topics which might lead her to open to him her mind without disguise in those situations in which he was most anxious to observe it. His eye and his penetration were fully employed; but her distress awakened not his tenderness. He seemed to be in suspense; and from the guardedness of his conversation she could gather neither hope nor fear. She begged him to be free with her, as he was her only friend. He yielded to her intreaties as if with pain and reluctance; and taking a comprehensive survey of her conduct, described it with all the severity that could affect her most. He could discover no apology for her misgovernment and disorders; and, with a mortifying plainness, he pressed on her conscience and her honour. At times she wept bitterly. Some errors she confessed; and against calumnies she warmly vindicated herself. But all she could urge in her behalf made no impression on him; and he spoke to her of the mercy of God as her chief refuge. She was torn with apprehensions, and nearly distracted with despair. He dropped some words of consolation; and after expressing an attachment to her interests, gave her his promise to employ all his consequence to secure her life. As to her liberty, he told her, that to achieve it was beyond all his efforts, and that it was not good for her to desire it. Starting from her seat, she took him in her arms, and kissing him as her deliverer from the scaffold, solicited his immediate acceptance of the regency. He declared he had many reasons to refuse the regency. She implored and conjured him not to abandon her in the extremity of her wretchedness. There was no other method, she said, by which she herself could be saved, her son protected, and her realm rightly governed. He gave way to her anxiety and solicitations. She besought him to make the most unbounded use of her name and authority, desired him to keep for her the jewels that yet remained with her, and recommended it to him to get an early possession of all the forts of her kingdom. He now took his leave of her, and embracing anew this pi-

Scotland.

744  
Disappro-  
ved by  
Elizabeth.745  
Murray re-  
turns from  
France.746  
He pays a  
visit to the  
queen at  
Lochleven,747  
and in-  
duces her  
to press  
him to ac-  
cept of the  
regency.

ous

742  
Mary com-  
pelled to  
sign a re-  
signation  
of her  
crown,  
24th July,  
1567.743  
Coronation  
of James  
VI.

Scotland. ous traitor, she sent her blessing with him to the prince her son.

748  
Miserable  
fate of  
Bothwel.

In the mean time the wretched earl of Bothwel was struggling with the greatest difficulties. Sir William Murray and Kirkaldy of Grange had put to sea in search of him. He had been obliged to exercise piracy in order to subsist himself and his followers. His pursuers came on him unexpectedly at the Orkney islands, and took three of his ships; but he himself made his escape. Soon after, having seized a Turkish trader on the coast of Norway, two ships of war belonging to the king of Denmark gave chase to him as a pirate. An engagement ensued, in which Bothwel was taken. His officers and mariners were hanged in Denmark; but Bothwel himself, being known by some Scottish merchants, had his life spared. He was thrown, however, into a dungeon, where he remained ten years; and at last died melancholy and distracted. The regent sent commissioners to the king of Denmark to demand him as a prisoner; but that prince, considering him as a traitor and usurper, totally disregarded his request.

749  
Letters  
forged be-  
tween  
Mary and  
Bothwel.

The dreadful fate of Bothwel did not make any alteration in the situation of the queen. Her enemies, bent on calumniating her, produced letters, which they said were written and sent by her to that licentious nobleman during the life of the king. These letters are now generally admitted to have been forged by the rebels themselves, who practised likewise on some servants of Bothwel to accuse the queen of the murder of her husband. The letters for some time gained credit; but the confessions of the servants were all in her favour. When on the scaffold, they addressed themselves to the people; and after having solemnly declared the innocence of the queen, they protested before God and his angels, that the earl of Bothwel had informed them that the earls of Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the king's murder.

750  
Servants of  
Bothwel  
executed,  
who de-  
clare the  
innocence  
of the  
queen.

751  
The queen  
escapes  
from prison.  
An. 1568.

It was impossible that such transactions could advance the popularity of the regent. His unbounded ambition and cruelty to his sovereign began at last to open the eyes of the nation; and a party was forming itself in favour of the queen. She had been often meditating her escape from prison; and she at last effected it by means of a young gentleman George Douglas, brother to her keeper, who had fallen in love with her. On the 2d day of May 1568, about seven o'clock in the evening, when her keeper was at supper with his family, George Douglas, possessing himself of the keys of the castle, hastened to her apartment, and conducted her out of prison. Having locked the gates of the castle, they immediately entered a boat which waited for them; and being rowed across the lake, the lord Seton received the queen with a chosen band of horsemen in complete armour. That night he conveyed her to his house of Niddrie in West Lothian; where having rested a few hours, she set out for Hamilton.

752  
The regent  
raises an  
army.

The escape of the queen threw her enemies into the greatest consternation. Many forsook the regent openly; and still more made their submissions privately, or concealed themselves. He did not, however, despond; but resolved to defend himself by force of arms. The queen soon found herself at the head of 6000 men, and the regent opposed her with 4000. Mary, however, did not think it proper to risk a battle; knowing the incapacity of the regent as a general, and that his officers

were all men of approved valour and experience. But in this prudent resolution she was overruled by the impetuosity of her troops. A battle was fought on the 13th of May 1568, at Langside near Glasgow; in which Mary's army was defeated, and her last hopes blasted. The unfortunate queen fled towards Kirkcudbright; where finding a place of safety, she deliberated on the plan she should afterwards follow. The result of her deliberations, as frequently happens in cases of perplexity, led her to take the worst possible step. Notwithstanding all the perfidy which she had found in Elizabeth, Mary could not think that she would now refuse to afford her a refuge in her dominions; and therefore determined to retire into England. To this she had been solicited by Elizabeth during her confinement in Lochleven castle; and she now resolved, in opposition to the advice of her most faithful counsellors, to make the fatal experiment.

Scotland.  
753  
Mary's  
army de-  
feated at  
Langside  
near Glas-  
gow.

754  
She resolves  
to fly into  
England.

In obedience to her order, the lord Herries addressed a letter to Mr Lauder, the deputy-commander at Carlisle; and after detailing her defeat at Langside, desired to know if the might trust herself on English ground. This officer wrote instantly an answer, in which he said, that the lord Scroop the warden of the frontiers being absent, he could not of his private authority give a formal assurance in a matter which concerned the state of a queen: but that he would send by post to his court to know the pleasure of his sovereign; and that if in the mean time any necessity should force Mary to Carlisle, he would receive her with joy, and protect her against her enemies. Mary, however, before the messenger could return, had embarked in a fishing boat with 16 attendants. In a few hours she landed at Wirkington in Cumberland; and from thence she proceeded to Cockermouth, where she continued till Mr Lauder, having assembled the gentlemen of the country, conducted her with the greatest respect to the castle of Carlisle.

755  
and puts  
her design  
in execu-  
tion.

To Elizabeth she announced her arrival in a dispatch, which described her late misfortunes in general and pathetic terms, and in which she expressed an earnest solicitude to pay her a visit at court, and the deep sense she entertained of her friendship and generosity. The queen of England, by obliging and polite letters, consoled with her on her situation, and gave her assurances of all the favour and protection that were due to the justice of her cause. But as they were not accompanied with an invitation to London, Mary took the alarm. She thought it expedient to instruct Lord Fleming to repair to France; and she intrusted Lord Herries with a most pressing remonstrance to Elizabeth. Her anxiety for an interview in order to vindicate her conduct, her ability to do so in the most satisfactory manner, and her power to explain the ingratitude, the crimes, and the perfidy of her enemies, were urged to this princess. A delay in the state of her affairs was represented as nearly equivalent to absolute destruction. An immediate proof was therefore requested from Elizabeth of the sincerity of her professions. If she was unwilling to admit into her presence a queen, a relation, and a friend, she was reminded, that as Mary's entrance into her dominions had been voluntary, her departure ought to be equally free and unrestrained. She valued the protection of the queen of England above that of every other potentate on earth; but if it could not be granted,

756  
Announces  
her arrival  
to Eliza-  
beth,

757  
and presses  
her for an  
interview.



Scotland. granted, she would solicit the amity, and implore the aid, of powers who would commiserate her afflictions, and be forward to relieve them. Amidst remonstrances, however, which were so just and natural, Mary did not fail to give thanks to Elizabeth for the courtesy with which she had hitherto been treated in the castle of Carlisle. She also took the opportunity of begging that this princess would avert the cruelty of the regent from her adherents, and engage him not to waste her kingdom with hostility and ravages; and she had the prudence to pay her compliments in an affectionate letter to Secretary Cecil, and to court his kind offices in extricating her from her difficulties and troubles.

758  
Deliberations of Elizabeth and her state-mea concerning Mary.

But the queen of England was not to be moved by remonstrances. The voluntary offer of Mary to plead her cause in the presence of Elizabeth, and to satisfy all her scruples was rejected. Her disasters were a matter rather of exultation than of pity. The deliberations of the English queen, and those of her statesmen, were not directed by maxims of equity, of compassion, or of generosity. They considered the flight of Mary into England as an incident that was fortunate and favourable to them; and they were solicitous to adopt those measures which might enable them to draw from it the greatest profit and advantage. If the queen of Scots were allowed to return to her own dominions, it was probable that she would soon be in a condition to destroy the earl of Murray and his faction, who were the friends of England. The house of Hamilton, who were now zealous in the interests of France, would rise to consideration and power. England would be kept in perpetual broils on the frontiers; Ireland would receive molestation from the Scots, and its disturbances grow important and dangerous. Mary would renew with redoubled ardour her designs against the Protestant religion; and a French army would again be introduced into Scotland. For these reasons, Elizabeth and her ministers determining not to restore the queen of Scots to her throne, considered what might be the probable consequences of permitting her to remain at liberty in England. In this situation, she would augment the number of her partizans, send her emissaries to every quarter, and inculcate her title to the crown. Foreign ambassadors would afford her aid, and take a share in her intrigues; and Scotland, where there was so high an object to be gained, would enter with cordiality into her views. This plan being also hazardous, it was deliberated whether the queen of Scots might not be allowed to take a voyage to France. But all the pretensions which had hitherto threatened the crown of Elizabeth would in this case be revived. A strong resentment to her would even urge Mary and Charles IX. to the boldest and most desperate enterprises. The party of the queen of Scots in England, strong from motives of religion and affection, and from discontents and the love of change, would stimulate their anger and ambition. England had now no territories in France. A war with that country and with Scotland would involve the greatest dangers. On revolving these measures and topics, Elizabeth and her counsellors were induced to conclude, that it was by far the wisest expedient to keep the queen of Scots in confinement, to invent method to augment her distress, to give countenance to the regent, and to hold her kingdom in dependence and subjection.

759  
They resolve to confine her.

In consequence of this cruel and unjust resolution, Mary was acquainted, that she could not be admitted to Elizabeth's presence till she had cleared herself of the crimes imputed to her; she was warned not to think of introducing French troops into Scotland; and it was hinted, that for the more security she ought to be removed farther from the frontier. This message at once showed Mary the imprudence of her conduct in trusting herself to Elizabeth. But the error could not now be remedied. She was watched to prevent her escape, and all her remonstrances were vain. The earl of Murray had offered to accuse her; and it was at last concluded that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour and the tranquillity of her government, suffer the queen of Scots to come into her presence, to depart out of England, or to be restored to her dignity, till her cause should be tried and decided. An order was given to remove her from Carlisle castle to a place of strength at a greater distance from the borders, to confine her more closely, and to guard against all possibility of an escape.

Scotland.  
760  
Elizabeth refuses to admit the queen into her presence.

761  
Mary is removed from Carlisle, and closely guarded.

In consequence of these extraordinary transactions, a trial took place, perhaps the most remarkable for its injustice and partiality of any recorded in history. Mary, confined and apprehensive, submitted to be tried as they thought proper. The regent, who was to be the accuser, was summoned into England, and commissioners were appointed on both sides. On the 4th of October, the commissioners met at York; and four days after, the deputies of the queen of Scots were called to make known their complaints. They related the most material circumstances of the cruel usage she had received. Their accusations were an alarming introduction to the business in which the regent had embarked; and notwithstanding the encouragement shown to him by Elizabeth, he was assailed by apprehensions. The artifices of Maitland added to his alarms. Instead of proceeding instantly to defend himself, or to accuse the queen, he sought permission to relate his doubts and scruples to the English commissioners. In his own name, and with the concurrence of his associates, he demanded whether they had sufficient authority from Elizabeth to pronounce, in the case of the murder, guilty or not guilty, according to the evidence that should be laid before them; whether they would actually exercise this power; whether, in the event of her criminality, their sovereign should be delivered to him and his friends, or detained in England in such a way as that no danger should ensue from her activity; and whether on her conviction, the queen of England would allow his proceedings, and those of his party, to be proper, maintain the government of the young king, and support him in the regency in the terms of the act of parliament which had confirmed him in that office. To these requisitions, it was answered, on the part of the English deputies, that their commission was so ample, that they could enter on and proceed in the controversy; and that they had liberty to declare, that their sovereign would not restore the queen of Scots to her crown, if satisfactory proofs of her crime should be produced; but that they knew not, and were not instructed to say, in what manner she would finally conduct herself as to her person and punishment. With regard to the sovereignty of the prince, and the regency of the earl of Murray, they were points, they observed, which might

762  
Commissioners for her trial meet at York.

763  
Infamous behaviour of Murray.

Scotland. might be canvassed at a future period. These replies did not please the regent and his associates; and they requested the English commissioners to transmit their doubts and scruples to be examined and answered by Elizabeth.

764  
His accusation against Mary,

But while the regent discovered in this manner his apprehensions, he yet affirmed that he was able to answer the charges brought against him and his faction; and this being in a great measure a matter distinct from the controversy respecting the murder, he was desired to proceed. It was contended, that Bothwel, who had the chief concern in the murder of Lord Darnley, possessed such credit with the queen, that within three months after that horrible event, he seized her person and led her captive to Dunbar, obtained a divorce from his wife, and married her: that the nobility, being moved with his crimes, did confederate to punish him; to relieve her from the tyranny of a man who had ravished her, and who could not be her husband; and to preserve the life of the prince: that having taken arms for these purposes, the earl marched against them; but that, proposing to decide the quarrel by single combat, his challenge was accepted: that he declined to enter the lists, and fled: that the queen, preferring his impunity to her own honour, favoured his escape by going over to the nobility: that they conducted her to Edinburgh, where they informed her of the motives of their proceedings, requested her to take the proper steps against him and the other regicides, and intreated her to dissolve her pretended marriage, to take care of her son, and to consult the tranquillity of her realm: that this treatment being offensive to her, she menaced them with vengeance, and offered to surrender her crown if they would permit her to possess the murderer of her husband: that her inflexible mind, and the necessities of the state, compelled them to keep her at a distance from him, and out of the way of a communication with his adherents: that during her confinement, finding herself fatigued with the troubles of royalty, and unfit for them from vexation of spirit and the weakness of her body and intellect, she freely and of her own will resigned her crown to her son, and constituted the earl of Murray regent; that the king accordingly had been crowned, and Murray admitted to the regency; that the sanction of the three estates assembled in parliament having confirmed these appointments, an universal obedience of the people had ensued, and a steady administration of justice had taken place: that certain persons, however, envious of the public peace and order, had brought her out of prison, and had engaged to subvert the government; that they had been disappointed in their wicked attempts; and that it was most just and equitable, that the king and the regent should be supported in power, in opposition to a rebellious and turbulent faction.

765  
confuted by the deputies of Mary,

This apology, so imperfect, so impudent, and so irreconcilable with history, received a complete confutation from the deputies of the queen of Scots. To take arms against her because Bothwel had her favour, was, they said, a lame justification of the earl of Murray and his friends; since it had never been properly manifested to her that he was the murderer of her husband. He had indeed been suspected of this crime; but had been tried by his peers, and acquitted. His acquittal had been ratified in parliament, and had obtained the express approbation of the party who were

Scotland. now so loud in accusing him, and who had conspired against her authority. These rebels had even urged her to accomplish her marriage with him, had recommended him as the fittest person to govern the realm, and had subscribed a bond asserting his innocence, and binding themselves to challenge and punish all his adversaries and opponents. They had never, either before or after the marriage, like true subjects, advertised the queen of his guilt, till, having experience of their strength, they secretly took arms, and invested her in Borthwick castle. The first mark of their displeasure was the sound of a trumpet in hostility, and the display of warlike banners. She made her escape to Dunbar; and they returning to Edinburgh, levied troops, issued proclamations, took the field against her, under pretence of delivering her from his tyranny, and got possession of her person. She was willing to prevent the effusion of blood, and was very far from preferring his impunity to her honour. Kirkaldy of Grange, in obedience to instructions from them, desired her to cause him to retire, and invited her to pass to them under the promise of being served and obeyed as their sovereign. She consented, and Kirkaldy taking Bothwel by the hand, recommended it to him to depart, and assured him that no man would pursue him. It was by their own contrivance that he fled; and it was in their power to have taken him: but they showed not the smallest desire to make him their prisoner. He remained, too, for some time in the kingdom, and was unmolested by them; and it was not till he was on the seas that they affected to go in search of him. When she surrendered herself in the sight of their army, the earl of Morton ratified the stipulations of Kirkaldy, made obeisance to her in their names, and promised her all the service and honour which had ever been paid to any of her predecessors. They were not slaves, however, to their engagements. They carried her to Edinburgh, but did not lodge her in her palace. She was committed to the house of a burges, and treated with the vilest indignities. She indeed broke out into menaces, and threatened them; nor was this a matter either of blame or of wonder. But it was utterly false that she had ever made any offer of giving away her crown, if she might possess Bothwel. In the midst of her sufferings, she had even required them by Secretary Maitland to specify their complaints, and besought them to allow her to appear in parliament, and to join and assist in seeking a remedy to them from the wisdom of the three estates. This overture, however, so salutary and submissive, they absolutely rejected.— They were animated by purposes of ambition, and had not in view a redress of grievances. They forced her from her capital in the night, and imprisoned her in Lochleven; and there, they affirm, being exhausted with the toils of government and the languors of sickness, she, without constraint or sollicitation, resigned her crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray to be regent during his minority. This indeed was to assume an unlimited power over facts; but the truth could neither be concealed, subverted, nor palliated. She was in the vigour of youth, unassailed by maladies, and without any infirmity that could induce her to surrender the government of her kingdom. Nor was it unknown to them that the earl of Athol and the barons Tullibardin and Lethington, principal men of their council,

Scotland. council, dispatched Sir Robert Melvil to her with a ring and presents, with a recommendation to subscribe whatever papers should be laid before her, as the only means in her power to save her life, and with an assurance that what she did under captivity could not operate to her injury. Melvil, too, communicated to her an intimation in writing from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, which gave her the same advice and the same assurance. To Sir Nicholas Throgmorton she sent an answer, informing him that she would follow his counsel; and enjoining him to declare to his mistress her hapless state, and that her resignation of her crown was constrained. Nor did this ambassador neglect her commission; and it was a popular persuasion that Elizabeth would have marched an army to her relief, if she had not been intimidated by the threats of the rebels, that the blood of the queen of Scots would be the wages of her soldiers. It was also not to be contradicted, that when the lord Lindsay presented to his sovereign the instruments of resignation, he menaced her with a closer prison and a speedy death if she should refuse to subscribe them. It was under an extreme terror, and with many tears, that she put her name to them. She did not consider them as her deeds; did not read them; and protested, that when she was at liberty, she would disavow subscriptions which had been extorted from her. Even Douglas, the keeper of Lochleven, could not endure to be a witness of the violence employed against her. He departed out of her presence, that he might not see her surrender her rights against her will; and he sought and obtained from her a certificate, that he was not accessory to this compulsion and outrage. Nor was it consistent with the slightest probability or reason, that she would, of her own accord, execute a resignation of her royal estate, and retain no provision for her future maintenance. Yet by these extraordinary deeds, the condition to which she was reduced was most miserable and wretched. For no portion of her revenue was reserved to her, and no security of any kind was granted either for her liberty or her life. As to the coronation of the prince, it could have no validity, being founded in a pretended and forced resignation. It was also defective in form; for there were in Scotland more than a hundred earls, bishops, and lords; and of these the whole, or at least the major part, ought to concur in matters of importance. Now there did not assist in it more than four earls, six lords, one bishop, and two or three abbots. Protestations, too, were openly made, that nothing transacted at that period should be any prejudice to the queen, her estate, and the blood-royal of Scotland, neither could it be rightly conceived, that if the queen had willingly surrendered her dignities, she would have named the earl of Murray to the regency in preference to the duke of Chatelherault, who had a natural and proper claim to it, and who had deserved well of her country by discharging that high office during her minority. As to the ratification of the investiture of the young prince, and the regency of the earl of Murray, by the estates, it was observable, that this was done in an illegal parliament. It was an invalid confirmation of deeds which in themselves had no inherent power or efficacy. The principal nobility, too, objected in this parliament to this ratification. Protestations were made before the lords of the articles, as well as before the three estates, to interrupt and defeat transactions which

were hostile to the constitution and the laws. Nor Scotland. was it true that the government of the king and the regent was universally obeyed, and administered with equity and approbation: for a great division of the nobility never acknowledged any authority but that of the queen, and never held any courts but in her name; and it was notorious, that the administration of the usurpers had been marked and distinguished by enormous cruelties and oppressions. Many honourable families and loyal subjects had been persecuted to ruin, and plundered of their wealth, to gratify the retainers and soldiers who upheld this insolent domination; and murder and bloodshed, theft and rapine, were prevalent to a degree unheard of for many ages. On all these accounts, it was inferred, that Elizabeth ought to support the queen of Scots, to restore her to her crown, and to overthrow the power of a most unnatural and rebellious faction.

To these facts the regent did not pretend to make any objection; and though required by the English commissioners to produce better reasons for his treatment of the queen, he did not advance any thing in his own behalf. He even allowed the charges of treason and usurpation to be pressed against him, without presuming to answer. This surprising behaviour, which might readily have been construed into an acknowledgment of his guilt, it seems, proceeded from some conferences which he had with the duke of Norfolk. This nobleman was a zealous partizan for the succession of Mary to the English crown. He was strongly possessed with the opinion, that his mistress, while she was disposed to gratify her animosity and jealousies against the queen of Scots, was secretly resolved, by fixing a stain on her, to exclude her altogether from the succession, and to involve her son in her disgrace. He was eager to defeat a purpose, which he conceived to be not only unjust in itself, but highly detrimental to his country. It was in his power to act with this view; and he observed with pleasure, that Maitland of Lethington was favourable to Mary. To this statesman, accordingly, he ventured to express his surprise, that the regent could be allured to think of an attempt so blameable as that of criminating his sovereign. If Mary had really given offence by miscarriage and mistakes, it was not the business of a good subject industriously to hold her out to scorn. Anxious and repeated conferences were held by them; and at length it was formally agreed, that the regent should not accuse the queen of Scots; and that the duke in return should protect him in the favour of Elizabeth, and secure him in the possession of his regency.

But while the regent engaged himself in this intrigue with the duke of Norfolk, he was desirous notwithstanding of gratifying the resentments of Elizabeth, and of advancing his own interests by undermining secretly the fame and reputation of his sovereign. He instructed Maitland, George Buchanan, James Macgill, and John Wood, to go to the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, and to communicate to them as private persons, and not in their character of commissioners, the letters to Bothwell, and the other proofs on which he affirmed the guilt of the queen of Scots. It was his desire that they should examine these papers, give their opinion of them to Elizabeth, and inform him whether she judged them sufficient.

766  
The regent  
unable to  
reply.

767  
He ex-  
treme infi-  
dioulness,  
and hypo-  
cristy.

Scotland. ficient evidences of Mary's concern in the murder of her husband. If this should be her opinion, he testified his own readiness, and that of his associates, to swear that the papers were genuine, and of the hand-writing of the queen. By this operation, he was solicitous to establish his vouchers as incontestable, and as testimonies of record. The commissioners examined his papers, and heard the comments of Buchanan and his other assistants; but they do not seem to have given them much credit. They described them, however, to Elizabeth; pointed out the places of them which were strongest against Mary; and allowed that their force and meaning were very great, if their genuineness could be demonstrated. But of their genuineness they acknowledged that they had no other evidence than stout assertions, and the offer of oaths. The earl of Suffex, in a private dispatch to Secretary Cecil, does more than insinuate\*, that he thought Mary would be able to prove the letters palpable forgeries; and with respect to the murder of the king, he declares in plain terms, that from all he could learn, Murray and his faction would, on a judicial trial, be found by "proofs hardly to be denied," more criminal in that charge than the queen herself. Elizabeth and her ministers, on the receipt of such dispatches, did not think it expedient to empower them to adopt a method of proof so palpably suspicious, and in which she could not openly concur, without grossly violating even the appearance of probity. The regent had before attempted to engage her in a direct assurance of the validity of his papers, when he submitted copies of them to her inspection by his secretary Mr Wood. His attempt at this juncture was of a similar kind; and it could not recommend him to the English commissioners.

\* *Robertson of Dalmeny's History, &c. book iv.*

Nor were these the only transactions which took place during the continuance of the commissioners at York. The inventive and refining genius of Lethington had suggested to him a project, which he communicated in confidence to the bishop of Ross. It received the warm approbation of this ecclesiastic; and they determined to put it to a trial. While they attended the duke of Norfolk to the diversion of hawking, they insinuated the notion of his allying himself with the queen of Scots. Her beauty, her accomplishments, and her kingdom, were high allurements to this nobleman; and as he was the greatest subject of England, and perhaps of Europe, he seemed not to be unworthy of them. The proposal was very flattering to the admiration he entertained of Mary, to his ambition, and to his patriotism. The more he thought of it, he was the more convinced of its propriety. His access to be informed of the practices of the regent, destroyed in him the operation of these slanders by which her enemies were so active in traducing her. In this state of his mind, the lady Scroop, his sister, who resided at Bolton Castle with Mary, completely confirmed his resolution. For from her he learned the orderly carriage and the amiable dispositions of the queen of Scots. He was now impatient to have a fit season to make her formally the offer of his hand.

Elizabeth in the mean time was thrown into confusion by the refusal of the regent to accuse the queen of Scots. To give a positive answer to his doubts and scruples was not consistent with her honour; and yet, without this condescension, she was assured that the

Scottish deputies would not exhibit their charge or crimination. Having deceived Mary therefore with fair promises, she was active in gaining over the regent to her views; which having done, he at last consented to prefer his accusation against Mary before the commissioners, who now met at Westminster by the command of Elizabeth. The charge was expressed in general and presumptive terms. It affirmed, that as James earl of Bothwel was the chief executor of the murder of King Henry, so the queen was his persuader and counsel in the device; that she was a maintainer and fortifier of this unnatural deed, by stopping an enquiry into it and preventing its punishment, and by taking in marriage the principal regicide; that they had begun to exercise a cruel tyranny in the commonwealth, and had formed a resolution of destroying the innocent prince, and of transferring the crown from the true line of its kings to a bloody murderer and a godless tyrant; and that the estates of the realm, finding her unworthy of reigning, had ordered her to resign the crown, her son to be crowned, and the earl of Murray to be established in the regency. Before this accusation was preferred, the earl of Lenox presented himself before the English commissioners; made a lamentable declaration of his griefs, and produced to them the letters which had passed between him and Mary concerning the murder, with a writing which contained a direct affirmation of her guilt.

The deputies of Mary were astonished at this accusation, being a violent infringement of a protestation which they had formerly given in, and which had been accepted, namely, that the crown, estate, person, and honour of the queen of Scots, should be guarded against every assault and injury; yet in all these particulars she was touched and affected. It was understood that no judicial proceedings should take place against her; yet she was actually arraigned as a criminal, and her deputies were called on to defend her. They discovered not, however, any apprehension of the validity of the charge; and while they fully explained the motives which actuated the earl of Murray and his faction in their proceedings, they imputed to persons among themselves the guilt of the king's murder. They affirmed, that the queen's adversaries were the accomplices of Bothwel; that they had subscribed a bond conspiring the death of the king; and that their guilt had been attested in the sight of 10,000 spectators by those of their confederates who had already been executed. They exclaimed against the enormous ingratitude, and the unparalleled audacity of men, who could forget so completely all the obligations which they owed to their sovereign; and who, not satisfied with usurping her power, could even charge her with a murder which they themselves had committed. They represented the strong necessity which had arisen for the fullest vindication of their mistress; and they said, that in so weighty an extremity, they could not possibly suppose that she would be refrained from appearing in her own defence. They had her instructions, if her honour was touched, to make this requisition; and till it was granted, they insisted, that all proceedings in the conference should be at an end. A refusal of this liberty, in the situation to which she was driven, would be an infallible proof that no good was intended her. It was their wish to deal with sincerity and uprightness; and they were persuaded,

Scotland. 768 Articles of the queen's accusation.

769 Remon- strances of the Scots deputies.

Scotland. ed, that without a proper freedom of defence, their queen would necessarily fall a victim to partiality and injustice. They therefore earnestly pressed the English commissioners, that she might be permitted to present herself before Elizabeth, the nobles of England, and the ambassadors of foreign nations, in order to manifest to the world the injuries she had suffered, and her innocence.

After having made these spirited representations to the English commissioners, the deputies of Mary desired to have access to the queen of England. They were admitted accordingly to an audience; and in a formal address or petition they detailed what had happened, insisted that the liberty of personal defence should be allowed to their mistress, and demanded that the earl of Murray and his associates should be taken into custody, till they should answer to such charges as might be preferred against them. She desired to have some time to turn her thoughts to matters of such great importance; and told them, that they might soon expect to hear from her.

The bishop of Ross, and the other deputies of Mary, in the mean time, struck with the perfidious management of the conference, convinced of the jealousies and passions of Elizabeth, sensible that her power over her commissioners was unlimited, and anxious for the deliverance of their mistress, made an overture for an accommodation to the earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil. They proposed, that the original meaning of the conference should still be adhered to, notwithstanding the accusation which had been presented by the earl of Murray; and that Elizabeth, disregarding it as an effort of faction, should come to a good agreement with Mary and her subjects. For this scheme, which is so expressive of their suspicions of Elizabeth and of her commissioners, they had no authority from their mistress. They acknowledged accordingly, that it was made without her instructions, and intimated that they were moved to it by their anxiety for peace and the re-establishment of the affairs of the Scottish nation. They were introduced at Hampton-court to Elizabeth; who listened to their motion, and was averse to it. They then repeated the desires of the petition they had presented to her; but she did not think it right that the queen of Scots should as yet have the liberty of defending herself in person. She confessed, indeed, that it was reasonable that Mary should be heard in her own cause; but she affirmed, that she was at a loss at what time she should appear, in what place, and to whom she should address herself. While she let fall, however, the hope that Mary might obtain the permission so repeatedly and so earnestly requested, she expressed her resolution that the earl of Murray should first be heard in support of his charge, and that she should attend to the proofs which he affirmed himself in readiness to produce. After this business should be transacted, she told the deputies of Mary that she would again confer with them. It was to no purpose that they objected to a procedure so strange and so improper. An accusation, said they, is given; the person accused is anxious to defend herself; this privilege is denied her; and yet a demand is to be made for the vouchers of her guilt. What is this but an open violation of justice? It did not become them to dispute her pleasure in her own dominions: but they would not, they informed her, consent to a measure

which was so alarming to the interests of their queen; and if it was adopted, she might expect that a protest against its validity would be lodged with her commissioners.

The English commissioners resumed the conference, and were about to demand from the earl of Murray the proofs with which he could support his accusation. The bishop of Ross and his associates being admitted to them, expressed themselves in conformity to the conversation they had held with Elizabeth. They declared, that it was unnatural and preposterous in their sovereign to think of receiving proofs of the guilt of the queen of Scots before she was heard in her own defence; and they protested, that in the event of this proceeding, the negotiation should be dissolved, and Elizabeth be disarmed of all power to do any prejudice to her honour, person, crown, and estate. The commissioners of the English queen were affected with this protestation, and felt more for the honour of their mistress than for their own. They refused to receive it, because there were engrossed in it the words of the refusal which Elizabeth had given to the petition for Mary. They did not choose to authenticate the terms of this refusal by their subscriptions; and were solicitous to suppress so palpable a memorial of her iniquity. They alleged, that the language of her refusal had not been taken down with accuracy; and they pressed Mary's deputies to present a simpler form of protestation. The bishop of Ross and his colleagues yielded not, however, immediately to their insidious importunity; but, repeating anew their protestation as they had at first planned it, included the express words of Elizabeth; and, when compelled by the power of the commissioners to expunge the language of the English queen, they still insisted on their protestation. An interruption was thus given to the validity of any future proceedings which might affect the reputation of the queen of Scots. The earls of Murray and Morton, with their friends, were very much disappointed. For they had solaced themselves with the hope of a triumph before there was a victory; and thought of obtaining a decree from Elizabeth, which, while it should pronounce the queen of Scots to be an adulteress and a murderer, would exalt them to the station and character of virtuous men and honourable subjects.

Though the conference ought naturally to have terminated on this protestation of the deputies of Mary against the injustice of Elizabeth, yet it did not satisfy the latter princess that the accusation only had been delivered to her commissioners: she was seriously disposed to propose a judicial production of its vouchers. The charge would thus have a more regular aspect, and be a sounder foundation on which to build, not only the infamy of the Scottish queen, but her own justification for the part she had acted. Her commissioners accordingly, after the bishop of Ross and his colleagues had retired, disregarding their protestation, called on the earl of Murray and his associates to make their appearance. The pretence, however, employed for drawing from him his papers was sufficiently artful, and bears the marks of that systematic duplicity which so shamefully characterizes all the transactions of Elizabeth at this period. Sir Nicholas Bacon the lord keeper addressed himself to the earl of Murray. He said, that, in the opinion of the queen of England, it was a matter strange

770  
They are admitted to an audience by Elizabeth,

771  
and make proposals of accommodation.

772  
Shameful conduct of Elizabeth.

773  
Altercation between the commissioners.

774  
Elizabeth demands vouchers of the crimes laid to Mary's charge.

Scotland. strange and surprizing, that he should accuse his sovereign of a crime most horrible, odious to God and man, against law and nature; and which, if proved to be true, would render her infamous through all the kingdoms of the world. But though he had so widely forgotten his duty, yet Elizabeth had not renounced her love of a good sister, a good neighbour, and a good friend; and it was her will that he and his company should produce the papers by which they imagined they were able to maintain their accusation. The earl of Murray, in his turn, was not wanting in dissimulation. He expressed himself to be very sorry for the high displeasure he had given to Elizabeth by his charge against Mary, and for the obstinacy of the Scottish queen and her deputies, which made it necessary for him to vindicate himself by discovering her dishonour. Under the load of this double and affected sorrow, he made an actual and formal exhibition of the vouchers by which he pretended to fix and establish her criminality. A particular account and examination of these vouchers, the reader will find in our life of MARY, and in the works to which we have there referred.

775  
Conclusion  
of Mary's  
trial.

An. 1569.

To enumerate all the shifts to which Elizabeth and the adversaries of Mary were put, in order to make the strange evidence that was produced wear some degree of plausibility, would far exceed our bounds. It is sufficient to say, that after having wearied themselves with prevarication and falsehood; after having pressed Mary to abdicate her crown, a requisition with which she never would comply; and after having finally refused to hear her in her own defence; Elizabeth, on the 10th of January 1569, gave leave to the earl of Murray and his accomplices to depart her dominions; telling them, that since they came into England, nothing had been objected to them which could hurt their honour as men, or affect their allegiance as subjects. At the same time she told them, that they had produced no information or evidence by which she was entitled to conceive any bad opinion of the queen of Scots. It was therefore her pleasure to allow the affairs of Scotland to continue precisely in the condition in which they were situated at the beginning of the conference. Three days after this, they formally took their leave of the queen of England. The deputies of Mary remonstrated, protested, and argued, to no purpose; the English privy-council, with the most provoking indifference, told them, that "the earl of Murray had promised to their sovereign, for himself and his company, to return to England at any time she should call on him. But, in the mean time, the queen of Scots could not, for many strong reasons, be permitted to take her departure out of England. As to her deputies, they would move Elizabeth to allow them to return to Scotland; and they believed that she would not detain them."

776  
Earl of  
Murray,  
&c. charged  
with the king's  
murder,  
and challenged  
to single combat.

Mary was exceedingly disappointed and chagrined by this singular issue of her cause. Her friends during this period had increased, and the cruel and injurious treatment she had met with was so flagrant, that the earl of Murray and his faction were apprehensive of a sudden reverse of fortune. The earls of Argyll and Huntly protested against the injustice of their proceedings, at the same time that they openly accused the earl of Murray and Maitland of Lethington as the associates of Bothwell in the murder of the king. This charge, according to the custom of the times, they offered to

Scotland. prove as true and certain by the law of arms; and they protested, that if their adversaries should delay to answer their challenge, they should be held as confessing themselves guilty of the murder. Elizabeth, however, foreseeing something of this kind, had dismissed Murray and his adherents with precipitation, so that there could now be no formal production of it before the English commissioners. It was known and published, however, in the court of Elizabeth. Murray made an evasive reply, and Lethington made none at all.

This, however, afforded no relief to the unhappy queen of Scotland. Her inveterate and treacherous enemy held her fast, and endeavoured by every method in her power to render her life miserable. Mary, on the other hand, lost neither her spirit nor her dignity. She attempted to rouse in the minds of her nobles that passion for liberty which had once so much distinguished the Scottish nation, but which now seemed to be exchanged for a servile subjection to the queen of England. But some dispatches which urged these topics being intercepted, Mary was removed from Bolton to Tutbury castle, where she was intrusted to the earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to closer confinement than she had yet experienced; while Elizabeth dispersed manifestoes all over the northern counties of England, complaining of reports injurious to her honour, and disclaiming all hostile intentions towards the liberties of Scotland.

777  
Mary committed  
to closer confinement.

In the mean time Murray returned to Scotland, where he took every method of establishing himself in his ill-acquired power. Mary had commanded the duke of Chatelherault to return to Scotland, in order to raise forces for her advantage; but this nobleman had been long detained in England by the artifices of Elizabeth, so that Murray had arrived there before him. The duke, however, began to raise forces, and might have proved a troublesome antagonist, had not Murray deceived him by a pretended negotiation, and got him into his power; immediately after which he imprisoned him, and forced most of the other lords who were on that side to submit.

778  
The regent  
secures  
himself in  
power.

When the news of this important event reached the queen of Scots, she instructed the bishop of Ross to repair to Elizabeth, and to make remonstrances in their behalf. By the agency of this ecclesiastic, whom she had constituted her ambassador, she meant to conduct her transactions with the queen of England; and from the conclusion of the conferences, she had been meditating a proper plan on which to accomplish her liberty and restoration. The bishop of Ross, after complaining loudly of the rigorous proceedings of the regent, and intimating the general belief which prevailed that he was supported by the English court, pressed the propriety of a final settlement of the affairs of his mistress. With this view, he was admitted by Elizabeth and her privy-counsellors to frequent conferences; and they even desired him to present to them in writing the articles which he was commanded to propose as the foundation of a treaty. He failed not to comply with this injunction; and it was the import of his schedule of agreement, that Mary should engage never to molest Elizabeth, and the lawful heirs of her body, respecting the succession to the crown of England and Ireland, if she could obtain sufficient security that on their demise her rights would be respected; that a new treaty of alliance

779  
Negotiations  
in  
England.

Scotland. and friendship should be concluded between the two queens, by the advice of the estates of both kingdoms; that this league should be ratified by their oaths and seals, and confirmed by parliamentary acts; and, if any farther assurance should be deemed necessary on the part of Mary, that she would procure the kings of France and Spain to be the guarantees of her punctuality and concord; that in compliance with the pleasure of Elizabeth, she would extend her clemency to all her subjects who had offended her, under the provision that they would submit to her sovereignty, deliver up the prince her son, restore her castles, give back her jewels, and surrender to her friends and servants the estates and possessions of which they had been deprived; that the murder of the king should be punished against all the actors in it without delay, and according to the laws; that to prevent Bothwell from returning to Scotland, and to please those who imagined that it was in his power to excite ferments and trouble, she would be bound to institute a process of divorce against him; and that these articles being adjusted, the queen of England should allow her to proceed to Scotland, under a safe and honourable convoy, to be re-established by the three estates in her realm and government, and to be gratified with the dissolution of all the acts and statutes which had been passed to her prejudice.

780  
Advances are made in the projected marriage of Mary with the duke of Norfolk.

These heads of alliance were received with a respect and cordiality which were not usually paid to the transactions of Mary in the court of Elizabeth; and the bishop of Ross was elated with expectation. Their justice, however, was not the sole, or even the chief, cause of this attention and complaisance. A combination of the English nobles had taken place against Cecil, whose power and credit were objects of indignation and jealousy; and the duke of Norfolk had been active and successful in promoting the scheme of his marriage with the queen of Scots. Taking advantage of the condition of parties, he had practised with the principal nobility to encourage his pretensions to Mary; and he secretly communicated to them the promises of support he had received from the earl of Murray. By the advice and influence of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, he engaged in his behalf the earl of Leicester; and this nobleman imparted the matter to the earls of Pembroke and Arundel. The duke himself was able to conciliate the favour of the earls of Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Suffex. In the mean time, he was eagerly pressing Mary herself with his suit and importunities; and had mutually exchanged the tokens of a constant and sincere love. It was in this forward state of the match, that the bishop of Ross drew up the schedule of articles for the accommodation of the rival queens.

781  
The English nobles propose articles to Mary.

At the desire of Elizabeth, her privy-council conferred with the bishop on these articles at different times; and they expressed themselves highly pleased with their general import. Little doubt was entertained of their success; and the earl of Leicester, in order to complete the business, and to serve the duke of Norfolk, undertook to give them a more special force, and to improve them by the introduction of a stipulation about the marriage of the queen of Scots. According to his scheme of agreement, it was required of Mary, that she should be a party to no attempt against the rights and titles of

the queen of England, or her heirs; that she should consent to a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the two kingdoms; that she should finally establish the Protestant religion in Scotland; that she should admit to her favour those of her subjects who had appeared against her; that if she had made any assignment of her kingdom to the duke of Anjou, in the expectation of a marriage to be contracted between them, it should be dissolved; and that instead of looking to a foreign prince, whose alliance would be dangerous, not only to the religion but to the liberty of the two realms, she would agree to marry the duke of Norfolk, the first peer of England. These articles being communicated to the bishop of Ross, he was desired to transmit them to Mary; but as they touched on some points concerning which he had no instructions, he declined this office, and recommended the propriety of their employing a special messenger of their own in a commission of such high importance. They accordingly appointed Mr Candlish to go with them to the queen of Scots, and, in a formal dispatch, they extolled the merits of the duke of Norfolk; assured her of the general favour and support of the English nobility, if she should approve of his love: and intimated their belief that Elizabeth would not be averse to a marriage which gave the certain prospect of tranquillity and happiness to the two kingdoms. This dispatch was in the hand-writing of Leicester; and it was subscribed by this nobleman, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and the lord Lumley.

Mary, in the solitude of her prison, received this application with pleasure. By the lord Boyd she returned a very favourable answer to it; but took the liberty to admonish them of the necessity of their securing the good-will of Elizabeth, lest her dislike of the treaty of the marriage should excite new disasters and misfortunes, and involve the duke of Norfolk in inconvenience and danger. This advice, the suggestion of her delicacy and prudence, did not draw their attention sufficiently. The duke of Norfolk was now impatient to conclude this great transaction, in which he had engaged himself; and admitted into his councils many nobles whom he had hitherto neglected to court, and many gentlemen who were considerable from their distinction and fortunes. The countenance and consent of the kings of France and Spain were thought necessary to the measures in agitation, and were solicited and obtained. In the universality of the applause with which they were honoured, it was supposed that Elizabeth would be allured into a cordial acknowledgement of their propriety, or be compelled to afford them a reluctant approbation; and so ardent a belief prevailed of their fortunate termination, that the marriage-contract was actually intrusted to the keeping of M. Fenelon the French ambassador.

The activity of the duke of Norfolk with the English nobles did not so much engross his attention as to make him forget the regent. He kept up a close correspondence with him in consequence of the concert into which they had entered, and received the most ample assurances of his fidelity and service. The most sanguine and seducing hopes elated him. The regent, while he stipulated for terms of favour and security to himself and his faction, appeared to be full of the marriage, as a measure from which the greatest advantages would

Scotland.

782  
Mary agrees to the treaty proposed to her.

Scotland. would arise to the two kingdoms, to the two queens, and to the true religion. The match, in the meantime, was anxiously concealed from Elizabeth; but she was zealously pressed to conclude an accommodation with Mary, on the foundation of the schedule of agreement presented by the bishop of Ross. After having had many conferences with her privy-council, she seemed inclined to treat definitively for the restoration of the queen of Scots, and actually agreed to open the transaction to the regent. The lord Boyd was sent into Scotland on this business; and while he carried her letters, he was intrusted with dispatches from Mary, the duke of Norfolk, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

As the regent was returning from his northern expedition, he was saluted at Elgin by the lord Boyd, who immediately laid before him the dispatches and instructions with which he had been charged. The queen of England, in her letters, made three propositions in behalf of Mary, and intimated a desire that one of them should be accepted. The queen of Scots, she said, might be restored fully and absolutely to her royal estate: she might be associated in the government with her son, have the title of *queen*, and, till the prince should attain the age of 17 years, the administration might continue in the regent; or she might be permitted to return to Scotland in a private station, and have an honourable appointment to maintain her in a safe and happy obscurity. The dispatches from Mary to the regent desired, that judges might immediately be allowed to inquire into the legality of her marriage with Bothwell: and that, if it was found to have been concluded in opposition to the laws, it should be declared void, and that the liberty be granted to her of entering again into a matrimonial engagement. The duke of Norfolk expressed to the regent the gratitude he felt for his friendship; promised him the command of the fullest exertions of his consequence and power; intreated him to proceed expeditiously in promoting the business of the marriage, and referred him to the instructions of lord Boyd for a satisfactory answer to any doubts which might give him disgust or uneasiness. By the letters of Throgmorton, the regent was advertised that the marriage of the queen of Scots with the duke of Norfolk was a certain and decided point; and he was counselled to concur heartily and expeditiously in this transaction, that his consent might not seem to have been extorted. Maitland of Lethington was recommended to him by this statesman, as the person whom he should choose to represent him in the English court, as he could negotiate best the terms and mode of his security and of that of his party. In fine, Throgmorton intreated him not to be troubled with any precise scruples or objections, for that his overthrow, if he resisted, would be inevitable; and, in the view of his services and cordiality, he assured him, that no man's friendship would be accepted with greater affection, and no man's estimation be higher or more fortunate. The zeal of Throgmorton induced him also, on this occasion, to address to Maitland a dispatch, in which he was infinitely importunate to hasten his expedition to England, in the character to which he recommended him. He complimented him as the fittest person to open the match to the English queen, on the part of the regent and the Scottish nobility; and he represented the success of the scheme to be infallible, as Elizabeth would

never be so unwise as to put her own safety, the peace of her kingdom, and the preservation of her people, in competition with the partial devices that might proceed from the vanity and the passions of any person whatever. He enumerated the names of the English nobility who had confederated to promote the marriage. He enlarged on it as an expedient full of wisdom, and as advantageous in the highest degree to religion and the state. He pointed out the lasting and inseparable connection of England and Scotland, as its happy and undoubted consequence. For, if James VI. should die, the sceptres of the two kingdoms might devolve on an English prince; and if he should attain to manhood, he might marry the daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and unite, in his person, the two crowns.

These weighty dispatches fully employed the thoughts of the regent. The calls of justice and humanity were loud in the behalf of Mary; his engagements to Norfolk were precise and definitive; and the commission of Elizabeth afforded him the command of the most important services. But, on the other hand, the restoration of Mary, and her marriage, would put an end for ever to his greatness; and, amidst all the stipulations which could be made for his protection, the enormity of his guilt was still haunting him with suspicions and terror. His ambition and his selfish sensibilities were an overmatch for his virtue. He practised with his partizans to throw obstacles in the way of the treaty and the marriage; and, on pretence of deliberating concerning the restoration of Mary, and on her divorce from Bothwell, a convention of the estates was summoned by him to assemble at Perth. To this assembly the letters of Elizabeth were recited; and her propositions were considered in their order. The full restoration of Mary to her dignity was accounted injurious to the authority of the king, and her association with her son in the government was judged improper and dangerous; but it was thought that her deliverance from prison, and her reduction to a private station, were reasonable expedients. No definitive treaty, however, was pronounced. The letters of Mary were then communicated to this council, and gave rise to vehement debates. She had written and subscribed them in her character of queen of Scotland. This carriage was termed *insolent* and *imperious* by the friends of the regent. They also held it unsafe to examine her requests, till they should be communicated to Elizabeth; and they insinuated, that some clement and partial device was concealed under the purpose of her divorce from the earl of Bothwell. The favourers of Mary endeavoured to apologize for the form of the letters, by throwing the blame on her secretaries; and engaged, that while the commissaries, or judges, were proceeding in the business of the divorce, new dispatches in the proper method should be applied for and procured. They were heard with evident symptoms of displeasure; and exclaimed, "that it was wonderful to them, that those very persons who had lately been so violent for the separation of the queen and Bothwell should now be so averse to it." The partizans of the regent replied, "that if the queen was so eagerly solicitous to procure the divorce, she might apply to the king of Denmark to execute Bothwell as the murderer of her husband; and that then she might marry the person who was most agreeable to her." The passions of the two factions were

783  
The requests of Mary.

784  
Importunities of Norfolk.

Scotland.

785  
Deliberation of the estates on the restoration, &c. of the queen.



<sup>Scotland.</sup> were inflamed to a most indecent extremity, and the convention broke up with strong and unequivocal marks of hostility and anger.

<sup>786</sup>  
Elizabeth disapproves the designs of Mary and Norfolk.

Notwithstanding the caution with which Mary and Norfolk carried on their intrigues, intimations of them had come to Elizabeth. Norfolk himself, by the advice of the earl of Pembroke, had ventured to disclose his secret to Sir William Cecil, who affected to be friendly to him. The regent, in answer to her letters, transmitted to her the proceedings of the convention at Perth. The application of Mary for a divorce was a key to the ambitious hopes of the duke of Norfolk. She commanded Sir William Cecil to apply himself to discover the conspiracy. This statesman betrayed the confidence with which he had been entrusted; and Elizabeth, while the duke was attending her at Farnham, discovering a mixture of pleasantry and passion, admonished him to be careful on what pillow he reposed his head. The earl of Leicester, alarmed by his fears, revealed to her at Titchfield the whole proceedings of the duke of Norfolk and his friends. Her fury was ungovernable; and at different times she loaded Norfolk with the severest reproaches and contumely, for presuming to think of a marriage with the queen of Scots without the sanction of her concurrence. Insulted with her discourse and her looks, abandoned by Leicester, and avoided by other nobles in whom he had confided, he felt his courage to forsake him. He left the court at Southampton without taking his leave, and went to London to the earl of Pembroke. New intimations of her displeasure were announced to him, and he retired to his seat at Kinninghall in Norfolk. His friends urged him to take the field, and to commit his safety to the sword; but having no inclination to involve his country in the miseries of war, he rejected their advice; and addressing an apology to Elizabeth, protested that he never meant to depart from the fidelity which he owed her; and that it was his fixed resolution to have applied for her consent to his marriage with the queen of Scots. In return, she ordered him to repair to her court at Windsor; and, as he appeared to be irresolute, a messenger was dispatched to take him into custody. He was first confined to the house of Paul Wentworth, at Burnham, in the neighbourhood of Windsor, and then committed to the Tower. The earls of Pembroke and Arundel, the lord Lumley, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the bishop of Ross, were also apprehended and confined.

<sup>787</sup>  
Mary exposed to new indignities.

Elizabeth, amidst the ferment of her inquietudes, forgot not to gratify her revenge by insulting the queen of Scots. The name of Mary was sufficient to convulse her with anger. The earl of Huntingdon, who affected to have pretensions to the crown of England that were preferable to those of the Scottish princes, was joined with the earl of Shrewsbury in the office of guarding her. His instructions were rigorous, and he was disposed to exceed them. The earl of Shrewsbury considered it as an indignity to have an associate who was a declared enemy to his charge, who had an interest in her death, and who was remarkable for a natural ferocity of disposition. Mary exclaimed against the indelicacy and rudeness of Elizabeth, and protested that all her intentions were commendable and innocent. Huntingdon took a delight in her sufferings. He ransacked her coffers with a view of making discoveries;

but her prudence had induced her to destroy all the evidences of her transactions with the duke of Norfolk; and the officious assiduity of this jailor was only rewarded with two cyphers which he could not comprehend. The domestics whom she favoured were suspected and dismissed. Her train of attendants was diminished. An unrelenting watch was kept over her. No couriers were allowed to carry her dispatches. No messengers were admitted to her presence; and all the letters from her friends were ordered to be intercepted, and to be conveyed to the queen of England.

The proceedings of the convention at Perth were afflicting to Elizabeth, to Mary, and to the duke of Norfolk. In the first they created suspicions of the regent; and they were a certain annunciation to Mary that he was resolved to support himself in the government of Scotland. Uncertain rumours had reached Elizabeth of the interviews he had held with Norfolk in the business of the marriage. Her surprise and indignation were unbounded. Mr Wood, who brought from the regent his answer to her letter, was treated with disrespect. Secretary Cecil dispatched instructions to the lord Hunston, the governor of Berwick, to watch his operations with a jealous eye. Elizabeth, by a special envoy, required from him an explanation of his ambiguous carriage. The regent, true to his interests, apologized to her for his connections with the duke of Norfolk, by laying open the design of that nobleman, to cut him off, in his way to Scotland, by a full communication of whatever had passed between them in relation to Mary, and by offers of an unlimited submission and obedience.

While the duke of Norfolk was carrying on his intrigues with Mary, the scheme of an insurrection for her deliverance was advancing under the direction of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Motives of religion were the chief foundations of this conspiracy; and the more zealous Catholics over England were concerned in it. Mary, however, by the advice of the duke of Norfolk, who was afraid of her marrying a foreign prince, did not enter into it with cordiality. It advanced notwithstanding; and the agents of the pope were lavish of exhortations and donatives. The duke of Alva, by order of his master the king of Spain, encouraged the conspirators with the offer of 20,000 men from the Netherlands; and, under the pretence of adjusting commercial disputes, he sent into England Chiapini Vitelli marquis of Celona, an officer of ability, that he might be at hand, and prepare to take the command of them.—The report of an insurrection was universal. Elizabeth kept an army of 15,000 men near her person. The queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, a place of great strength; and if a superior and commanding force should appear before it, her ferocious keeper, it is said, had orders to assassinate her. Repeated commands were sent to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to repair to court. But the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk and his friends had struck a panic into them. They conceived that their conspiracy was discovered; and putting themselves at the head of their followers, they issued their manifesto. The restoration of Popery, the establishment of the titles of Mary to the English crown, and the reformation of abuses in the commonwealth, were the avowed objects of their enterprise. But they had embarked

<sup>Scotland.</sup>

<sup>788</sup>  
Norfolk betrayed by the regent.

<sup>789</sup>  
Insurrection in England.

Scotland. in a business to which they were altogether unequal. Their efforts were feeble and desultory. The duke of Alva forgot his promises. Wherever the peace was disturbed by insurgents, there were troops to oppose them. The vigilance of Elizabeth disconcerted with ease the operations of men whom no resources or popularity could have conducted to greatness, and who could neither conquer nor die. The earl of Westmoreland, after concealing himself for some time in Scotland, effected his escape into Flanders, where he passed a miserable and useless existence; and the earl of Northumberland being taken by the regent, was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven.

790  
Elizabeth  
liberates  
Norfolk  
and his  
friends.

As the fury of Elizabeth abated, her resentment to the duke of Norfolk lost its power; and she failed not to distinguish between the intrigues of an honourable ambition, and the practices of an obstinate superstition. It was the result of the examination of this nobleman, and of the confessions of the other prisoners, that Lethington had schemed the business of the marriage, and that the earl of Murray had encouraged it; that her consent was understood to be necessary to its completion; and that Mary herself had warmly recommended the expedient of consulting her pleasure. On receiving proper admonitions, the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, the lord Lumley, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the bishop of Ross, were released from confinement; and, after a more tedious imprisonment, the duke of Norfolk was set at liberty. This favour, however, was not extended to him till he had not only submissively acknowledged his presumption in the business of the marriage; but had fully revealed whatever had passed between him and Mary, and solemnly engaged never more to think of this alliance, and never more to take any concern whatever in her affairs.

791  
Maitland  
of Lething-  
ton accused  
of Darn-  
ley's mur-  
der.

The regent, in the meanwhile, was very anxious to recover the good opinion of Elizabeth. Her treatment of Mr Wood, and her discovery of his practices, had excited his apprehensions. He therefore assembled at Stirling a convention of the estates; and taking her letters a second time into consideration, returned her a reply by Robert Pitcairn abbot of Dunfermline, in a style suited to her temper and jealousies, and from which she could decisively infer, that no favour of any kind would be shown to the queen of Scots. But this base condescension, though assisted by his treachery to the duke of Norfolk, not being sufficient, in his opinion, to draw completely to him the cordiality of the queen of England, he was preparing to gratify her with another sacrifice. The partiality of Maitland to Mary, and his intrigues with Norfolk and the English malcontents, had rendered him uncommonly obnoxious to Elizabeth and her ministry. The late commotions had been chiefly ascribed to his arts; and it was natural to dread new calamities and tumults from the fertile spring of his invention. Under pretence of employing his service in dispatches to England, the regent invited him to Stirling. He was then with the earl of Athol at Perth; and suspecting some improper design, he obeyed the summons with reluctance. When he took his place in the privy-council, Captain Crawford, the minion of the earl of Lenox, who had distinguished himself in the trial of Mary, accused him, in direct terms, of being a party in the murder of the late king. The regent affected astonishment, but permitted him to be taken into custo-

dy. He was soon after sent to Edinburgh under a guard, and admonished to prepare for his trial. On similar charges, the lord Seton and Sir James Balfour were seized on and imprisoned.

Kirkaldy of Grange, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who was warmly attached to Maitland, affected in vain remonstrated with the regent on the violence of his conduct, employed address and stratagem in the service of his friend. Under the cover of night, he went with a guard of soldiers to the lodging where Maitland was confined; and showing a forged warrant for taking his person into custody, got possession of him. Kirkaldy had now in his castle the duke of Chatelherault, the lord Herries, and Maitland. The regent sent for him to a conference; but he refused to obey his message. He put himself and his fortress under the direction of his prisoners. The regent, condescending to pay him a visit, was more lavish than usual of his promises and kindness. His arts, however, only excited the disdain of this generous soldier. Since he could not lead out Maitland to the block, he instituted a process of treason against him, in order to forfeit his estates. Kirkaldy, by the mouth of a trumpeter, desired him to commence similar actions against the earl of Morton and Mr Archibald Douglas, as it was notorious that they were parties to the king's murder. This messenger was likewise charged with delivering a challenge from him to Mr Archibald Douglas, and another from the lord Herries to the earl of Morton. This disappointment, and these indignities, made a deep impression on the regent; and, in a thoughtful dissatisfied humour, about this time, he made a short progress towards the English border, courting popularity, and deservng it, by an attention to order and justice.

Elizabeth, flattered by his submissive advances, and pleased with his ambition, was now disposed to gratify his fullest wishes; and she perceived, that by delivering to him the queen of Scots, she would effectually relieve herself of a prisoner whose vigour and intrigues were a constant interruption to her repose. A treaty for this purpose was entered into and concluded. The regent was to march an army to the English frontiers, and to receive from her his sovereign into her own dominions, the victim of his power, and the sport of his passions. No hostages and no security were stipulated for her entertainment and good usage. His authority over her was to be without any limits. On his part, he was to deliver to Elizabeth the young prince, to put her in possession of the principal forts of Scotland, and to assist her with troops on the event of a war with France. This treaty, so fatal to Mary, and so ruinous to the independence of Scotland, escaped not the vigilance of the bishop of Ross. He complained of it in the strongest terms to Elizabeth; and declared it to be equivalent to a sentence of death against his mistress. The ambassadors of France and Spain were also strenuous in their remonstrances to her on this subject. All resistance, however, was unavailing; and the execution of the treaty seemed inevitable. Yet how vain are the lost schemes of human pride! The career of the regent was hastening to its crisis; and the hand of an assassin put a period to his dream of royalty. Scotland did not lose its liberties; but Mary continued to be unfortunate.

793  
Elizabeth  
agrees to  
deliver up  
Mary to  
the regent.

Scotland.

794  
Death of  
the regent.  
An. 1570.

James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Langside, obtained his liberty and life; but his estates were forfeited.—His wife, the heiress of Woodhouselie, retired on this emergency to her paternal inheritance, in the hope that it might escape the rapacity of the regent. He had, however, given it away to one of his favourites, Sir James Ballenden; and the instruments of his power having the inhumanity to strip her of her garments, and to turn her naked out of her house, in a cold and dark night, she became distracted before the morning. Hamilton vowed revenge; and the regent made a mockery of his threats. This contempt inspired his passions; and the humiliation of the house of Hamilton, to which he was nearly allied, fostered the eagerness of his discontents. The madness of party added fuel to his rage. His mind became reconciled to assassination. After watching for some time a proper opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose, he found it at Linlithgow. The regent was to pass through this town on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Intimation reached him that Hamilton was now to perpetrate his design; and he unaccountably slighted the intelligence. The assassin, in a house that belonged to the archbishop of St Andrew's, waited deliberately his approach; and firing his musket from a window, shot him through the body. The wound, when examined, was not judged to be mortal; but the regent finding its pain to increase, prepared himself for death; and in a few hours after he expired. A fleet horse of the abbot of Arbroath's carried the assassin to the palace of Hamilton; and thence he soon after effected his escape to France.

The death of the earl of Murray made no favourable alteration in the affairs of Mary. Confusion and disorder prevailed throughout the kingdom; and though the friends of the queen were promised assistance from France, nothing effectual was done for them. At last the regency was conferred on the earl of Lenox; an enemy to the queen, who treated her friends with the utmost rigour. At the same time Elizabeth continued to amuse with negotiations her unhappy rival. She granted liberty to the bishop of Ross to repair to the queen of Scots, who had been removed to Chatworth, and to confer with her on the subject of the intended treaty. Mary, conforming to the advances of Elizabeth, authorised the lord Levingston to pass to her dominions, and desire her friends to appoint a deputation of their number to give their assistance in promoting the salutary purpose of establishing the tranquillity of their country: and after meeting with some interruptions on the English borders from the earl of Suffex, this nobleman successfully executed his commission. The queen's lords gave powers to ten nobles to act in a body, or by two of their number, in the intended negotiation: and a safe-conduct from Elizabeth allowed them to enter the English realm, and to remain in it during six months.

795  
Lenox  
chosen to  
succeed  
him.  
796  
Articles of  
agreement  
proposed  
to Mary  
by Eliza-  
beth.  
An. 1571.

While the lord Levingston was consulting the interests of Mary with her friends in Scotland, the bishop of Ross was making earnest suit with Elizabeth to proceed in the projected negotiation. His solicitations were not ineffectual; and Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay received the instructions of their mistress to wait on the queen of Scots at Chatworth. The heads of accommodation which they proposed were ex-

plícit; and the rigour which they discovered towards the Scottish princess seemed to prove their sincerity. It was proposed, that a perfect amity should take place between the two queens; that all the treaties which had formerly been concluded by the two nations should receive an ample confirmation; that the queen of Scotland should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and forbear to advance any title or claim to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth, or to the prejudice of the heirs of her body; that in case of foreign invasions, the two realms should mutually assist each other; that all foreign soldiers should be ordered to depart out of Scotland; that in future, strangers of the profession of arms should be prohibited from repairing to it, and from taking up their residence in any of its castles or houses of strength; that Mary should hold no correspondence, directly or indirectly, with any subject of England, without the permission of the English queen; that the earl of Northumberland, and the English rebels in Scotland, should be delivered up to Elizabeth; that redress should be given to the subjects of England for the spoils taken by them on the Scottish borders; that the murderers of the lord Darnley and the earl of Murray should be duly and effectually punished; that before the queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the young prince her son should be brought into England, and that he should continue in the keeping of Elizabeth till the death of his mother, or till her resignation to him of her crown on his attaining majority; that the queen of Scots should not enter into a negotiation for her marriage without the knowledge of the queen of England, nor conclude it without her approbation, or that of the greatest part of the Scottish nobility; that none of the subjects of Scotland should be suffered to go to Ireland without the safe-conduct of Elizabeth; and that Mary should deliver to her sister all the testimonies and writings which had been sent from France, renouncing and disavowing the pretended marriage between her and the duke of Anjou. Besides these articles of agreement, it was proposed by another treaty to adjust the differences of the queen of Scots and her subjects; and Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay embraced the present opportunity of conferring with her on this business, under pretence of facilitating its management in the future stages of its progress.

During their stay at Chatworth, these statesmen were completely satisfied with the behaviour of the queen of Scots. The candour, sincerity, and moderation, which she displayed, were full assurances to them that on her part there was no occasion for apprehending any improper policy or art; and the calamities of her condition were a still more secure pledge of her compliance. Elizabeth, on hearing their report, affected to be highly pleased with her sister, and sent a message to the earl of Lenox, instructing him in the conditions which had been submitted to Mary; and desiring him to dispatch commissioners into England to deliberate on the treaty, and to consult his interest and that of his faction. Nor did Mary neglect to transmit to her friends in Scotland the proposed terms of agreement, and the bishop of Ross, who had assisted her in the conferences with Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay, conveyed intimations of them to the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Alva; besought their advice, and informed these princes, that unless an

Scotland.

797  
Mary is de-  
sirous to  
negociate.

Scotland.

effectual relief could be expected from their favour, the necessities of her condition would compel her to subscribe to the hard and humiliating dictates of the queen of England.

798  
The inferiority of Elizabeth.

But while Mary and her friends were indulging the hope of a termination to her troubles, Elizabeth was secretly giving comfort to her adversaries, and encouraging them to throw obstacles in the way of the treaty. Sir William Cecil wrote to the regent, expressing his disapprobation of the negotiations at Chatfworth; desiring him not to be apprehensive of the boastings of the adherents of the queen of Scots; and advising him to make choice of commissioners, in the name of the king, on whose constancy and fortitude he could rely, and whom no address could allure from his interest, or from the common cause in which he and his friends were embarked. The earl of Suffex also sent him dispatches, in which he admonished him to turn his anxious attention to the approaching negotiation, and to insist on secure stipulations for the preservation of the prince, for his own safety, and for a general indemnity to the nobles and their adherents, whose party he had espoused. In every event, he represented it as proper for him to pay the greatest respect to Elizabeth; and, if no treaty should be concluded, he advised him to be prepared for reducing the friends of Mary to obedience, and for defending himself against invasions from abroad. By these artifices, the regent and his faction were inclined to intimate to Elizabeth their warm dissatisfaction with the terms of agreement which she had proposed to Mary; and Pitcairn abbot of Dunfermline, who had been appointed secretary of state in the room of Maitland of Lethington, was deputed to her on this business. He exclaimed against the treaty as wild and impolitic; and contended, that no stipulations could bind Mary, whose religion taught her to keep no faith with heretics; that her claims to the English crown, and her resentment against the queen of England, as well as her own subjects, would immediately on her restoration, involve the two kingdoms in blood; and that no peace or quiet could be expected or enjoyed, but by adhering to the salutary maxim of detaining her in close captivity. Elizabeth did not discourage these inclement sentiments; and Pitcairn was assured by her, that from her natural love to the king, and her regard to the nobles who upheld his authority, she would faithfully provide for their security; and that if justice should appear on their side, she would even strenuously maintain their quarrel and their consequence.

799  
Mary's commissioners have an audience of Elizabeth.

Mary had been carried to Sheffield, and was recovering from a feverish indisposition. To this place the bishop of Galloway and the lord Levingston, who had been selected by her friends to be her acting deputies in England, repaired in order to impart to her the state of affairs in Scotland, and to receive her commands. After repeated conferences on the subject of the approaching treaty, she gave them her commission and instructions, and joining them to the bishop of Ross, sent them to Elizabeth. They requested an audience of this princess, and were admitted to it at Hampton-court. Having presented their credentials, they informed her, that they were ready to conclude a treaty of concord and agreement, on principles the most extensive and liberal; and, representing to her the improve-

Scotland.

ished and tumultuous state of their country, they begged her to proceed in the business with expedition. The orders, they said, which they had received, and their own inclinations, disposed them to follow her advice and counsel in all points which were honourable and consistent with reason; and as her protection was the only refuge of the adversaries of their queen, they took the liberty of observing, that it was completely in her power to put a period to all disturbances and animosity, and to accomplish an accord, which would not only confer on her the highest reputation, but be of the most signal utility to the two kingdoms. Elizabeth declared, that it would please and flatter her in no common degree to advance in the negotiation; and that it was painful to her that the regent, by his delay in sending commissioners, should discover any aversion to it. This answer was deemed very favourable by the bishop of Ross and his associates; and they obtained her authority to dispatch a messenger to the regent to hasten his operations.

In the mean time, Mary received dispatches from the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Alva; and they concurred in recommending it to her to accept of the articles of accommodation which were offered by Elizabeth. The Turks were giving employment to the pope and the king of Spain; Charles IX. already enfeebled by the obstinate valour of the Huguenots, was busy in deceiving them with appearances of peace, and in plotting their overthrow; and the duke of Alva felt himself insecure in his government of the Netherlands. But while they strongly advised Mary to conclude an agreement with the queen of England, they were yet lavish to her of their expressions of a constant amity; and if the treaty should miscarry, they promised to make the most strenuous exertions in her behalf, and to assist her adherents with money, ammunition, and troops.

See The Catholics advise Mary to accept of the accommodation.

The earl of Morton, the abbot of Dunfermline, and Mr James Macgill, had been appointed by the regent and his faction to be their commissioners in the name of the king; and at length their arrival was announced to Elizabeth. Conforming to the spirit of their party, the earl of Morton and his colleagues took an early opportunity of justifying to her the deposition of the queen of Scots, and by this means to interrupt the progress of the treaty. In an elaborate memorial, they affected to consider Mary as unworthy to reign, and asserted the constitutional power of the people to curb her ambition, and to degrade her from royalty. They endeavoured to intrench themselves within the authority of laws, civil, canon, and municipal; and they recited opinions to her prejudice by many pious divines. But though the general position, that the people have a title to resist the domination of the sovereign is clear and undoubted; yet their application of it to the queen of Scots was improper. To speak of her tyranny, and her violation of the rights of her people, was even a wanton mockery of truth and justice; for instead of having assumed an illegal exorbitancy of power, she had suffered in her own person and rights, and had been treated by her subjects with the most cruel and tyrannical insolence. Elizabeth, who was unwilling and afraid to enter again into the conduct of Mary, who was fully sensible of the insolence of her adversaries, and who did not approve of any maxims that pressed against the majesty of princes, received

See The regent and his faction attempt to justify the deposition of Mary.

Scotland. received their memorial with surprize and indignation. She perceived not, she told them, any reason that could vindicate the severity which had been shown to the queen of Scots by her enemies; and advised them to consider, that in the present negotiation it was their proper business to consult the security of the king and of their party.

802 Elizabeth's commissioners hold conferences with those of the queen of Scots, On the part of Elizabeth, the commissioners were the lord keeper Bacon, the earls of Suffex and Leicester, the lord Clynton, the lord chamberlain, Sir William Cecil, who about this time was created Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir James Croft, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith. The deputies of Mary were invited to meet the English commissioners in the house of the lord keeper; and after he had stated the general purposes of the treaty, he intimated to them, that there were two points which required a particular discussion. A proper security, he said ought to be given by the queen of Scots for her due performance of the stipulations of the agreement with Elizabeth; and it was expedient to concert the mode of the pardon and indemnity which she was to extend to the subjects of Scotland who had offended her. As an assurance of the accommodation with his mistress, he demanded, that the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Huntly and Argyle, the lords Hume and Herries, with another person of high rank, should be surrendered to her, and remain in England for three years; that the castles of Dumbarton and Hume should be in her possession during the same period; and as to the article concerning the delivery of the prince into her custody, he observed, that it should be required from the regent, the queen of Scots not having the power of its performance. The deputies of Mary, surprized with this language, intreated the English delegates to reflect, that their queen if deprived of the most faithful of her nobles, and of her strongest forts, could have little desire or ambition to return to her own kingdom; for she would thus be unable to protect herself against the turbulence of her subjects, and be a sovereign without friends, and without strength. They were inclined, they said, to put their commission and powers to the fullest stretch, in order to gratify Elizabeth; and they would agree, that two earls and two barons should be surrendered for two years, as hostages of the fidelity of their sovereign; under the restriction, that they might be exchanged every six months for persons of an equal condition, if they should be desirous of returning to their own country. As to the giving up of any forts or castles, they would not agree to it, because among the other inconveniences of this measure, similar claims might be made by the king of France, by the spirit of the treaty of Edinburgh, which stipulated, that no French or English troops should be admitted into Scotland. The lord keeper Bacon, resuming his discourse, told them, that the whole realm of Scotland, its prince, nobles, and castles, were an inadequate pledge to the queen of England; and that, if his advice should be followed, the queen of Scots would not obtain her liberty on any kind of security which could be granted by the Scottish nation. In all public treaties, said the delegates of Mary, no further assurance can be required from a sovereign than what consists with his safety; and when exactions are pressed from a contracting party in a league which are ruinous and impossible, it is

understood that a foundation is sought to break off the negotiation. The English commissioners, now interfering in a body, declared on their honour, that it was the meaning of Elizabeth to agree to the restoration of the queen of Scots to her crown and realm on receiving sufficient assurances for the articles of the accommodation; that the security offered for her acceptance, should be submitted to her deliberation; and that they would immediately proceed to confer with the deputies from the king of Scots.

The English commissioners were not unacquainted with the sentiments of the earl of Morton and his colleagues; and it was from this quarter that they expected a resolute and definitive interruption to the treaty. Nor did these delegates disappoint the expectations conceived of them. After affecting to take a comprehensive view of the articles under debate, they declared, that their commission gave them authority to treat about the amity of the two kingdoms, and the maintenance of the true religion; but that it conferred on them no power to receive their queen into Scotland, or to surrender to Elizabeth the person of their king. They therefore begged not to be urged to accede to a league which, at some future period, might expose them to a charge of high treason.

803 Elizabeth and with the king's deputies. This singular declaration was considered to be solid and weighty by the English commissioners; and, in a new conference, it was communicated by them to the deputies of Mary. The bishop of Ross and his associates were disgusted with this formal impertinence. They did not hesitate to pronounce the plea of an insufficient commission from the king to his delegates to be an unworthy and most frivolous subterfuge. The authors, they said, of the deposition of their sovereign did not need any authority but their own to set her at liberty; the prince was not yet five years of age, and could give them no instructions: and the regent was wholly dependent on the will and pleasure of the queen of England. It was represented in return by the English delegates, that the commission of King James to his deputies, having been perused by Elizabeth, was accounted by her to be insufficient; and that it was her opinion, that the earl of Morton should return to Scotland to hold a parliament for obtaining new powers. The bishop of Ross exclaimed, that the queen of Scots had been amused with deceitful promises, that the prudence of Elizabeth had been corrupted by partial counsels, and that the allegations and pretences held out for interrupting the negotiation were affected and unreal. The instructions, he said, from his sovereign to her commissioners, were to negotiate and to conclude, and not to trifle; and they would not by any means consent to protract, by artificial delays, a treaty which the queen of England, if her intentions were sincere and right, could immediately terminate on reasonable and honourable terms. His speech and his demeanour he acknowledged to be free and open; and he besought them to excuse him, since, having been made an instrument to abuse his mistress with false hopes, he could not but resent the indignity, and express what he knew and what he felt. The English deputies, addressing him and his colleagues, observed, that as the friends of Mary, and those of the king her son, could not come to an agreement, and as their queen was re-

804 Elizabeth refused

Scotland. fuded the assurance she expected, they held their commission to be at an end, and were no longer at liberty to negotiate.

805  
The agitated condition of the two queens.

The insincerity of Elizabeth, and the failure of the league or agreement, filled Mary with resentment and complaints. Her animosities, and those of Elizabeth, were increased. She was in haste to communicate to her allies the unworthy treatment she had received; and she sent her commands to her adherents in Scotland to rise in arms, to repose no trust in truces which were prejudicial and treacherous, and to employ all their resources and strength in the humiliation of the regent and his faction. Elizabeth, who by this time apprehended no enterprise or danger from Charles IX. or the duke of Alva, resolved, on the other hand, to give a strong and effectual support to James's friends, and to disunite by stratagem, and oppress by power, the partizans of the Scottish princefs. The zeal of the bishop of Ross having raised her anger, she commanded him to depart from London; and Mary, in contempt of her mandate, ordered him to remain there under the privilege of her ambassador. The high and unbroken spirit of the Scottish queen, in the midst of her misfortunes, never once awakened the generous admiration of Elizabeth. While it uniformly inflamed her rage, it seems also to have excited her terror. With a pusillanimous meanness, she sent a dispatch to the earl of Shrewsbury, instructing him to keep his charge in the closest confinement, and to be incessantly on his guard to prevent her escape. He obeyed, and regretted her severity. The expence, retinue, and domestics, of the queen of Scots, were diminished and reduced, and every probable means by which she might endeavour to obtain her liberty were removed from her. The rigours, however, that invaded her person could not reach her mind; and she pitied the tyrant that could add contumely to oppression, and deny her even the comforts of a prison.

806  
Dreadful confusion in Scotland.

All this time Scotland was involved in the miseries of civil war. The friends of Mary were everywhere punished with fines and forfeiture. Private families took the opportunity of the public confusion to revenge their quarrels against each other. Individuals of every denomination ranged themselves on the side either of the regent or of the queen, and took a share in the hostilities of their country. Fathers divided against sons, and sons against their fathers. Acts of outrage and violence were committed in every quarter, while, amidst the general confusion, religion was made the pretence by both parties.

807  
The regent taken prisoner, and put to death.

In the mean time, though many encounters took place between the two factions, yet neither party seems to have been conducted by leaders of any skill in military affairs. This year, in one of these skirmishes, the regent himself was taken prisoner by a party of the queen's faction, and put to death. But this event made little alteration in the affairs of the nation. The earl of Mar, another of the queen's enemies, was chosen to the regency: but though he proposed to act against her party with rigour, he was baffled before Edinburgh castle, which was still held by her friends; and some bloody skirmishes were fought in the north, where victory declared in favour of the queen. These advantages, however, were more than compensated to the other party by the following event.

While the negotiations with Elizabeth for Mary's restoration were depending, the scheme of a conspi-

racy for her deliverance was communicated to her by Robert Ridolphi a Florentine, who lived in London for many years as a merchant, and who was secretly an agent for the court of Rome. But to his letters, while the fate of the treaty was uncertain, she returned no reply. Its miscarriage, through the duplicity of Elizabeth, recalled them forcibly to her attention, and stimulated her to seek the accomplishment of her liberty by measures bolder and more arduous than any which she had hitherto employed. She drew up in cipher an ample discourse of his communications and of her situation, and dispatched it to the bishop of Ross, together with letters for the duke of Norfolk. Her instructions to this ecclesiastic were to convey the discourse and letters expeditiously to Norfolk, and to concert an interview between that nobleman and Ridolphi. The confidential servants by whom the duke acted with the bishop of Ross were Bannister and Barker; and having received from them the discourse and the letters, they were deciphered by Hickford his secretary. Having considered them maturely, he delivered them to Hickford, with orders to commit them to the flames. His orders, however, were disobeyed; and Hickford deposited them, with other papers of consequence, under the mats of the duke's bed-chamber. The contents of the discourse and the letters awakening the hope and ambition of Norfolk, he was impatient to see Ridolphi; and the bishop of Ross soon brought them together. Ridolphi, whose ability was excited by motives of religion and interest, exerted all his eloquence and address to engage the duke to put himself at the head of a rebellion against his sovereign. He represented to him, that there could not be a season more proper than the present for achieving the overthrow of Elizabeth. Many persons who had enjoyed authority and credit under her predecessors were much disgusted; the Catholics were numerous and incensed; the younger sons of the gentry were languishing in poverty and inaction in every quarter of the kingdom; and there were multitudes disposed to insurrection from restlessness, the love of change, and the ardour of enterprise. He insinuated that his rank, popularity, and fortune, enabled him to take the command of such persons with infinite advantage. He insisted on his imprisonment and the outrages he had sustained from Elizabeth; represented the contempt to which he would expose himself by a tame submission to these wrongs; extolled the propriety with which he might give way to his indignation and revenge; and pointed out the glory he might purchase by the humiliation of the enemies, and by the full accomplishment of his marriage with the queen of Scots. To give strength and confirmation to these topics, he produced a long list of the names of noblemen and gentlemen with whom he had practised, and whom he affirmed to be ready to hazard their lives and riches for a revolution in the state, if the duke would enter into it with cordiality. To fix decisively the duke, he now opened to him the expectations with which he might flatter himself from abroad. The pope, he assured him, had already provided 100,000 crowns for the enterprise; and if Popery should be advanced in England, he would cheerfully defray the whole charges of the war. The king of Spain would supply 4000 horse and 6000 foot, which might be landed at Harwich. Charles IX. was devotedly attached to the queen of Scots, notwithstanding the treaty which had been enter-

Scotland.  
808  
Norfolk's conspiracy

Scotland. ed into with Elizabeth for her marriage with his brother the duke of Anjou : and when he should discover that, on the part of the English princess, this matrimonial scheme was no better than a device or a mockery, he would renounce the appearance of friendship which he had assumed, and return to his natural sentiments, of disdain and hatred with redoubled violence. In fine, he urged, that while he might depend on the assistance and arms of the greatest princes of Christendom, he would intitle himself to the admiration of all of them by his magnanimous efforts and generous gallantry in the cause of a queen so beautiful and so unfortunate.

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discovered  
by the mi-  
nisters of  
Elizabeth.

The duke of Norfolk, allured by appearances so plausible and flattering, did not scruple to forget the duties of a subject, and the submissive obligation in which he had bound himself to Elizabeth never more to interfere in the affairs of the Scottish princess. Ridolphi, in this forward state of the business, advised him to address letters to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, expressive of his concurrence in the design, and exciting their activity and resolutions. He even produced dispatches framed for this purpose ; and while he intreated the duke to subscribe them, he offered to carry them himself to Flanders, Rome, and Spain. The duke of Norfolk, who was ambitious and timid, disposed to treason, and unfit for it, hesitated whether he should subscribe the letters ; and at length refused to proceed to that extremity. He yet allowed the bishop of Ross, and Barker his servant to go to the Spanish ambassador to express his approbation of the measures of Ridolphi, to acknowledge that the letters were according to his mind, and to empower this statesman to certify their authenticity to his court. Ridolphi full of hopes, set out to execute his commission. He passed first to the duke of Alva, to whom he communicated the transactions in which he had been engaged, and with whom he held many conferences. There was at this time at Brussels Charles Bailly, a servant of the queen of Scots ; and Ridolphi, after disclosing to him his proceedings with Alva, entrusted him with letters to her, to the duke of Norfolk, the Spanish ambassador, and the bishop of Ross. When this messenger reached Calais, a letter was delivered to him from the bishop of Ross, desiring him to leave his dispatches with the governor of that place. From inexperience and vanity he neglected this notice ; and being searched at Dover, his letters, books, and clothes were seized, and he himself sent to London, and imprisoned in the Marshalsea. The bishop of Ross, full of apprehensions, applied to Lord Cobham, the warden of the cinque ports, who was friendly to the duke of Norfolk ; and obtaining by his means the packet of dispatches from Ridolphi, he substituted another in its place, which contained letters of no danger or usefulness. He had also the dexterity to convey intelligence of this trick to Bailly, and to admonish him to preserve a profound silence, and not to be afraid. This simple and unpractised agent had, however, excited suspicions by the symptoms of terror he had exhibited on being taken, and by exclaiming, that the dispatches he brought would involve his own destruction and that of others. At his first examination he confessed nothing : but being sent to the tower, and put on the rack, he revealed his conversations with Ridolphi, and declared, that the dispatches which he had brought had been de-

livered to the bishop of Ross. An order was granted for taking the bishop into custody. Having been aware, however, of his perilous situation, his house was searched in vain for treasonable papers ; and he thought to screen himself from answering any interrogatories under the sanctity of his character as the ambassador of an independent princess.

An unexpected incident excited, in the meantime, new suspicions and alarms. Mary being desirous of transmitting 2000 crowns to the lord Herries to advance her interests in Scotland, the duke of Norfolk undertook to convey it to him with safety. He intrusted it to the charge of his confidants Hickford and Barker, who putting it into a bag with dispatches from their master to Lord Herries, ordered a servant called *Brown* to carry it to Bannister ; who, being at this time on the border, could forward it to Scotland. Brown, suspicious or corrupted, instead of proceeding on his errand, carried the bag and its contents to Sir William Cecil, now Lord Burleigh. The privy-council, deeming it treason to send money out of the realm for the use of the friends of Mary, whom they affected to consider as enemies, ordered Hickford and Barker to be apprehended. The rack extorted from them whatever they knew to the prejudice of their master. Hickford gave intelligence of the fatal discourse and the letters from Mary, which he had preserved in opposition to the orders given to him. All the proceedings between the queen of Scots, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ross, and Ridolphi, were brought to light. A guard was placed on the house of the duke of Norfolk, in order to prevent his escape. Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevil, and Dr Willon, were commissioned to examine him ; and being impressed with the belief that the discourse and the letters had been destroyed, he positively denied that he had any concern in the affairs of the queen of Scots, or any knowledge of them whatever. He was committed to the tower a close prisoner. Bannister by this time was taken ; and he confirmed the relations of Hickford and Barker. In the course of their discoveries, there appeared reasons of suspicion against many persons of rank and distinction. The earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lord Cobham, Mr Thomas Cobham, his brother, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Henry Percy, and other gentlemen who were friendly to the queen of Scots and the duke of Norfolk, were ordered to be lodged in different prisons ; and the rack, and the expectation of a pardon, drew from them the fullest confessions. The duke was altogether unable to defend himself. The concurring testimonies of his friends and servants, with the discourse and the letters, which he fondly imagined had been committed to the flames, were communicated to him. He was overwhelmed with amazement and distress ; and exclaimed, that he had been betrayed and undone. He made ample acknowledgments of his guilt, and had no foundation of hope but in the mercy of his sovereign.

By the confession of the duke himself, and from all the inquiries which had been made by the ministers of Elizabeth, it appeared obvious beyond a doubt, that the bishop of Ross had been the principal contriver of the conspiracy. Ridolphi had acted under his direction, and he had excited the duke of Norfolk. He had even proceeded to the extremity of advising that noble-

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The duke's  
friends and  
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man Lady.

Scotland man to put himself at the head of a select band of adherents, and to seize boldly the person of Elizabeth. In his examinations he was treated with great rigour and insult. But he made an able defence, and peremptorily refused to make any answer to interrogatories. The counsellors of Elizabeth were disturbed with his obstinacy; and having certified him, that the rack would soon render him more pliant, he was ordered into close confinement in a dark apartment of the tower. When he had remained a few days in this melancholy situation, four privy-counsellors, the lord-admiral, the lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Thomas Smith, went to the tower, and caused him to be brought to them to the lieutenant's lodging. After having assured him that he was charged by all the prisoners as the principal contriver of the conspiracy, they insisted, in the name of their sovereign, that he should explain fully the part he had acted. The confessions of the duke of Norfolk and his servants, of the lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Stanley, and other gentlemen, with the discourse and dispatches of the queen of Scots, were set before him. They now protested on their honour, that if he would make a free and open declaration of his proceedings, it should be employed neither against himself, nor against any other person; but that if he should continue to be resolute in refusing to give this satisfaction to their queen, who was anxious to search the matter to the bottom, they were instructed to let him know, that she would absolutely consider him as a private person, and order him to be tried and executed as a traitor. In this extremity he accepted the conditions held out to him, and disclosed minutely all the transactions of the principal parties in the conspiracy. But while he described the offences of his mistress, the duke of Norfolk, and himself, he could not avoid to lessen their blame by apologies. It was natural, he said, for the queen of Scots to exert the most strenuous endeavours in her power to recover her freedom and crown; and the methods she adopted to obtain her purposes ought to be considered in connection with the arts of Elizabeth, who pertinaciously denied her access to her presence, who kept her a close prisoner in contempt of all the principles of humanity and justice, and who afforded an open and powerful assistance to her enemies. The duke of Norfolk he was earnest to excuse on the foundation of the advances which had been made towards his marriage with the queen of Scots. Their plighted love, and their engagements, did not allow him to forsake her. As for himself, he was her ambassador and her servant; and being highly indebted to her generosity and kindness, he could not abandon her in captivity and distress without incurring the guilt of the most sinful treachery and ingratitude. The daring proposal he had made to seize the person of Elizabeth was the point, he observed, which seemed to press on him the most severely; and he intreated them to believe, that he had moved it only with the view of trying the courage of the duke of Norfolk.—The privy-counsellors of Elizabeth were now in possession of all the evidence they could expect in this important business. Norfolk was admonished to prepare for his trial; and Bishop Lesly perceived, that though he might escape with his life, he would never more be permitted to reside in England, and to act there as the ambassador, the minister, and the friend of the queen of Scots.

The defeat of the duke of Norfolk's conspiracy was a blow to Mary which she never recovered. Her most faithful friends were languishing in prisons on her account; she had no longer the counsels of the bishop of Rois; and the Spanish ambassador, who had entered into her concerns with an unscrupulous cordiality, had been ordered to withdraw from England. The trial and condemnation of Norfolk soon followed, and plunged her into the most calamitous distress.

The massacre of the Protestants at Paris in 1572 proved also extremely detrimental to her. It was interpreted to be a consequence of the confederacy which had been formed at Bayonne for the extermination of the reformed. The Protestants were everywhere transported with rage against the Papists. Elizabeth prepared herself against an attack from the Catholic powers; and was haunted with the notion that they meant to invade her kingdom, and to give it to the queen of Scots. Her ambassador at Paris, Sir Francis Walsingham, augmented her apprehensions and terror. He compared her weakness with the strength of her enemies, and assured her that if they should possess themselves of Scotland, she would soon cease to be a queen. He represented Mary as the great cause of the perils that threatened her personal safety and the tranquillity of her kingdom; and as violent diseases required violent remedies, he scrupled not to counsel her to unite Scotland to her dominions, and to put to death a rival whose life was inconsistent with her security. The more bigotted Protestants of Scotland differed not very widely in their sentiments from Sir Francis Walsingham; while such of them as were more moderate were still more attached to their religion than to Mary; and amidst the indignation and horror into which the subjects of Scotland were thrown by the sanguinary outrages of Charles IX. and Catharine de Medicis, they surveyed the sufferings of their sovereign with a diminished sympathy.

This year the regent, finding himself beset with difficulties which he could not overcome, and the affairs of the nation involved in confusion from which he could not extricate them, died of melancholy, and was succeeded by the earl of Morton.

During the regency of the earl of Mar, a remarkable innovation took place in the church, which deserves to be particularly explained, being no less than the introduction of Episcopacy instead of the Presbyterian form of worship. While the earl of Lenox was regent, the archbishop of St Andrew's was put to death because he was strongly suspected of having had a concern in the death of the earl of Murray; after which the earl of Morton procured a grant of the temporalities of that see. Out of these he allotted a stipend to Mr John Douglas, a Protestant clergyman, who assumed the title of archbishop. This violence excited censure and murmurs. In the language of the times, it was pronounced to be a profanation of the kirk, and a high contempt of God; and it underwent the scrutiny of the ministry in applications and complaints to the regent. The matter was doubtless of too much importance to be overlooked; and a commission of privy-counsellors and clergymen was appointed in the name of the king to inquire into it, and to reform and improve the policy of the church. This commission, on the part of the privy-council, consisted of the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven,



Scotland. ven, Robert abbot of Dunfermline, Mr James Macgill, Sir John Ballenden, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchie; and on the part of the church there were named John Erskine of Dun, and Mr John Winram, Mr Hay, Mr Lindsay, Mr Pont, and Mr John Craig. The consultations and debates were long; and the influence and management of the earl of Morton directed their determinations. It was resolved, that till the majority of the king, or till the wisdom of the three estates should be consulted, the titles of archbishop and bishop should continue as in the times which preceded the reformation; and that a chapter of learned ministers should be annexed to every metropolitan or cathedral seat. It was determined that the sees, as they became vacant, should be given to those of the Protestant ministry who were most eminent for their qualifications; that the archbishops and bishops should exercise no higher jurisdiction than what was permitted to superintendants; and that they should be subject to the controul of the general assemblies of the church. It was agreed, that all abbots, priors, and other inferior prelates presented to benefices, should be examined by the bishop or superintendant of the diocese or precinct where the preferment was situated; and that their fitness to represent the church in parliament should be duly inquired into. It was judged that the king and the regent should recommend qualified persons to vacant bishoprics, and that the elections of them should be made by the chapters of the respective cathedrals. It was ordered that all benefices with cure under prelacies should be disposed of only to officiating ministers; that every minister should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, or the superintendant of the province; and that the bishops and superintendants, on the ordination of ministers, should exact an oath from them to recognize the authority of the king, and to pay canonical obedience to their ordinary in all things that were lawful.

By these artful regulations the earl of Morton did not mean solely to consult his own rapacity or that of the nobles. The exaltation of the Protestant church to be one of the three estates was a consequence of them; and the clergy being the strenuous enemies of Mary, he might by their means secure a decided influence in parliament. The earl of Mar, as regent, giving his sanction to the proceedings of the commission, they were carried into effect. The delusive expectation of wealth, which this revival of Episcopacy held out to the ministry, was flattering to them; and they bore with tolerable patience this severe blow that was struck against the religious policy of Geneva. Mr John Douglas was desired to give a specimen of his gifts in preaching; and his election took effect, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to it by John Knox and other ecclesiastics, who stood up for the rules and forms which had been established at the reformation. He was inaugurated in his office by the bishop of Caithness, Mr John Spotswood superintendant of Lothian, and Mr David Lindsay, who, violating the book of discipline, communicated to him his character and admission by the imposition of hands. This was a singular triumph to Episcopacy; and the exaltation of Douglas included other peculiarities remarkable and offensive. He denied that he had made any simoniacal agreement with the earl of Morton; yet it was known that the revenues of the archbishopric were almost wholly engrossed by that

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nobleman. He had promised to resign, upon his installation, the office of rector which he held in the university of St Andrew's: yet he refused to execute this engagement. He was in a very advanced age; and his mental qualifications, which had never been eminent, were in a state of decay.

A general assembly, which was held at St Andrew's, considering the high moment of the new regulations introduced into the church, appointed commissioners to go to John Knox, who was at this time indisposed, and to consult with him deliberately in his house, whether they were agreeable to the word of God. But from the arts of the nobles, or from the sickness of Knox, it happened that this conference was not carried into effect. In a general assembly, however, which met at Perth, the new polity was reported and examined. The names of archbishop, dean, archdeacon, chancellor, and chapter, were excepted against as Popish distinctions, and as slanderous to the ears of pious Christians. A wish was expressed that they might be exchanged for titles less profane and superstitious; and an unanimous protestation was made, that the new polity was merely a temporary expedient, and should only continue till a more perfect order should be obtained from the king, the regent, and the nobility. This tolerating resolution left the new polity in its full force; and a colourable foundation was now established for the laity to partake in the profits of bishoprics. The simoniacal pacton of Morton and Douglas was not long a matter of singularity. Mr James Boyd was appointed to the archbishopric of Glasgow, Mr James Paton to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and Mr Andrew Graham to the see of Dumblain; and these compromising ecclesiastics, on being allowed competencies to themselves, gratified their noble friends with the greatest proportion of their revenues. The virtue of the common people approved not this spirit of traffic; and the bishops of the new polity were treated openly with reproach or with ridicule.

The year 1572 is also remarkable for the death of John Knox, whose mistaken zeal had contributed not a little to bring on the queen those misfortunes with which she was now oppressed. Neither by his death, however, nor by the change of the regency, could she now be relieved. The earl of Morton was so much devoted to Elizabeth, that he received particular instructions from her how to govern the young king. His elevation, indeed, gave the finishing stroke to the queen's affairs. He employed himself with success in dividing her party among themselves, and by his means the duke of Chatterault and the earl of Huntly were induced to forsake her. As for Elizabeth, she was bent on putting Mary to death; but as no crime could be alleged against her in England, she thought it proper that she should be carried back to suffer death in her own dominions. This proposal, however, was rejected; and the friends who remained true to Mary once more began to indulge themselves in hopes of succours from France. New misfortunes, however, awaited them.—The castle of Edinburgh, which had hitherto been held for the queen by Kirkaldy of Grange, was obliged to surrender to an English army commanded by Sir William Drury. Kirkaldy was solemnly assured by the English commander of his life and liberty; but Elizabeth violated this capitulation, and commanded him to be delivered up to the regent. A hundred of his relations offered to become

Scotland.

817

Death of John Knox.

818

Elizabeth resolved on putting Mary to death.

819

The castle of Edinburgh taken by the English party.

Scotland.

come vassals to Morton, and to pay him 3000 merks yearly, if he would spare his life; but in vain: Kirkaldy and his brother Sir James were hanged at Edinburgh. Maitland of Letlington, who was taken at the same time, was poisoned in the prison house of Leith.

820  
Mary treated with greater rigour than ever.

An. 1573.

The jealousy of Elizabeth did not diminish with the decline of Mary's cause. She now treated her with more rigour than ever, and patronized Morton in all the enormities which he committed against her friends. Lesly bishop of Ross had been long imprisoned in England, on account of his concern in the duke of Norfolk's conspiracy. Morton earnestly solicited the queen to deliver him up, and would undoubtedly have put him to death; but as he had acted in the character of ambassador from Mary, this was judged impolitic, and the prelate was suffered to depart for France. When he arrived there, he endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor, the pope, and the duke of Alva, to exert themselves in behalf of the queen of Scotland; and, in 1574, the misfortunes of his royal mistress were farther aggravated by the death of Charles IX. of France, and her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine. The regent, in the mean time, ruled with the most despotic sway. He twice coined base money in the name of his sovereign; and after putting it into circulation the second time, he issued orders for its passing only for its intrinsic value. The duke of Chatelherault happening to die this year, the regent took every method of ruining all those of his name and family. He committed to prison all the Hamiltons, and every person of distinction who had fought for the queen at the battle of Langside, and compelled them to buy their liberty at an exorbitant price. He instigated Douglas of Lochleven to assassinate Lord Arbroath, and it was with difficulty that the latter escaped the ambush that was laid for him. Reid, the bishop of Orkney, having left his estate to pious and charitable uses, the regent prohibited the execution of the will, and took on himself the administration. To be rich was a sufficient crime to excite his vengeance. He entered the warehouses of merchants, and confiscated their property; and if he wanted a pretence to justify his conduct, the judges and lawyers were ready at his call.

822  
Oppression and violence of Morton.

823  
Opposition to Episcopacy.

In this disastrous period the clergy augmented the general confusion. Mr Andrew Melvil had lately returned from Geneva; and the discipline of its assembly being considered by him as the most perfect model of ecclesiastical policy, he was infinitely offended with the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland. His learning was considerable, and his skill in languages was profound. He was fond of disputation, hot, violent, and pertinacious. The Scottish clergy were in a humour to attend to him; and his merit was sufficient to excite their admiration. Instigated by his practices, John Drury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, called in question, in a general assembly, the lawfulness of the bishops, and the authority of chapters in electing them. Melvil, after commending his zeal and his motion, declaimed concerning the flourishing state of the establishment of Geneva; and having recited the opinions of Calvin and Beza on ecclesiastical government, maintained, that there should be no office-bearers in the church whose titles were not seen in the book of God. He affirmed, that the term *bishop* was nowhere to be found in it in the sense in which it was commonly un-

derstood, as Christ allowed not any superiority among ministers. He contended that Christ was the only lord of his church, and that the ministers of the word were all equal in degree and power. He urged, that the estate of the bishops, besides being unlawful, had grown unseemly with corruptions; and that if they were not removed out of the church, it would fall into decay, and endanger the interests of religion. His sentiments were received with approbation; and though the archbishop of Glasgow, with the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechin, Dumblain, and the Isles, were present in this assembly, they ventured not to defend their vocation. It was resolved, that the name of *bishop* conferred no distinction or rank; that the office was not more honourable than that of the other ministers; and that by the word of God their functions consisted in preaching, in administering the sacraments, and in exercising ecclesiastical discipline with the consent of the elders. The Episcopal estate, in the meantime, was watched with anxious care; and the faults and demerits of every kind, which were found in individuals, were charged on the order with rudeness and asperity. In a new assembly this subject was again canvassed. It was moved, whether bishops, as constituted in Scotland, had any authority for their functions from the Scriptures? After long debates, it was thought prudent to avoid an explicit determination of this important question. But a confirmation was bestowed on the resolution of the former assembly; and it was established as a rule, that every bishop should make choice of a particular church within his diocese, and should actually discharge the duties of a minister.

The regent, disturbed with these proceedings of the brethren, was disposed to amuse and to deceive them. He sent a messenger to advise them not to infringe and disfigure the established forms; and to admonish them, that if their aversion to Episcopacy was insurmountable, it would become them to think of some mode of ecclesiastical government to which they could adhere with constancy. The assembly taking advantage of this message, made a formal intimation to him, that they would diligently frame a lasting form of polity, and submit it to the privy-council. They appointed, accordingly, a committee of the brethren for this purpose. The business was too agreeable to be neglected; and in a short time Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Lawson, and Mr Robert Pont, were deputed to wait on the regent with a new scheme of ecclesiastical government. After reminding him, that he had been a notable instrument in purging the realm of Popery, and begging that he would consult with them on any of its articles which he thought improper or incomplete, they informed him, that they did not account it to be a perfect work to which nothing could be added, or from which nothing could be taken away; for that they would alter and improve it, as the Almighty God might farther reveal his will unto them. The regent, taking from them their schedule, replied, that he would appoint certain persons of the privy-council to confer with them. A conference was even begun on the subject of their new establishment; but from his arts, or from the troubles of the times, no advances were made in it.

This year the earl of Bothwell died in Denmark; and in his last moments, being stung with remorse, he confessed

Scotland.

824

Scotland. confessed that he had been guilty of the king's murder, revealed the names of the persons who were his accomplices, and with the most solemn protestations declared the honour and innocence of the queen. His confession was transmitted to Elizabeth by the king of Denmark; but was suppressed by her with an anxious solicitude (x).

825

Morton is compelled to resign his office of regent.

An. 1577.

The regent still continued his enormities, till having rendered himself obnoxious to the best part of the nobility, he was, in 1577, compelled to resign his office into the hands of James VI.; but as his majesty was then only twelve years of age, a general council of twelve peers was appointed to assist him in the administration. Next year, however, the earl of Morton having found means to gain the favour of the young king, procured the dissolution of this council; and thus being left the sole adviser of the king, he hoped once more to be raised to his former greatness. This could not be done, however, without keeping the king in a kind of captivity, so that nobody could have access to him but himself. The king, sensible of his situation, sent a dispatch to the earls of Argyle and Athole, intreating them to relieve him. An army for this purpose was soon raised; and Morton's partisans were in danger of being defeated, had not the opposite party dreaded the vengeance of Elizabeth, who was resolved to support the earl of Morton. In consequence of this a negotiation was entered into, by which it was agreed, that the earl of Argyle, with some others, should be admitted into the king's council; and that four noblemen should be chosen by each party to consider of some proper method of preserving tranquillity in the nation.

826

He poisons the earl of Athole.

An. 1579.

This pacification did not greatly diminish the power of Morton. He soon got rid of one of his principal antagonists, the earl of Athole, by poisoning him at an entertainment; after which he again gave a loose to his resentments against the house of Hamilton, whom he persecuted in the most cruel manner. By these means, however, he drew on himself a general hatred; and he was supplanted in the king's favour by the lord d'Aubigny, who came from France in the year 1579, and was created earl of Lenox. The next year Morton was suspected of an intention to deliver up the king to Elizabeth, and a guard was appointed to prevent any attempts of this kind. The queen of England endeavoured to support her zealous partisan; but without effect. He was tried, condemned, and executed, as being concerned in the murder of Darnley. At the place of execution, it is said that he confessed his guilt; but of this the evidence is not quite satisfactory. It is however certain that he acknowledged himself privy to the plot formed against the life of the king; and when one of the clergymen attending him before his execution observed, that by his own confession he merited death in foreknowing and concealing the murder, he replied "Ay but, Sir, had I been as innocent as St Stephen, or as guilty as Judas, I must have come to the scaffold. Pray, what ought I to have done in this

827

Is condemned and executed for the murder of Darnley.

Scotland. matter? You knew not the king's weakness, Sir. If I had informed him of the plot against his life, he would have revealed it even to his enemies and those concerned in the design; and I would, it may be, have lost my own life, for endeavouring to preserve his to no purpose."

828

Monstrous cruelty of Elizabeth to Mary. An. 1581.

The elevation of King James, and the total overthrow of Morton, produced no beneficial consequences to the unfortunate Mary. In the year 1581, she addressed a letter to Castelnau the French ambassador, in which she complained that her body was so weak, and her limbs so feeble, that she was unable to walk. Castelnau therefore intreated Elizabeth to mitigate a little the rigours of Mary's confinement; which being refused, the latter had thoughts of resigning her claims to the crown both of England and Scotland into the hands of her son, and even of advising him to use every effort in his power to establish his claim to the English crown as preferable to that of Elizabeth. But being apprehensive of danger from this violent method, she again contented herself with sending to the court of England ineffectual memorials and remonstrances. Elizabeth, instead of taking compassion on her miserable situation, assiduously encouraged every kind of disorder in the kingdom, on purpose to have the queen more and more in her power. Thus the Scottish malcontents finding themselves always supported, a conspiracy was at last entered into; the design of which was to hold James in captivity, and to overthrow the authority of Arran and Lenox, who were now the principal persons in the kingdom. The chief actors in this conspiracy were the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, with the masters of Glamis and Oliphant. By reason of the youth and imbecillity of the king, they easily accomplished their purpose; and having got him in their power, they promised him his liberty, provided he would command Lenox to depart out of the kingdom. This was accordingly done; but the king found himself as much a prisoner as before. The more effectually to detain him in custody, the rebels constrained him to issue a proclamation, wherein he declared himself to be at perfect liberty. Lenox was preparing to advance to the king's relief with a considerable body of forces, when he was disconcerted by the king's peremptory command to leave Scotland; on which he retired to Dumbarton, in order to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The earl of Arran, being more forward, was committed to close custody for some time, but afterwards confined only in his house of Kinneil. The rebels took on them the title of "lords for the reformation of the state."

829

The king taken prisoner.

The clergy, who had all this time been exceedingly averse to Episcopacy, now gave open countenance to the lords of the reformation. On the 13th of October 1582, they made a solemn act, by which the *raid of Ruthven*, as the capture of the king was called, was deemed a service most acceptable to all who feared God,

830

Which is approved of by the clergy. An. 1582.

5 B 2

respected

(x) Jebb, vol. ii. p. 227. It has never been published. Keith and other historians have preserved what they call *the earl of Bothwell's declaration at his death*, and account it to be genuine. Their partiality for Mary induced them the more easily to fall into this mistake. The paper they give is demonstratively a forgery; and the want of the real confession of Bothwell is still a deficiency in our history.

Scotland. respected the true religion, and were anxious for the preservation of the king and state; and every minister was commanded to declaim from his pulpit on the expediency of this measure, and to exhort the people to concur with the lords in prosecuting the full deliverance of the church, and the perfect reformation of the commonwealth. Not satisfied with this approbation of the clergy, the conspirators got their proceedings approved by the states of Scotland, as "a good, a thankful, and a necessary service to the king." At the same time it was enacted, that no civil or criminal suit of any kind should ever be instituted against the persons concerned in it. Soon after this, Lenox took his leave of Scotland, and sailed for France, where he died.

831  
Mary writes to Elizabeth,

832  
who acts with her usual perfidy.

The unfortunate Mary was driven to despair when she heard that her son was taken prisoner by rebels who had been instigated by Elizabeth. In this distress, she addressed a most spirited letter to Elizabeth, in which she at once asserted her own innocence, and set forth the conduct of Elizabeth herself in such language as must have put the most impudent of her adversaries to the blush. Elizabeth could not reply, and therefore had recourse to her usual arts of treacherous negotiation. New terms were proposed to Mary, who would gladly have submitted almost to any thing, provided she could procure her freedom. It was proposed, as had often been done before, to associate the queen of Scots with her son in the government; but as this was to be referred to the king, who was in the hands of Elizabeth's friends, and to the parliament, who were under the power of the same faction, it is easy to see that no such association ever could take place, or indeed was ever intended.

An. 1583.

After the death of Lenox, the conspirators apprehended no further danger, little supposing that a prince so young and unexperienced could deliver himself from captivity. This, however, in the year 1583, he effected in the following manner. A convention of the estates had been summoned to meet at St Andrew's. James, whom the earl of Arran, notwithstanding his confinement at Kinneil, had found means to instruct and advise, pretended a desire of visiting his grand-uncle the earl of March, who resided at St Andrew's, and was for that purpose permitted to repair thither a few days before the convention. The better to deceive the earls of Gowrie, Angus, and Mar, who attended him, he took up his lodgings in an old inn, which was quite open and defenceless. But having expressed a desire to see the castle of St Andrew's, he was admitted into it; and Colonel Stuart, who commanded the castle, after admitting a few of his retinue, ordered the gates to be shut. The earls of Argyle, Marischal, Montrose, and Rothes, who were in concert with the king, hastened to make him an offer of their swords. The opposite faction, being unprepared for hostilities, were filled with consternation. Of all the conspirators, the earl of Gowrie alone was admitted into the king's presence, by the favour of Colonel Stuart, and received his pardon. The earls of March, Argyle, Gowrie, Marischal, and Rothes, were appointed to be a council for assisting the king in the management of his affairs; and soon after this James set out for Edinburgh. The king no sooner found himself at liberty, than, by the advice of his privy council, he issued a proclamation of mercy to the

833  
The king escapes from captivity.

conspirators; but they, flattering themselves with the hopes of support from Elizabeth, obstinately refused to accept of his pardon. In consequence of this, they were denounced rebels. Elizabeth failed not to give them secretly all the encouragement she could, and the clergy uttered the most seditious discourses against the king and government; and while they railed against Popery, they themselves maintained openly the very characteristic and distinguishing mark of Popery, namely, that the clerical was entirely independent of the civil power.

At last the rebels broke forth into open hostilities; but by the vigilance of Arran, the earl of Gowrie, who had again begun his treasonable practices, was committed to custody; while the rest, unable to oppose the king, who appeared against them with a formidable army, were obliged to fly into England, where Elizabeth, with her usual treachery, protected them.

The earl of Gowrie suffered as a traitor; but the severity exercised against him did not intimidate the clergy. They still continued their rebellious practices, until the king being informed that they were engaged in a correspondence with some of the fugitive lords, citations were given to their leaders to appear before the privy-council. The clergymen, not daring to appear, fled to England; and on the 20th of May 1584, the king summoned a convention of the estates, on purpose to humble the pride of the church in an effectual manner. In this assembly the raid of Ruthven was declared to be rebellion, according to a declaration which had formerly been made by the king. And, as it had grown into a custom with the promoters of sedition and the enemies of order, to decline the judgement of the king and the council, when called before them to answer for rebellious or contumelious speeches, uttered from the pulpit or in public places, an ordination was made, asserting that they had complete powers to judge concerning persons of every degree and function; and declaring, that every act of opposition to their jurisdiction should be accounted treason. It was enacted, that the authority of parliament, as constituted by the free votes of the three estates, was supreme; and that every attempt to diminish, alter, or infringe, its power, dignity, and jurisdiction, should be punished as treason. All jurisdictions and judgements, all assemblies and conventions, not approved of by the king and the three estates, were condemned as unlawful, and prohibited. It was ordained, that the king might appoint commissioners, with powers to examine into the delinquencies of clergymen, and, if proper, to deprive them of their benefices. It was commanded, that clergymen should not for the future be admitted to the dignity of lords of the session, or to the administration of any judicature civil or criminal. An ordination was made, which subjected to capital punishment all persons who should inquire into the affairs of state with a malicious curiosity, or who should utter false and slanderous speeches in sermons, declamations, or familiar discourse, to the reproach and contempt of the king, his parents, and progenitors. It was ordered that a guard, consisting of 40 gentlemen, with a yearly allowance to each of 200l. should continually attend on the king. This parliament, which was full of zeal for the crown, did not overlook the history of Buchanan, which about this time was exciting a very general attention. It commanded, that all persons

Scotland.

834  
Earl of Gowrie condemned and executed.

835  
Proceedings against the clergy. An. 1584.

836  
Attempts to suppress Buchanan's history.

Scotland.

Scotland.

persons who were possessed of copies of his chronicle, and of his treatise on the Scottish government, should surrender them within 40 days, under the penalty of 200*l.* in order that they might be purged of the offensive and extraordinary matters they contained. This stroke of tyranny was furious and ineffectual. Foreign nations, as well as his own countrymen, were filled with the highest admiration of the genius of Buchanan. It was not permitted that his writings should suffer mutilation; they were multiplied in every quarter; and the severity exercised against them only served the more to excite curiosity, and to diffuse his reputation.

837  
The clergy endeavour to support themselves against the civil power.

While the parliamentary acts, which struck against the importance of the church, were in agitation, the ministers deputed Mr David Lindsay to solicit the king that no statutes should pass which affected the ecclesiastical establishment, without the consultation of the general assembly. But the earl of Arran having information of this commission, defeated it, by committing Mr Lindsay to prison as a spy for the discontented nobles. On the publication, however, of these acts by the heralds, Mr Robert Pont minister of St Cuthbert's, and one of the senators of the court of session, with Mr Walter Balcanqual, protested formally in the name of the church, that it dissented from them, and that they were consequently invalid. Having made this protestation, they instantly fled, and were proclaimed traitors. By letters and pamphlets, which were artfully spread among the people, their passions were roused against the king and his council. The ministers of Edinburgh took the resolution of forsaking their flocks, and retiring to England. And in an apology circulated by their management, they anxiously endeavoured to awaken commiseration and pity. They magnified the dangers which threatened them; and they held out, in vindication of their conduct, the example of the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, and of Christ himself, who all concurred, they said, in opposing the ordinations of men, when contradictory to the will of heaven, and in declining the rage of the enemies of God. The king appointed his own chaplains and the archbishop of St Andrew's to perform the ministerial functions in his capital. The clergy over Scotland were commanded to subscribe a declaration, which imported the supremacy of the king over the church, and their submission to the authority of the bishops. The national ferments still increased in violence. Many ministers refused to subscribe this declaration, and were deprived of their livings. It was contended, that to make the king supreme over the church was no better than to set up a new pope, and to commit treason against Jesus Christ. It was urged, that to overthrow assemblies and presbyteries, and to give dominion to bishops, was not only to overset the established polity of the church, but to destroy religion itself. For the bishops were the slaves of the court, were schismatical in their opinions, and depraved in their lives. It was affirmed, that heresy, atheism, and popery, would strike a deep root, and grow into strength. And the people were taught to believe, that the bishops would corrupt the nation into a resemblance with themselves; and that there everywhere prevailed dissimulation and blasphemy, persecution and obscenity, the profanation of the scriptures, and the breach of faith, covetousness, perjury, and sacrilege. It was reported abroad, that the ministers alone were entrusted with ec-

clesiastical functions, and with the sword of the word; and that it was most wicked and profane to imagine, that Jesus Christ had ever committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven to civil magistrates and their servants or deputies.

While the clergy were thus impotently venting their wrath, Elizabeth, alarmed beyond measure at this sudden revolution, and terrified by a confession extorted by the rack from one Francis Throgmorton, concerning a combination of the Catholic princes to invade England, began to treat with Mary in a more sincere manner than usual; but having gained over to her side the earl of Arran, the only man of activity in Scotland, she resolved to proceed to extremities with the queen of Scots. The Catholics, both at home and abroad, were inflamed against her with a boundless and implacable rage. There prevailed many rumours of plots and conspiracies against her kingdom and her life. Books were published, which detailed her cruelties and injustice to Mary in the most indignant language of reproach, and which recommended her assassination as a most meritorious act. The earl of Arran had explained to her the practices of the queen of Scots with her son, and had discovered the intrigues of the Catholic princes to gain him to their views.

While her sensibilities and fears were severely excruciating to her, circumstances happened which confirmed them, and provoked her to give the fullest scope to the malignity of her passions. Crichton, a Scottish Jesuit, passing into his own country, was taken by Netherland pirates; and some papers which he had torn in pieces and thrown into the sea being recovered, were transmitted to England. Sir William Wade put them together with dexterity; and they demonstrated beyond a doubt, that the invasion of England was concerted by the Pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise. About this time, too, a remarkable letter was intercepted from Mary to Sir Francis Englefield. She complained in it that she could have no reliance on the integrity of Elizabeth, and that she expected no happy issue to any treaty which might be opened for her restoration and liberty. She urged the advancement of the "great plot;" she intimated, that the prince her son was favourable to the "designment," and disposed to be directed by her advice; she intreated, that every delicacy with regard to her own state and condition should be laid aside without scruple; and she assured him, that she would most willingly suffer perils and dangers, and even death itself, to give relief to the oppressed children of the church. These discoveries, so exasperating to the inquietudes and distresses of Elizabeth, were followed by a deep and general consternation. The terror of an invasion spread itself with rapidity over England; and the Protestants, while they trembled for the life of their champion, were still more alarmed with the dangers which threatened their religion.

In this state of perplexity and distraction, the counsellors of Elizabeth did not forget that they had been her instruments in persecuting the queen of Scots, and of the severities with which she had treated the Catholics. They were fully sensible, that her greatness and safety were intimately connected with their own; and they concurred in indulging her fears, jealousies, and resentment. It was resolved that Mary should perish. An association was formed, to which persons of every condition

838  
Intended invasion of England discovered.

839  
Remarkable letter from Mary intercepted by Elizabeth.

840  
Her death is resolved on.

Scotland. dition and degree were invited. The professed business of this association was the preservation of the life of Elizabeth, which it was affirmed was in danger, from a conspiracy to advance some pretended title to the crown; and its members vowed and protested, by the majesty of God, to employ their whole power, their bodies, lives, and goods, in her service; to withstand, as well by force of arms as by other methods of revenge, all persons, of whatever nation or rank, who should attempt in any form to invade and injure her safety or her life, and never to desist from the forcible pursuit of them till they should be completely exterminated. They also vowed and protested, in the presence of the eternal God, to prosecute to destruction any pretended successor, by whom, or for whom, the detestable deed of the assassination of Elizabeth should be attempted or committed. The earl of Leicester was in a particular manner the patron of this association; and the whole influence of Elizabeth and her ministers was exerted to multiply the subscription to a bond or league which was to prepare the way, and to be a foundation for accomplishing the full destruction and ruin of the Scottish queen.

841  
She proposes a scheme of accommodation.

A combination so resolute and so fierce, which pointed at the death of Mary, which threatened her titles to the crown of England, and which might defeat the succession of her son, could not fail to excite in her bosom the bitterest anxieties and perturbation. Weary of her sad and long captivity, broken down with calamities, dreading afflictions still more cruel, and willing to take away from Elizabeth every possible pretext of severity, she now framed a scheme of accommodation, to which no reasonable objection could be made. By Naw, her secretary, she presented it to Elizabeth and her privy-council. She protested in it, that if her liberty should be granted to her, she would enter into the closest amity with Elizabeth, and pay an observance to her above every other prince of Christendom; that she would forget all the injuries with which she had been loaded, acknowledge Elizabeth to be the rightful queen of England, abstain from any claim to her crown during her life, renounce the title and arms of England, which she had usurped by the command of her husband the king of France, and reprobate the bull from Rome which had deposed the English queen. She likewise protested, that she would enter into the association which had been formed for the security of Elizabeth; and that she would conclude with her a defensive league, provided that it should not be prejudicial to the ancient alliance between Scotland and France; and that nothing should be done during the life of the English queen, or after her death, to invalidate her titles to the crown of England, or those of her son. As a confirmation of these articles she professed that she would consent to stay in England for some time as an hostage; and that if she was permitted to retire from the dominions of Elizabeth, she would surrender proper and acceptable persons as sureties. She also protested, that she would make no alterations in Scotland; and that, on the repeal of what had been enacted there to her disgrace, she would bury in oblivion all the injuries she had received from her subjects; that she would recommend to the king her son those counsellors who were most attached to England, and that she would employ herself to reconcile him to the fugitive nobles; that she would take no steps respecting his marriage without acquainting the queen

2

of England; and that, to give the greater firmness to the proposed accommodation, it was her desire that he should be called as a party: and, in fine, she affirmed, that she would procure the king of France and the princes of Lorraine to be guarantees for the performance of her engagements. Elizabeth, who was skilful in hypocrisy, discovered the most decisive symptoms of satisfaction and joy when these overtures were communicated to her. She made no advances, however, to conclude an accommodation with Mary; and her ministers and courtiers exclaimed against lenient and pacific measures. It was loudly insisted, that the liberty of Mary would be the death of Elizabeth; that her association with her son would be the ruin both of England and Scotland; and that her elevation to power would extend the empire of Popery, and give a deadly blow to the doctrines of the reformation.

In the mean time, an act of attainder had passed against the fugitive nobles, and their estates and honours were forfeited to the king; who, not satisfied with this, sent Patrick master of Gray, to demand from the queen of England a surrender of their persons. As this ambassador had resided for some time in France, and been intimate with the duke of Guise, he was recommended to Mary: but being a man of no principle, he easily suffered himself to be corrupted by Elizabeth; and while he pretended friendship to the unfortunate queen, he discovered all that he knew of her intentions and those of her son. The most scandalous falsehoods were forged against Mary; and the less she was apparently able to execute, the more she was said to design. That an unhappy woman, confined and guarded with the utmost vigilance, who had not for many years sufficient interest to procure a decent treatment for herself, should be able to carry on such close and powerful negotiations with different princes as were imputed to her, is an absurdity which it must for ever be impossible to explain. That she had an amour with her keeper the earl of Shrewsbury, as was now reported, might be; though of this there is no proof. This, however, could scarcely be treason against Elizabeth: yet, on account of this, Mary was committed to the charge of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, zealous puritans, and who, it was hoped, would treat her with such severity as might drive her to despair, and induce her to commit some rash action.— The earl of Leicester, said to be Elizabeth's paramour, even ventured to send assassins, on purpose, by the murder of Mary, at once to deliver his mistress from her fears. But the new keepers of the castle, though religious bigots, were men of strict probity, and rejected with scorn such an infamous transaction. In 1585, Mary began to feel all the rigours of a severe imprisonment. She had been removed from Sheffield to the castle of Tutbury; and under her new keepers she experienced a treatment which was in the highest degree unjust, disrespectful, and acrimonious. Two apartments or chambers only were allotted to her, and they were small and inconvenient, meanly furnished, and so full of apertures and chinks, that they could not protect her against the inclemencies of the weather. The liberty of going abroad for pleasure or exercise was denied to her. She was assailed by rheumatisms and other maladies; and her physician would not undertake to effect a cure, or even to procure her any ease, unless she

842  
Hypocisfy and treachery of Elizabeth.

843  
False reports raised against the queen of Scots.

844  
Assassins sent to murder her. An. 1585.

845  
She is confined, and cruelly treated.

she

Scotland. she should be removed to a more commodious dwelling. Applications for this purpose were frequently made, and uniformly rejected. Here, however, her own afflictions did not extinguish in her mind her sensibility for the misfortunes of others; and she often indulged herself in the satisfaction of employing a servant to go through the village of Tutbury in search of objects of distress, to whom she might deal out her charity. But her inhuman keepers, envying her this pleasure, commanded her to abstain from it. Imputing their rigour to a suspicious fidelity, she desired that her servant might, on these occasions, be accompanied by one of the soldiers of their guard, or by the constable of the village. But they would not alter their prohibition. They refused to her the exercise of the Christian duty of dispensing an alms; and they would not allow her the soft consolation of moistening her eye with sorrows not her own. To insult her the more, the castle of Tutbury was converted into a common jail. A young man, whose crime was the profession of the Romish religion, was committed to a chamber which was opposite to her window, in order that he might be persecuted in her sight with the greatest cruelty. Notwithstanding his cries and resistance, he was dragged every morning to hear prayers, and to join in the Protestant worship; and after enduring several weeks this extraordinary violence to his conscience, he was unmercifully strangled without any form of law or justice. Mary remonstrated with warmth to Elizabeth against indignities so shocking and so horrible; but instead of obtaining consolation or relief, she was involved more deeply in woe, and exposed to still severer inventions of malice and of anger.

846  
Elizabeth  
sows dis-  
sension be-  
tween Ma-  
ry and her  
son.

In the midst of her misfortunes, Mary had still so-  
laced herself with hope; and from the exertions of her  
son she naturally expected the greatest advantage. He  
had hitherto behaved with a becoming cordiality; and  
in the negociation which she had opened with him for  
her association in the government, he had been studious  
to please and flatter her. He had informed her  
by a particular dispatch, that he found the greatest  
comfort in her maternal tenderness, and that he would  
accomplish her commands with humility and expedition;  
that he would not fail to ratify her union and  
association with him in the government; that it would  
be his most earnest endeavour to reconcile their com-  
mon subjects to that measure; and that she might ex-  
pect from him, during his life, every satisfaction and  
duty which a good mother could promise to herself  
from an affectionate and obedient son. But these fair  
blossoms of kindness and love were all blasted by the  
treacherous arts of Elizabeth. By the master of Gray,  
who had obtained an ascendant over James, she turned  
from Mary his affections. He delayed to ratify her  
association in the government; and he even appeared  
to be unwilling to urge Elizabeth on the subject of  
her liberty. The master of Gray had convinced him,  
that if any favour were shown to Mary by the queen of  
England, it would terminate in his humiliation. He  
assured him, that if his mother were again to mount  
the Scottish throne, her zeal for Popery would induce  
her to seek a husband in the house of Austria; that  
she would dissolve his association with her in the go-  
vernment, on pretence of his attachment to the re-  
formed doctrines; and that he would not only lose the

glory of his present power, but endanger his prospects  
of succession. Mary expostulated with him by letter  
on the timidity and coldness of his behaviour, and  
he returned her an answer full of disrespect, in which  
he intimated his resolution to consider her in no other  
character than as queen-mother. Her amazement, in-  
dignation, and grief, were infinite. She wrote to Ca-  
stelnau the French ambassador to inform him of her  
inquietudes and anguish. "My son (said she) is un-  
grateful; and I desire that the king your master may  
consider him no longer as a sovereign. In your future  
dispatches, abstain from giving him the title of king.  
I am his queen and his sovereign; and while I live,  
and continue at variance with him, he can at most be  
only an usurper. From him I derive no lustre; and  
without me he could only have been Lord Darnley or  
the earl of Lenox; for I raised his father from being  
my subject to be my husband. I ask from him nothing  
that is his; what I claim is my own; and if he persists  
in his course of impiety and ingratitude, I will bestow  
on him my malediction, and deprive him not only of  
all right to Scotland, but of all the dignity and grandeur  
to which he might succeed through me. My  
enemies shall not enjoy the advantages they expect from  
him. For to the king of Spain I will convey, in the  
amplest form my claims, titles, and greatness."

Elizabeth having thus found means to sow dissension  
between the queen of Scots and her son, did not  
fail to make the best use of the quarrel for her own ad-  
vantage. The Pope, the duke of Guise, and the king  
of Spain, had concluded an alliance, called the *holy*  
*league*, for the extirpation of the Protestant religion all  
over Europe. Elizabeth was thrown into the greatest  
consternation on this account; and the idea of a coun-  
ter association among the Protestant princes of Europe  
immediately suggested itself. Sir Edward Wotton was  
deputed to Scotland; and so completely gained on the  
imbecillity of James, that he concluded a firm alliance  
with Elizabeth, without making any stipulation in fa-  
vour of his mother. Nay, so far was he the dupe of  
this ambassador and his mistress, that he allowed himself  
to be persuaded to take into his favour Mr Archibald  
Douglas, one of the murderers of Lord Darnley; and  
as if all this had not been sufficient, he appointed the as-  
sassin to be his ambassador to England.

Mary, thus abandoned by all the world, in the hands  
of her most inveterate and cruel enemy, fell a victim to  
her resentment and treachery in the year 1587. A plot  
of assassination had been formed in the spring of the  
year 1586 against the English queen; partly with the  
view of rescuing the Scottish princess; but chiefly from  
a motive to serve the interests of the Catholic religion.  
This conspiracy, which originated with Catholic priests  
and persons of no distinction, was soon imparted to Mr  
Babington, a person of great fortune, of many accom-  
plishments, and who had before that time discovered  
himself to be the zealous friend of Queen Mary. That  
she had corresponded with Babington there is no doubt;  
but it was some years previous to the formation of the  
plot. A long silence had taken place between them;  
and Morgan, one of the English fugitives in France, and  
a warm friend of Mary's, in the month of May 1586,  
wrote a letter to her, repeatedly and in the most pres-  
sing manner recommending a revival of that correspon-  
dence. In consequence of which, in her answer to  
Morgan,

Scotland.

847  
Alliance of  
the Popish  
powers a-  
gainst Eli-  
zabeth.

848  
Mean and  
shameful  
behaviour  
of James.

849  
Account of  
Babing-  
ton's con-  
spiracy a-  
gainst Eli-  
zabeth.  
An. 1587.

Scotland. Morgan, dated the 27th day of July, she informed him, that she had made every apology in her power to Babington, for not having written to him for so long a space; that he had generously offered himself and all his fortune in her cause; and that, agreeably to Morgan's advice, she would do her best to retain him in her interests; but she throws out no hint of her knowledge of the intended assassination. On the very same day she likewise wrote to Paget, another of her most confidential friends; but not a word in it with respect to Babington's scheme of cutting off the English queen. To Morgan and to Paget she certainly would have communicated her mind, more readily and more particularly than to Babington, and have consulted them about the plot, had she been accessory to it. Indeed it seems to have been part of the policy of Mary's friends to keep her a stranger to all clandestine and hazardous undertakings in her favour. To be convinced of this, we have only to recollect, that Morgan, in a letter of the fourth of July, expressly, and in the strongest terms, recommended to have no intelligence at all with Ballard\*, who was one of the original contrivers of the plot, and who was the very person who communicated it to Babington. The queen, in consequence of this, shut the door against all correspondence, if it should be offered, with that person †. At the same time, Morgan assigned no particular reasons for that advice; so cautious was he of giving the queen any information on the subject: What he said was generally and studiously obscure: "Ballard (said he, only) is intent on some matters of consequence, the issue of which is uncertain." He even went farther, and charged Ballard himself to abstain by all means from opening his views to the queen of Scots.

\* *Murdrin*,  
527.

† *Ibid.* 534.

The conspiracy which goes under the name of *Babington* was completely detected by the court in the month of June: The names, proceedings, and residences, of those engaged in it were then known: The blow might have been soon struck: The life of Elizabeth was in imminent danger. The conspirators, however, were not apprehended; they were permitted to enjoy complete liberty; treated as if there were not the least suspicion against them; and in this free and quiet state, were they suffered to continue till the beginning of August, for a period of nearly two months. What could be the reasons for such a conduct? From what causes did the council of England suspend the just vengeance of the laws, and leave their queen's life still in jeopardy? Was it on purpose to procure more conspirators, and involve others in the crime?

Mary queen of Scots continued still detached from Babington and his associates. Their destruction was a

Scotland. small matter compared with her's. Could she be decoyed into the plot, things would have put on a very different aspect. Babington's conspiracy, which in reality occasioned little dread, as it was early found out, and well guarded against, would prove one of the most grateful incidents in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth's ministers, too, knew how much they had rendered themselves justly obnoxious to the Scottish princes: Should she come to mount the throne of England, their downfall was inevitable; from which, it should seem, is to be explained, why they were even more zealous than their mistresses to accomplish her ruin.

Of these, Sir Francis Walsingham secretary of state appears to have taken on himself the chief management in concerting a plan of operations against the queen of Scots; and as a model, he seems to have had in his eye that which was pursued on a former occasion by the earl of Murray. His spies having early got into the confidence of the lower sort of the conspirators, he now employed the very agency of the latter for his purposes. Learning that a packet from France was intended to be conveyed by them to Queen Mary, and by the hands of one Gilbert Gifford a priest, whom he had secretly gained over from their association, he wrote a letter to Sir Amias Paulet, who had now the custody of the Scottish queen, requesting that one of his domestics might be permitted to take a bribe for conveying that packet to the captive princess. This was on purpose to communicate to her a letter forged in the name of Babington, in which that conspirator was made to impart to the Scottish queen his scheme of assassination, and to claim rewards to the perpetrators of the deed. Paulet, however, to his honour, refused to comply with the request of Walsingham; on which Gifford corrupted a brewer in the neighbourhood, who put his letters to Mary in a hole in the castle-wall. By the same conveyance it was thought that Mary would answer the letters; but it appears that she never saw them, and that of course no return was made (y). It was then contrived that answers, in the name of the queen of Scots to Gifford, should be found in the hole of the wall. Walsingham, to whom these letters were carried, proceeded formally to decipher them by the help of one Thomas Philips, a person skilled in these matters; and after exact copies were taken of them, it is said that they were all artfully sealed and sent off to the persons to whom they were directed. It appears, however, that only the letters directed to Babington were sent to him; and the answers which he made to the queen's supposed letters were carried directly to Walsingham. A foundation for criminating Mary being thus laid, the conspirators were quickly discovered, as being already known,

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Art and  
treachery  
of Eliza-  
beth and  
her mini-  
sters.

(y) Dr Robertson of Dalmeny, who, in his history of Mary queen of Scots, has thrown much light on those dark transactions of Elizabeth's nefarious ministers, thinks it not improbable that an answer to Babington's letter was written by the Scottish queen's secretaries. Although they could not communicate that letter to herself, on account of her known abhorrence of assassination, they perhaps wrote a dispatch in her name, approving of it; tempted by the prospect of escaping from imprisonment, and of their mistress being seated on the throne of England. This dispatch being conveyed through the same chink of the wall, was carried by Gifford to Walsingham; opened; deciphered, and copied by him; and then sent to Babington. Camden informs us, that Walsingham artfully forged a postscript in the same cipher to this dispatch; in which Queen Mary was made to request of Babington to inform her particularly of the names of his accomplices, and of others who were friends to the cause.



Scotland.  
851  
Mary is charged with the conspiracy.

known, and suffered the death of traitors. The unhappy princess, eagerly watched by Paulet, and unacquainted with the late occurrences, received a visit from Sir Thomas Gorges. This envoy, as instructed by Elizabeth, surpris'd her when she had mounted her horse to take the pleasure of the chace. His salutation was abrupt and unceremonious; and after informing her of the discovery and circumstances of the conspiracy of Babington, he rudely charged her with a concern in it. Her astonishment was great, and she desired to return to her chamber; but this favour was refused to her; and after being carried from one house to another, in an anxious and perplexing uncertainty, she was committed to Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire. Naw and Curl, her two secretaries, the former a Frenchman, the latter a native of Scotland, were taken into custody. Paulet, breaking open the doors of her private closet, possess'd himself of her money, which amounted to not more than 7000 crowns. Her cabinets were carefully sealed up; and being sent to London, were examined in the presence of Elizabeth. They contained many dispatches from persons beyond the sea, copies of letters which had been dictated by her, and about 60 tables of ciphers and characters. There were also discovered in them many dispatches to her from English noblemen, which were full of admiration and respect. These Elizabeth concealed; but their authors suspecting that they were known, fought to purchase her forgiveness by the most abject protestations of an attachment to her person, and by the exercise of the most inveterate enmity to the queen of Scots. Naw and Curl declared, that the copies of her letters were in their hand-writing. They had been dictated by her in the French language to Naw, translated into English by Curl, and then put into cipher. They contained not, however, any matters with which she could be reproached or criminated. It was on the foundation of the letters which Gifford had communicated to Walsingham that her guilt was to be inferred; and with copies of these, and with an attested account of the conspiracy of Babington and his associates, Sir Edward Wotton was now dispatched into France to accuse her to Henry III. and to explain to him the dangers to which Elizabeth was expos'd from the machinations and practices of the English exiles.

852  
Deliberations on the method of proceeding against her.

The privy counsellors of Elizabeth deliberated on the most proper method of proceeding against Mary. To some it appeared, that as she was only accessory to the plot, and not the designer of it, the most eligible severity to be exercised against her was a closer and more rigorous confinement; and they endeavoured to fortify this opinion, by observing, that she was sickly, and could not live long. By others who were haunted by the terrors of Popery, it was urged, that she ought to be put instantly to death by the formalities of the law. The earl of Leicester recommended it as most prudent to dispatch her secretly by poison. But this counsel was rejected as mean, disgraceful, and violent. The lawyers were of opinion, that she might be tried on the statute of Edward III. by which it was enacted, to be treason to imagine the destruction of the sovereign, to make war against his kingdom, or to adhere to his enemies. Elizabeth, however, and her ministers had provided a more plausible foundation for her trial. This was a parliamentary statute approving the act of association. As it had been pass'd while Mary was in England, it was ar-

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gued, that she was bound by it in a local allegiance to Elizabeth. The next point of debate was the designation under which it was most advisable to arraign her. To employ a foreign name and title as directly descriptive of her, was not judged to be consistent with the law of England. It was therefore resolv'd to design her "Mary, daughter and heir of James V. king of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France."

Scotland.

This resolution being once taken, Elizabeth next appointed above 40 peers or privy-counsellors, and five judges, bestowing on them in a body, or on the greater part of them, absolute power and authority to inquire into the matters compass'd and imagin'd against her by the Scottish princess, and to pass sentence according to the spirit and tenor of the act which had been pass'd. Of these commissioners a great majority proceeded to the castle of Fotheringay; and the day after their arrival, they deputed to Mary, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, a public notary, to deliver to her a letter from Elizabeth. In this letter the English queen gratified her unhappy passions, and after reproaching Mary with her crimes, inform'd her that commissioners were appointed to take cognizance of them. The Scottish princess, though astonish'd with the project of being brought to a public trial, was able to preserve her dignity, and address'd them with a composed manner and air. "It is a matter (said she) altogether uncommon and strange, that Elizabeth should command me to submit to a trial, as if I were her subject. I am an independent sovereign; and will not tarnish by any meanness my high birth, the princes my predecessors, and my son. Misfortunes and misery have not yet so involv'd me in dejection, as that I am to faint and sink under this new calamity and insult. I desire that you will remember what I formerly protest'd to Bromley, who is now lord chancellor, and to the lord La War. To speak to me of commissioners is a vain mockery of my rank. Kings alone can be my peers. The laws of England are unknown to me; and I have no counsellors to whose wisdom I can apply for instruction. My papers and commentaries have been taken from me; and no person can have the courage to appear as my advocate. I have indeed recommended myself and my condition to foreign princes; but I am clear of the guilt of having conspired the destruction of Elizabeth, or of having incited any person whatever to destroy her. It is only by my own words and writings that an imputation of this kind can be supported; and I am conscious beyond the possibility of a doubt, that these evidences cannot be employ'd against me." The day after she had in this manner refus'd to allow the jurisdiction of the commissioners, Paulet and Barker return'd to her, and inform'd her that they had put her speech into writing, and desired to know if she would abide by it. She heard it read distinctly, acknowledg'd it to be rightly taken, and avow'd her readiness to persist in the sentiments she had deliver'd. But she added, there was a circumstance of which she had omitted to speak. "Your queen (said she) affects in her letter to observe, that I am subject to the laws of England, because I have liv'd under their protection. This sentiment and mode of thinking are very surpris'ing to me. I came into England to crave her assistance and aid; and, ever since, I have been confin'd to a prison. The miseries of

853  
Commissioners appointed to try her.

854  
She objects to their jurisdiction.

Scotland. captivity cannot be called a protection, and the treatment I have suffered is a violation of all law."

This afflicted but undaunted princess, after having thus scorned the competency and repelled the pretexts of the commissioners, was induced at last, by arguments under the insidious mask of candour and friendship, to depart from the proper and dignified ground which she had taken, and consent to that mode of trial which had been proposed. It was represented to her by Hatton the vice-chamberlain, that by rejecting a trial, she injured her own reputation and interests, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light to the present and to future times. Imposed on by this artifice, she consented to make her appearance before the judges; at the same time, however, she still protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and the validity of all their proceedings.

855  
The accusation is preferred against her.

After various formalities, the lord-chancellor opened the case; and was followed by Sergeant Gawdry, who proceeded to explain the above statute, and endeavoured to demonstrate that she had offended against it. He then entered into a detail of Babington's conspiracy; and concluded with affirming, "That Mary knew it, had approved of it, had promised her assistance, and had pointed out the means to effect it." Proofs of this charge were exhibited against her, and displayed with great art. The letters were read which Sir Francis Walsingham had forged, in concert with Gifford, &c. and her secretaries Naw and Curl. The three spies had afforded all the necessary intelligence respecting the conspiracy, on which to frame a correspondence between Mary and Babington, and on which dispatches might be fabricated in her name to her foreign friends; and the ciphers were furnished by her two secretaries. But besides these pretended letters, another species of evidence was held out against her. Babington, proud of the dispatch sent to him in her name by Walsingham and Gifford, returned an answer to it; and a reply from her by the same agency was transmitted to him. Deluded, and in toils, he communicated these marks of her attention to Savage and Ballard, the most confidential of his associates. His confession and theirs thus became of importance. Nor were her letters and the confessions of these conspirators deemed sufficient vouchers of her guilt. Her two secretaries, therefore, who had lately forsaken her, were engaged to subscribe a declaration, that the dispatches in her name were written by them at her command, and according to her instructions. These branches of evidence, put together with skill, and heightened with all the imposing colours of eloquence, were pressed on Mary. Though she had been long accustomed to the perfidious inhumanity of her enemies, her amazement was infinite. She lost not, however, her courage; and her defence was alike expressive of her penetration and magnanimity.

856  
Mary's defence.

"The accusation preferred to my prejudice is a most detestable calumny. I was not engaged with Babington in his conspiracy; and I am altogether innocent of having plotted the death of Elizabeth. The copies of Babington's letters which have been produced, may indeed be taken from originals which are genuine; but it is impossible to prove that I ever received them. Nor did he receive from me the dispatches addressed to him in my name. His confession, and those of his associates, which have been urged to establish the authority of my

Stuart's History.

Stuart.

Scotland. letters to him, are imperfect and vain. If these conspirators could have testified any circumstances to my hurt, they would not so soon have been deprived of their lives. Tortures, or the fear of the rack, extorted improper confessions from them; and then they were executed. Their mouths were opened to utter false criminations; and were immediately shut for ever, that the truth might be buried in their graves. It was no difficult matter to obtain ciphers which I had employed; and my adversaries are known to be superior to scruples. I am informed that Sir Francis Walsingham has been earnest to recommend himself to his sovereign by practices both against my life and that of my son; and the fabrication of papers, by which to effluuate my ruin, is a business not unworthy of his ambition. An evidence, the most clear and incontestable, is necessary to overthrow my integrity; but proofs, the most feeble and suspicious, are held out against me. Let one letter be exhibited, written in my hand, or that bears my superscription, and I will instantly acknowledge that the charge against me is sufficiently supported. The declaration of my secretaries is the effect of rewards or of terror. They are strangers; and to overcome their virtue was an easy achievement to a queen whose power is absolute, whose riches are immense, and whose ministers are profound and daring in intrigues and treachery. I have often had occasion to suspect the integrity of Naw; and Curl, whose capacity is more limited, was always most obsequious to him. They may have written many letters in my name without my knowledge or participation; and it is not fit that I should bear the blame of their inconsiderate boldness. They may have put many things into dispatches which are prejudicial to Elizabeth; and they may even have subscribed their declaration to my prejudice, under the prepossession that the guilt which would utterly overwhelm them might be pardoned in me. I have never dictated any letter to them which can be made to correspond with their testimony. And what, let me ask, would become of the grandeur, the virtue, and the safety of princes, if they depended upon the writings and declarations of secretaries? Nor let it be forgotten, that by acting in hostility to the duty and allegiance which they solemnly swore to observe to me, they have utterly incapacitated themselves from obtaining any credit. The violation of their oath of fidelity is an open perjury; and of such men the protestations are nothing. But, if they are yet in life, let them be brought before me. The matters they declare are so important as to require that they should be examined in my presence. It argues not the fairness of the proceedings against me, that this formality is neglected. I am also without the assistance of an advocate; and, that I might be defenceless and weak in the greatest degree, I have been robbed of my papers and commentaries. As to the copies of the dispatches which are said to have been written by my direction to Mendoza, the lord Paget, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglefield, they are most unprofitable forgeries. For they tend only to show that I was employed in encouraging my friends to invade England. Now, if I should allow that these dispatches were genuine, it could not be inferred from them that I had conspired the death of Elizabeth. I will even confess, that I have yielded to the strong impulses of nature; and that, like a human creature, encompassed with

Scotland. with dangers, and insulted with wrongs, I have exerted myself to recover my greatness and my liberty. The efforts I have made can excite no blushes in me; for the voice of mankind must applaud them. Religion, in her sternest moments of severity, cannot look to them with reproach; and to consider them as crimes, is to despise the sanctimonious reverence of humanity, and to give way to the suspicious wretchedness of despotism. I have fought by every art of concession and friendship to engage my sister to put a period to my sufferings. Invited by her smiles, I ventured into her kingdom, in the pride and gaiety of my youth; and, under her anger and the miseries of captivity, I have grown into age. During a calamitous confinement of 20 years, my youth, my health, my happiness, are for ever gone. To her tenderness and generosity I have been indebted as little as to her justice: and, oppressed and agonizing with unmerited afflictions and hardships, I scrupled not to beseech the princes my allies to employ their armies to relieve me. Nor will I deny, that I have endeavoured to promote the advantage and interest of the persecuted Catholics of England. My entreaties in their behalf have been even offered with earnestness to Queen Elizabeth herself. But the attainment of my kingdom, the recovery of my liberty, and the advancement of that religion which I love, could not induce me to stain myself with the crimes that are objected to me. I would disdain to purchase a crown by the assassination of the meanest of the human race. To accuse me of scheming the death of the queen my sister, is to brand me with the infamy which I abhor most. It is my nature to employ the devotions of Esther, and not the sword of Judith. Elizabeth herself will attest, that I have often admonished her not to draw upon her head the resentment of my friends by the enormity of her cruelties to me. My innocence cannot sincerely be doubted; and it is known to the Almighty God, that I could not possibly think to forego his mercy, and to ruin my soul, in order to compass a transgression so horrible as that of her murder. But amidst the inclement and unprincipled pretences which my adversaries are pleased to invent to overwhelm me with calamities and anguish, I can trace and discover with ease the real causes of their hostility and provocation. My crimes are, my birth, the injuries I have been compelled to endure, and my religion. I am proud of the first; I can forgive the second; and the third is a source to me of such comfort and hope, that for its glory I will be contented that my blood shall flow upon the scaffold."

To the defence of Mary, no returns were made beside unsupported affirmations of the truth of the evidence produced to her prejudice. In the course of the trial, however, there occurred some incidents which deserve to be related. My lord Burleigh, who was willing to discompose her, charged her with the fixed resolution of conveying her claims and titles to England to the king of Spain. But though, in a discontented humour with her son, she had threatened to disinherit him, and had even corresponded on the subject with her select friends, it appears that this project is to be considered as only a transient effect of resentment and passion. She indeed acknowledged, that the Spanish king professed to have pretensions to the kingdom of England, and that a book in justification of them had been communicated to her. She declared, however, that she

had incurred the displeasure of many by disapproving of this book; and that no conveyance of her titles to the Spanish king had been ever executed.

The trial continued during two days; but the commissioners avoided delivering their opinions. My lord Burleigh, in whose management Elizabeth chiefly confided, and whom the Scottish queen discomposed in no common degree by her ability and vigour, being eager to conclude the business, demanded to know if she had any thing to add to what she had urged in her defence. She informed him, that she would be infinitely pleased and gratified, if it should be permitted to her to be heard in her justification before a full meeting of parliament, or before the queen and her privy-council. This intimation was unexpected; and the request implied in it was rejected. The court, in consequence of previous instructions from Elizabeth, adjourned to a farther day, and appointed that the place of its convention should be the star-chamber at Westminster. It accordingly assembled there; and Naw and Curl, who had not been produced at Fotheringay-castle, were now called before the commissioners. An oath to declare the truth was put to them; and they definitely affirmed and protested that the declaration they subscribed was in every respect just and faithful. Nothing farther remained but to pronounce sentence against Mary. The commissioners unanimously concurred in delivering it as their verdict or judgement, that she "was a party to the conspiracy of Babington; and that she had compassed and imagined matters within the realm of England tending to the hurt, death, and destruction, of the royal person of Elizabeth, in opposition to the statute framed for her protection." On the same day in which this extraordinary sentence was given, the commissioners and the judges of England issued a declaration, which imported, that it was not to derogate in any degree from the titles and honour of the king of Scots.

The sentence against Mary was very soon ratified by the English parliament. King James was struck with horror at hearing of the execution of his mother; but that spiritless prince could show his resentment no farther than by unavailing embassies and remonstrances. France interposed in the same ineffectual manner; and on the 6th of December 1586, Elizabeth caused the sentence of the commissioners against her to be proclaimed. After this she was made acquainted with her fate, and received the news with the greatest composure, and even apparent satisfaction. Her keepers now refused to treat her with any reverence or respect. They entered her apartment with their heads covered, and made no obeisance to her. They took down her canopy of state, and deprived her of all the badges of royalty. By these insulting mortifications they meant to inform her, that she had sunk from the dignity of a princess to the abject state of a criminal. She smiled, and said, "In despite of your sovereign and her subservient judges, I will live and die a queen. My royal character is indelible; and I will surrender it with my spirit to Almighty God, from whom I received it, and to whom my honour and my innocence are fully known. In this melancholy situation Mary addressed a magnanimous letter to Elizabeth, in which, without making the least solicitation for her life, she only requested that her body might be carried to France; that she might be publicly executed; that her servants might be permitted to de-

857  
She desires to be heard before the parliament, or before the queen.

858  
Judgement given against her.

859  
The sentence ratified by the English parliament. An. 1586.

Scotland. part out of England unmolested, and enjoy the legacies which she bequeathed them. But to this letter no answer was given.

860  
Imbecility of James, and extreme influence and bigotry of his clergy.

In the mean time James, who had neither address nor courage to attempt any thing in behalf of his mother, announced her situation to his bigotted subjects, and ordered prayers to be said for her in all the churches. The form of the petition he prescribed was framed with delicacy and caution, that the clergy might have no objection to it. He enjoined them to pray, "that it might please God to enlighten Mary with the light of his truth, and protect her from the danger which was hanging over her." His own chaplains, and Mr David Lindsay minister of Leith, observed his command. But all the other clergy refused to prostitute their pulpits by preferring any petitions to the Almighty for a Papiſt. James, shocked with their spirit of intolerance and sedition, appointed a new day for prayers, to be said for Mary, and issued a stricter injunction to the clergy to obey him; and that he might be free himself from any insult, he commanded the archbishop of St Andrew's to preach before him. The ecclesiastics, disgusted with his injunction, persuaded Mr John Cowper, a probationer in divinity, to occupy the pulpit designed for the archbishop. When the king entered the church, he testified his surprize; but told Cowper, that if he would obey his injunction, he might proceed to officiate. Cowper replied, "that he would do as the spirit of God would direct him." The king commanded him to retire, and the captain of his guard advanced to compel him to obedience. The enraged probationer exclaimed, that this violence "would witness against the king in the great day of the Lord;" and denounced a curse against the spectators for not exerting themselves in his defence. The archbishop now ascending the pulpit, performed with propriety the function to which he had been called, and took the opportunity of recommending moderation and charity to the audience. In the afternoon Cowper was cited before the privy-council; and was accompanied by Mr Walter Balcanquhal and Mr William Watson, two ministers remarkable for their zeal. As a punishment for his audacious petulance, he was committed to the castle of Blackness; and his attendants having distinguished themselves by an impudent vindication of him, were prohibited from preaching during the pleasure of the king.

861  
Elizabeth feels some remorse;

Elizabeth, in the mean time, felt the torment and disquiet of unhappy and miserable passions. At times she courted the sadness of solitude, and refused to be consoled or to speak. In other seasons her sighs were frequent, and she broke out into loud and wild exclamations expressive of the state of her mind. Her subjects waited the determination of her will under a distracting agitation and uncertainty. Her ministers, who knew that it is the nature of fear to exclude pity, were industrious in inventing terrifying intelligence, and in circulating it through the kingdom. There were rumours that the Spanish fleet had arrived at Milford-haven; that a formidable army of Scottish combatants was advancing to the capital; that the duke of Guise had disembarked many troops of veteran soldiers in Sussex; that Mary had escaped out of prison, and was collecting the English Catholics; that the northern counties had thrown aside their allegiance; and that there was a new plot to kill Elizabeth, and to reduce Lon-

Stuart.

don to ashes. An actual conspiracy was even maliciously charged upon L'Aubespine the French resident; and he was forced to withdraw from England in disgrace. From the panic terrors which the ministers of Elizabeth were so studious to excite, they scrupled not loudly and invariably to infer, that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom could be re-established only by the speedy execution of the Scottish queen.

While the nation was thus artfully prepared for the destruction of Mary, Elizabeth ordered Secretary Davidſon to bring to her the warrant for her death. Having perused it with deliberation, she observed that it was extended in proper terms, and gave it the authority of her subscription. She was in a humour somewhat gay, and demanded of him if he was not sorry for what she had done. He replied, that it was afflicting to him to think of the state of public affairs; but that he greatly preferred her life to that of the Scottish princess. She enjoined him to be secret, and desired, that before he should deliver the warrant to the chancellor, he should carry it to Walsingham. "I fear much (said she, in a merry tone), that the grief of it will kill him."

862  
but signs the warrant for Mary's death.

This levity was momentary; and fears and anxieties succeeded it. Though she earnestly desired the death of Mary, she was yet terrified to encounter its infamy. She was solicitous to accomplish this base transaction by some method which would conceal her consent to it. After intimating to Mr Davidſon an anxious wish that its blame should be removed from her, she counselled him to join with Walsingham in addressing a letter to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, recommending it to them to manifest their love to her by shedding privately the blood of her adversary. The unlawfulness of this deed affected Davidſon, and he objected to it. She repeated resolutely her injunctions, and he departed to execute them. A letter under his name and that of Walsingham was despatched to Mary's keepers, communicating to them her purpose. Corrupted by her passions, and lost to the sensibilities of virtue, Elizabeth had now reached the last extremity of human wickedness. Though a sovereign princess, and entrusted with the cares of a great nation, she blushed not to give in charge to her ministers to enjoin a murder; and this murder was connected with every circumstance that could make it most frightful and horrid. The victim for whose blood she thirsted was a woman, a queen, a relation, who was splendid with beauty, eminent in abilities, magnanimous under misfortunes, and smiling with innocence. Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, though the slaves of religious prejudices, felt an elevation of mind which reflected the greatest disgrace on the sovereign. They considered themselves as grossly insulted by the purpose proposed to them; and in the return they made to Walsingham, they assured him, that the queen might command their lives and their property, but that they would never consent to part with their honour, and stain themselves and their posterity with the guilt of an assassination. When Davidſon carried their dispatch to her, she broke out into anger. Their scrupulous delicacy, she said, was a dainty infringement of their oath of association; and they were nice, precise, and perjured traitors, who could give great promises in words, and achieve nothing. She told him, that the business could be performed without them; and recommended

863  
Wishes to have her privately murdered.

864  
which her keepers refuse.

Stuart.

Scotland.

Scotland.

mended one Wingfield to his notice, who would not hesitate to strike the blow. The astonished secretary exclaimed with warmth against a mode of proceeding so dangerous and unwarrantable. He protested, that if she should take upon herself the blame of this deed, it would pollute her with the blackest dishonour; and that, if she should disavow it, she would overthrow for ever the reputation, the estates, and the children, of the persons who should assist in it. She heard him with pain, and withdrew from him with precipitation.

865  
The warrant passes the great seal.

The warrant, after having been communicated to Walsingham, was carried to the chancellor, who put the great seal to it. This formality was hardly concluded, when a message from Elizabeth prohibited Davidson from waiting upon the chancellor till he should receive farther instructions. Within an hour after, he received a second message to the same purpose. He hastened to court; and Elizabeth asked eagerly, if he had seen the chancellor. He answered in the affirmative; and she exclaimed with bitterness against his haste. He said, that he had acted exactly as she had directed him. She continued to express warmly her displeasure; but gave no command to stop the operation of the warrant. In a state of uneasiness and apprehension, he communicated her behaviour to the chancellor and the privy-council. These courtiers, however, who were well acquainted with the arts of their mistress, and who knew how to flatter her, paid no attention to him. They perceived, or were secretly informed, that she desired to have a pretence upon which to complain of the secretary, and to deny that he had obeyed her instructions. They observed to him, that by subscribing the warrant, she had performed whatever the law required of her; and that it was not proper to delay the execution any longer. While they were anxious to please Elizabeth, they were conscious of their own cruelty to Mary, and did not imagine they could be in perfect security while she lived. They dispatched the warrant to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with instructions to them to fulfil its purpose.

866  
Mary is acquainted with her fate.

When the two earls and their retinue reached Fotheringay castle, they found that Mary was sick, and reposing on her bed. They insisted, notwithstanding, to be introduced to her. Being informed by her servants that the message they brought was important and pressing, she prepared to receive them. They were conducted into her presence by Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Druce Drury; and with little formality they told her, that Elizabeth had consented to her death, and that she was to suffer the next morning at eight o'clock. Then Beale, one of the clerks of the privy council, who accompanied them, read over the warrant, which she heard with pious composure and unshaken fortitude. They then affected to justify their mistress by entering into details concerning the conspiracy of Babington. She put her hand on the Scriptures, which lay on a table near her, and swore in the most solemn manner, that she never devised, consented to, or pursued the death of Elizabeth in any shape whatever. The earl of Kent, unwisely zealous for the Protestant religion, excepted against her oath as being made on a Popish bible. She replied to him mildly, "It is for this very reason, my lord, to be relied on with the greater security; for I esteem the Popish version of the Scriptures to be the most authentic." Indulging his puitanical fer-

our, he declaimed against popery, counselled her to renounce its errors, and recommended to her attention Dr Fletcher dean of Peterborough. She heard him with some impatience; and discovered no anxiety to be converted by this ecclesiastic, whom he represented as a most learned divine. Rising into passion, he exclaimed, that "her life would be the death of their religion, and that her death would be its life." After informing him that she was unalterably fixed in her religious sentiments, she desired that her confessor might have the liberty to repair to her. The two earls concurred in observing, that their consciences did not allow them to grant this request. She intimated to them the favours for which she had applied by her letter to Elizabeth, and expressed a wish to know if her sister had attended to them. They answered, that these were points on which they had received no instructions. She made inquiries concerning her secretaries Naw and Curl; and asked, whether it had ever been heard of, in the wickedest times of the most unprincipled nation, that the servants of a sovereign princess had been suborned for the purpose of destroying her. They looked to one another, and were silent. Bourgoin her physician, who with her other domestics was present at this interview, seeing the two earls ready to depart, besought them with an emphatic earnestness to reflect on the short and inadequate portion of time that they had allotted to his mistress to prepare herself for death. He insisted, that a respect for her high rank, and the multiplicity and importance of her concerns, required at least a period of some days. They pretended, however, not to understand the propriety of his petition, and refused it.

On the departure of the two earls, her domestics gave a full vent to their afflictions; and while she experienced a melancholy pleasure in their tears, lamentations, and kindness, she endeavoured to console them. Their grief, she said, was altogether unavailing, and could better neither her condition nor their own. Her cause had every thing about it that was most honourable; and the miseries from which she was to be relieved were the most hopeless and the most afflicting. Instead of dejection and sadness, she therefore enjoined them to be contented and happy. That she might have the more leisure to settle her affairs, she supped early, and, according to her usual custom, she ate little. While at table, she remarked to Bourgoin her physician, that the force of truth was insurmountable; for that the earl of Kent, notwithstanding the pretence of her having conspired against Elizabeth, had plainly informed her, that her death would be the security of their religion. When supper was over, she ordered all her servants to appear before her, and treated them with the kindness which we have mentioned in her life. Having settled these attentions, she entered her bedchamber with her women; and, according to her uniform practice, employed herself in religious duties, and in reading in the Lives of the Saints. At her accustomed time she went to sleep; and after enjoying some hours of sound rest, she awakened. She then indulged in pious meditation, and partook of the sacrament by the means of a consecrated host, which a melancholy presentiment of her calamities had induced her to obtain from Pius V.

867  
She prepares for death.

At the break of day she arrayed herself in rich, but becoming apparel; and calling together her servants, she ordered her will to be read, and apologised for the smallness

Stuart.

Scotland.  
868  
Account of  
her execu-  
tion, 7th  
Feb. 1587.

smallness of her legacies from her inability to be more generous. Following the arrangement she had previously made, she then dealt out to them her goods, wardrobe, and jewels. To Bourgoin her physician she committed the care of her will, with a charge that he would deliver it to her principal executor the duke of Guise. She also entrusted him with tokens of her affection for the king of France, the queen-mother, and her relations of the house of Lorraine. Bidding now an adieu to all worldly concerns, she retired to her oratory, where she was seen sometimes kneeling at the altar, and sometimes standing motionless with her hands joined, and her eyes directed to the heavens. In these tender and agitated moments, she was dwelling on the memory of her sufferings and her virtues, reposing her weaknesses in the bosom of her God, and lifting and solacing her spirit in the contemplation of his perfections and his mercy. While she was thus engaged, Thomas Andrews, the high sheriff of the county, announced to her, that the hour for her execution was arrived. She came forth dressed in a gown of black silk; her petticoat was bordered with crimson-velvet; a veil of lawn bowed out with wire, and edged with bone-lace, was fastened to her caul, and hung down to the ground: an Agnus Dei was suspended from her neck by a pomander chain; her beads were fixed to her girdle; and she bore in her hand a crucifix of ivory. Amidst the screams and lamentations of her women she descended the stairs; and in the porch she was received by the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury with their attendants.— Here, too, she met Sir Andrew Melvil the master of her household, whom her keepers had debarred from her presence during many days. Throwing himself at her feet, and weeping aloud, he deplored his sad destiny, and the sorrowful tidings he was to carry into Scotland.

After she had spoken to Melvil, she besought the two earls that her servants might be treated with civility, that they might enjoy the presents she had bestowed on them, and that they might receive a safe conduct to depart out of the dominions of Elizabeth. These slight favours were readily granted to her. She then begged that they might be permitted to attend her to the scaffold, in order that they might be witnesses of her behaviour at her death. To this request the earl of Kent discovered a strong reluctance. He said that they would behave with an intemperate passion; and that they would practise superstitious formalities, and dip their handkerchiefs in her blood. She replied, that she was sure that none of their actions would be blameable; and that it was but decent that some of her women should be about her. The earl still hesitating, she was affected with the insolent and stupid indignity of his malice, and exclaimed, "I am cousin to your mistress, and descended from Henry VII. I am a dowager of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland." The earl of Shrewsbury interposing, it was agreed that she should select two of her women who might assist her in her last moments, and a few of her men-servants, who might behold her demeanour, and report it.

She entered the hall where she was to suffer, and advanced with an air of grace and majesty to the scaffold, which was built at its farthest extremity. The spectators were numerous. Her magnanimous carriage, her beauty, of which the lustre was yet dazzling, and

her matchless misfortunes, affected them. They gave way to contending emotions of awe, admiration, and pity. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a serene aspect, and turned her eye to the block, the axe, and the executioners. The spectators were dissolved in tears. A chair was placed for her, in which she seated herself. Silence was commanded; and Beale read aloud the warrant for her death. She heard it attentively, yet with a manner from which it might be gathered that her thoughts were employed on a subject more important. Dr Fletcher dean of Peterborough taking his station opposite to her without the rails of the scaffold, began a discourse on her life, past, present, and to come. He affected to enumerate her trespasses against Elizabeth, and to describe the love and tendernefs which that princess had shown to her. He counselled her to repent of her crimes; and while he inveighed against her attachment to Popery, he threatened her with everlasting fire if she should delay to renounce its errors. His behaviour was indecent and coarse in the highest degree; and while he meant to insult her, he insulted still more the religion which he professed, and the sovereign whom he flattered. Twice she interrupted him with great gentleness. But he pertinaciously continued his exhortations. Raising her voice, she commanded him with a resolute tone to withhold his indignities and menaces, and not to trouble her any more about her faith. "I was born (said she) in the Catholic religion; I have experienced its comforts during my life, in the trying seasons of sickness, calamity, and sorrow; and I am resolved to die in it." The two earls, ashamed of the savage obstinacy of his deportment, admonished him to desist from his speeches, and to content himself with praying for her conversion. He entered on a long prayer; and Mary falling on her knees, and disregarding him altogether, employed herself in devotions from the office of the Virgin.

After having performed all her devotions, her women assisted her to disrobe; and the executioners offering their aid, she repressed their forwardness by observing, that she was not accustomed to be attended by such servants, nor to be undressed before so large an assembly. Her upper garments being laid aside, she drew on her arms a pair of silk gloves. Her women and men servants burst out into loud lamentations. She put her finger to her mouth to admonish them to be silent, and then bade them a final adieu with a smile that seemed to console, but that plunged them into deeper woe. She kneeled resolutely before the block, and said, "In thee, O Lord! do I trust, let me never be confounded." She covered her eyes with a linen handkerchief in which the eucharist had been inclosed; and stretching forth her body with great tranquillity, and fitting her neck for the fatal stroke, she called out, "Into thy hands, O God! I commit my spirit." The executioner, from design, from unskillfulness, or from inquietude, struck three blows before he separated her head from her body. He held it up mangled with wounds, and streaming with blood; and her hair being discomposed, was discovered to be already gray with afflictions and anxieties. The dean of Peterborough alone cried out, "So let the enemies of Elizabeth perish." The earl of Kent alone, in a low voice, answered, "Amen." All the other spectators were melted into the tenderest sympathy and sorrow.

Her

Scotland.

Her women hastened to protect her dead body from the curiosity of the spectators; and solaced themselves with the thoughts of mourning over it undisturbed when they should retire, and of laying it out in its funeral garb. But the two earls prohibited them from discharging these melancholy yet pleasing offices to their departed mistress, and drove them from the hall with indignity. Bourgoin her physician applied to them that he might be permitted to take out her heart for the purpose of preserving it, and of carrying it with him to France. But they refused his intreaty with disdain and anger. Her remains were touched by the rude hands of the executioners, who carried them into an adjoining apartment; and who, tearing a cloth from an old billiard-table, covered that form, once so beautiful. The block, the cushion, the scaffold, and the garments, which were stained with her blood, were consumed with fire. Her body, after being embalmed and committed to a leaden coffin, was buried with royal splendour and pomp in the cathedral of Peterborough. Elizabeth, who had treated her like a criminal while she lived, seemed disposed to acknowledge her for a queen when she was dead.

869

Infamous  
dissimula-  
tion in  
Elizabeth,  
and indif-  
ference in  
James.

On the death of his mother, the full government of the kingdom devolved on James her son. Elizabeth, apprehensive of his resentment for her treatment of his mother, wrote him a letter, in which she disclaimed all knowledge of the fact. James had received intelligence of the murder before the arrival of this letter, which was sent by one Cary. The messenger was stopped at Berwick by an order from the king, telling him, that, if Mary had been executed, he should proceed at his peril. James shut himself up in Dalkeith castle, in order to indulge himself in grief; but the natural levity and imbecility of his mind prevented him from acting in any degree as became him. Instead of resolutely adhering to his first determination of not allowing Cary to set foot in Scotland, he in a few days gave his consent that he should be admitted to an audience of certain members of his privy-council, who took a journey to the borders on purpose to wait upon him. In this conference, Cary demanded that the league of amity between the two kingdoms should be inviolably observed. He said that his mistress was grieved at the death of Mary, which had happened without her consent; and, in Elizabeth's name, offered any satisfaction that James could demand. The Scots commissioners treated Cary's speech and proposal with becoming disdain. They observed, that they amounted to no more than to know whether James was disposed to sell his mother's blood; adding, that the Scottish nobility and people were determined to revenge it, and to interest in their quarrel the other princes of Europe. On this Cary delivered to them the letter from Elizabeth, together with a declaration of his own concerning the murder of the queen; and it does not appear that he proceeded farther.

This reception of her ambassador threw Elizabeth into the utmost consternation. She was apprehensive that James would join his force to that of Spain, and entirely overwhelm her; and had the resentment or the spirit of the king been equal to that of the nation, it is probable that the haughty English princess would have been made severely to repent her perfidy and cruelty. It does not, however, appear, that James had any serious

intention of calling Elizabeth to an account for the murder of his mother; for which, perhaps, his natural imbecility may be urged as an excuse, though it is more probable that his own necessity for money had swallowed up every other consideration. By the league formerly concluded with England, it had been agreed that Elizabeth should pay an annual pension to the king of Scotland. James had neither economy to make his own revenue answer his purposes, nor address to get it increased. He was therefore always in want; and as Elizabeth had plenty to spare, her friendship became a valuable acquisition. To this consideration, joined to his view of ascending the English throne, must chiefly be ascribed the little resentment shown by him to the atrocious conduct of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was not wanting in the arts of dissimulation and treachery now more than formerly. She prosecuted and fined Secretary Davidson and Lord Burleigh for the active part they had taken in Mary's death. Their punishment was indeed much less than they deserved, but they certainly did not merit such treatment at her hands. Walsingham, though equally guilty, yet escaped by pretending indisposition, or perhaps escaped because the queen had now occasion for his services. By her command he drew up a long letter addressed to Lord Thirlston, King James's prime minister; in which he showed the necessity of putting Mary to death, and the folly of attempting to revenge it. He boasted of the superior force of England to that of Scotland; shewed James that he would for ever ruin his pretensions to the English crown, by involving the two nations in a war; that he ought not to trust to foreign alliances; that the Catholic party were so divided among themselves, that he could receive little or no assistance from them, even supposing him so ill advised as to change his own religion for Popery, and that they would not trust his sincerity. Lastly, He attempted to show, that James had already discharged all the duty towards his mother and his own reputation that could be expected from an affectionate son and a wise king; that his interceding for her with a concern so becoming nature, had endeared him to the kingdom of England; but that it would be madness to push his resentment farther.

This letter had all the effect that could be desired. James gave an audience to the English ambassador; and being assured that his blood was *not tainted* by the execution of his mother for treason against Elizabeth, but that he was still capable of succeeding to the crown of England, he consented to make up matters, and to address the murderer of his mother by the title of loving and affectionate sister.

The reign of James, till his accession to the crown of England by Elizabeth's death in 1603, affords little matter of moment. His scandalous concessions to Elizabeth, and his constant applications to her for money, filled up the measure of his meanness. Ever since the expulsion of Mary, the country had in fact been reduced to the condition of an English province. The sovereign had been tried by the queen of England, and executed for treason; a crime, in the very nature of the thing impossible, had not Scotland been in subjection to England; and to complete all, the contemptible successor of Mary thought himself well off that he was not a

traitor.

Scotland.

870

Secretary  
Davidson  
and Lord  
Burleigh  
punished.

Scotland. traitor too, to his sovereign the queen of England we must suppose, for the case will admit of no other supposition.

871  
Disturbances during the reign of James.

During the reign of James, the religious disturbances which began at the reformation, and that violent struggle of the clergy for power which never ceased till the revolution in 1688, went on with great violence. Continual clamours were raised against Popery, at the same time that the very fundamental principles of Popery were held, nay urged in the most insolent manner, as the effects of immediate inspiration. These were the total independence of the clergy on every earthly power, at the same time that all earthly powers were to be subject to them. Their fantastic decrees were supposed to be binding in heaven; and they took care that they should be binding on earth, for whoever had offended so far as to fall under a sentence of excommunication was declared an outlaw.

It is easy to see that this circumstance must have contributed to disturb the public tranquillity in a great degree. But besides this, the weakness of James's government was such, that, under the name of peace, the whole kingdom was involved in the miseries of civil war; the feudal animosities revived, and slaughter and murder prevailed all over the country. James, fitted only for pedantry, disputed, argued, modelled, and re-modelled, the constitution to no purpose. The clergy continued their insolence, and the laity their violences on one another; at the same time that the king, by his unhappy credulity in the operation of demons and witches, declared a most inhuman and bloody war against the poor old women, many of whom were burnt for the imaginary crime of conversing with the devil.

872  
His super-  
stition and  
cruelty.

King James had for some time formed a matrimonial scheme, and had fixed his eyes on the princess Anne, daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark. Queen Elizabeth attempted to embarrass this marriage as she had done that of his mother, but James overlooked all obstacles by an effort of gallantry of which he was deemed incapable. On the 22d of October, 1589, he sailed to Denmark and married the princess Anne, then in the 16th year of her age. The character of this princess has been generally represented in a very unfavourable light, but probably the imputations which have been cast on it, arose more from prejudice than reality.

873  
King's  
marriage.  
An. 1589.

In autumn 1600, a remarkable conspiracy happened against the liberty, if not the life, of the king. The attainer and execution of the earl of Gowrie for the part he acted in the raid of Ruthven and for subsequent practices of treason, have been already mentioned. His son, however, had been restored to his paternal dignity and estates, and had in consequence professed gratitude and attachment to the king. But the Presbyterian clergy continued to express their approbation of the raid of Ruthven, and to declare on every occasion that in their opinion the earl of Gowrie had suffered by an unjust sentence. One of the most eminent and popular of that order of men was preceptor to the younger Gowrie and his brothers, who, from their frequent conversations with him, must have been deeply impressed with the belief that their father was murdered. The passion of revenge took possession of their breasts; and having invited the king from Falkland to the earl of Gowrie's house at Perth, under the pretence of showing him a secret treasure of foreign gold, which he might lawfully appropriate to his own use, an attempt was made to keep him a close prisoner, with threats of putting him to instant death if he should make any attempt to regain his liberty.

Scotland.  
874  
Conspiracy  
of Gowrie.  
An. 1600.

The reality of this conspiracy has been questioned by many writers, for no other reason, as it would appear, but because they could not assign a rational motive for Gowrie's engaging in so hazardous an enterprise; and some have even insinuated that the conspiracy was entered into by the king against Gowrie in order to get possession of his large estates. It has been shown however by Arnot, in his Criminal Trials, with a force of evidence which leaves no room for doubt, that the conspiracy was the earl's, who seems to have intended that the king should be cut off by the hand of an assassin; and the same acute and discriminating writer has made it appear highly probable, that he entertained hopes, in the then distracted state of the nation not ill founded, of being able to mount the throne of his murdered sovereign (Z).

The particulars of this conspiracy, as far as they can be collected from the trial of the conspirators, and the depositions of the witnesses, published by Mr Arnot and the earl of Cromarty, are as follows. On the 5th of August at seven in the morning, while the king was about

(Z) The family of Ruthven had long been looked upon as the head of that party which was attached to England and the reformation; and the accomplishments of the latter Gowrie qualified him to be the leader of an enterprising faction. The importance he derived from aristocratic influence over his extensive domains, and from the attachment of a powerful party in church and state, was embellished with the lustre of a regal descent. Thus ambition, as well as revenge, might stimulate him to his daring enterprise. Indeed, if his attempt was to be directed against the life of the king, it could no longer be safe for him to remain in the condition of a subject: and the indecent and malicious imputation of bastardy, with which the fanatics reproached King James, might afford a plausible pretext for secluding the royal offspring. The family of Hamilton, next heir to the crown, had long lost its popularity, and the earl of Arran, its head, had lost his judgement; and, though there undoubtedly were several families interposed between Gowrie and the crown in the strict line of succession, none of them probably possessed power and popularity to support their right. But if Gowrie and his brother were really endowed with those personal accomplishments which have been so highly extolled, and which made their countrymen conceive the most sanguine hopes of their early virtues; is it absurd to suppose Lord Gowrie to have flattered himself, that in a country where the church was in danger, where the trumpet of sedition was sounded by the ministers, who fortified the chief block-house of the Lord's Jerusalem, his piety, popularity, and bravery, should supply the defect in title, and make him be called, while there were nearer heirs to the crown; as has since happened in the same country, on a similar occasion.



Scotland. about to mount his horse, to hunt in Falkland park, Alexander Ruthven, brother of the earl of Gowrie, addressed him in a very familiar manner. After the hunt was over, the king desired the duke of Lenox to accompany him to the earl of Gowrie's at Perth, telling him that Alexander Ruthven had invited him to get some hidden treasure, but desired the duke to have an eye to himself, and to follow him wherever he went with Alexander Ruthven. When they arrived at the earl of Gowrie's, it was observed that the earl's servants were armed. After the king had dined, Ruthven carried him to the uppermost part of the house, where he attempted to make him a prisoner, and to bind his hands; but the king resisted and called out treason from the window. Sir John Ramsay, who carried the king's hawk, first entered the chamber, where he saw Ruthven struggling with the king. Ramsay soon dispatched the traitor, and the earl of Gowrie entering with a sword in each hand, and followed by armed men, there ensued a short conflict, in which the earl was mortally wounded by Sir John Ramsay.

For this eminent service Sir John Ramsay was ennobled; and though Gowrie and his brother fell in the struggle, they were attainted by an act of parliament, which decreed their name, memory, and dignity, to be extinguished; their arms to be cancelled; their whole estates to be forfeited and annexed to the crown; the name of Ruthven to be abolished; and their posterity and surviving brethren to be incapable of succeeding to, or of holding, any offices, honours, or possessions.

875  
The Western islanders civilized.

The most memorable transaction of James's reign, and that most to his honour, is the civilizing of the Western islanders. For this purpose, he instituted a company of gentlemen adventurers, to whom he gave large privileges for reforming them. The method he proposed was to transport numbers of them to his low countries in Scotland, and to give their islands, which were very improveable, in fee to his lowland subjects who should choose to reside in the islands. The experiment was to be made upon the Lewes, a long range of the Ebudæ; whence the adventurers expelled Murdoch Macleod, the tyrant of the inhabitants. Macleod, however, kept the sea; and intercepting a ship which carried one of the chief adventurers, he sent him prisoner to Orkney, after putting the crew to the sword. Macleod was soon after betrayed by his own brother, and hanged at St Andrew's. The history of this new undertaking is rather dark; and the settlers themselves seem to have been defective in the arts of civilization. The arrangements they made were considered by the inhabitants as very oppressive; and one Norman, of the Macleod family, attacked and subdued them so effectually, that they not only consented to yield the property of the islands to him, but engaged to obtain the king's pardon for what he had done.

876  
Accession of James to the crown of England.  
An. 1603.

From the conspiracy of the Gowries there are few transactions deserving of notice in the reign of James VI. till the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, called him to the English throne. From that period the affairs of Scotland are so intimately blended with those of England, that they cannot properly be considered apart. We have accordingly given a detail of the transactions of both countries from the accession of James to the throne of England, in the article BRITAIN. Some circumstances more peculiarly relating to Scotland, will

be found under the articles EDINBURGH, LEITH, and Scotland. GLASGOW.

We shall conclude the historical part of this article with a brief review of the state of affairs in Scotland from the introduction of the reformed religion, and a general statement of the effects produced, by the accession of James, on the state of his native kingdom.

The period of the reformation may be regarded as the period of crimes. The people were reformed from Papacy to Protestantism; but there was no reform in their morals. It was the fashion to declaim about religion; but if we may judge from the facts related by the annalists of those revolutionary times, religion had but little influence on the lives and manners of the people. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, and crime succeeded crime in rapid succession. History evinces that every great revolution produces the most unhappy effects on the human character; and it is certain from the annals of the reformation in Scotland, that the turbulent spirit of the people received an additional incitement from the civil conflicts of the superior classes.

877  
Review of public affairs from the reformation.

We have seen that the reformers were more studious to pull down than to build. The whole estates of the ancient church were appropriated by the nobles before any proper establishment was made for the reformed clergy. Laws for promoting and securing the reformation were ratified on every topic, except that of providing for the ministers of the new religion. The church judicatories and the reformed clergy took the place, and assumed the practices, of the Papal establishment and the Popish functionaries. The ministers censured from the pulpits the conduct of the court; they disputed the authority of the king, and promoted tumults and sedition through the nation, so that the king and the parliament found it necessary to enact a variety of laws for enforcing the obedience of the ecclesiastical to the civil power; and some of the clergy continuing contumacious, they were expelled the kingdom. From this measure, however necessary it might be deemed, the king acquired much popular odium; and it was the prelude to continual disputes between him and the leaders of the reformation. In 1580, a convention of the clergy assembled at Dundee, and passed a resolution abolishing Episcopacy. This was opposed by a counter declaration from the king; and in 1597, the parliament passed a law, by which it was enacted, that "ministers, provided to prelacy, should have a place in the three estates."

In order to erect the assumptions of the newly formed church on the ruins of the state, the clergy had proceeded to such lengths, that it became necessary to oppose barriers to their pretensions. So early as the year 1584, the parliament had passed an act, declaring, that the honour, authority, and dignity, of the estates shall stand and continue in their ancient integrity, supreme over all things and all persons; and, to support this declaration by an adequate penalty, it was further declared to be treason to call in question, or to diminish, the power of the three estates. All other conventions or assemblies that pretended to meet without the king's authority, were denounced as illegal. What was thus declared amid the ravings of anarchy respecting the supreme power of the state, constituted only new affirmations of the ancient law; but these wise provisions were followed by a

Scotland. whole code respecting the constituent members, the mode of sitting, and the authority of the three estates. This code was drawn up in the 11th parliament of James VI.

As a new power had arisen rather in the church than in the state, disputing the king's legal capacity, the 18th parliament in its zeal passed an act, acknowledging the royal prerogative and the privilege of the crown over all estates, persons, and causes; and this prerogative and privilege the three estates engaged to maintain with their lives, lands, and goods. Besides this, they provided a standing guard for the safety of the king's person.

The judicial power of the state had acquired a useful improvement by the establishment of the college of justice in the preceding reign; but if the senators could not act without question by individuals, justice held her scales in vain. Amid the wildness and irascibility of those times, some of the judges had been thus questioned, and the parliament interposed in behalf of justice, by declaring, that, whoever should challenge a senator for his opinion, should be punished with death.

During the early ages of the Scottish nation, clanship from blood had existed in every part of North Britain. Throughout the whole Scoto-Saxon period there existed, as we have seen, from conquest and from birth, a state of universal villenage, which disappeared in the 15th century. Amid the anarchy of subsequent times, there arose various clans, which were divided, according to the policy of those times, into clans of the borders and clans of the Highlands. From such a state of society, and from the want of employment, we may account for the facility with which great bodies of men were then drawn together at the call of every petty chieftain. In some measure to counteract this facility of exciting disturbance and rebellion, the parliament of 1587 had passed an act, by which the chiefs of all the clans were obliged to give security for their peaceable demeanour, and were made answerable for the enormities committed by their adherents. By the union of the two crowns, however, the clans of the borders were in a great measure dissolved, and the quiet of that part of the kingdom finally established\*.

\* *Chalmers's Calendar*, vol. i. 878  
Effects of James's accession on the state of Scotland.

The Scots had so long considered their monarchs as next heirs to the English throne, that they had full leisure to reflect on all the consequences of their being advanced to that dignity. But dazzled with the glory of giving a sovereign to their powerful enemy, relying on the partiality of their native prince, and in full expectation of sharing liberally in the wealth and honours which he would now be able to bestow, they attended little to the most obvious consequences of that great event, and rejoiced at his accession to the throne of England, as if it had been no less beneficial to the kingdom than honourable to the king. They soon had reason, however, to adopt very different sentiments, and from that period we may date a total alteration in the political constitution of Scotland.

The feudal aristocracy which had been subverted in most nations of Europe by the policy of their princes, or had been undermined by the progress of commerce, still subsisted with full force in Scotland. Many causes had contributed gradually to augment the power of the Scottish nobles; and even the Reformation which, in every other country where it prevailed, added to the authority of the monarch, had increased their

wealth and influence. A king possessed of a small revenue with a prerogative extremely limited, and unsupported by a standing army, could not exercise much authority over such potent subjects. He was obliged to govern by expedients; and the laws derived their force not from his power to execute them, but from the voluntary submission of the nobles. But though this produced a species of government extremely feeble and irregular, though Scotland, under the name and with all the outward ensigns of a monarchy, was really subject to an aristocracy, the people were not altogether unhappy, and even in this wild form of a constitution there were principles, which tended to their security and advantage. The king, checked and overawed by the nobles, durst venture upon no act of arbitrary power. The nobles, jealous of the king, whose claims and pretensions were many, though his power was small, were afraid of irritating their dependants by unreasonable exactions, and tempered the rigour of aristocratical tyranny with a mildness and equality to which it is naturally a stranger. As long as the military genius of the feudal government remained in vigour, the vassals both of the crown and of the barons were generally not only free from oppression, but were courted by their superiors, whose power and importance were founded on their attachment and love.

But, by his accession to the throne of England, James acquired such an immense accession of wealth, of power, and of splendour, that the nobles, astonished and intimidated, thought it vain to struggle for privileges which they were now unable to defend. Nor was it from fear alone that they submitted to the yoke. James, partial to his countrymen, and willing that they should partake in his good fortune, loaded them with riches and honours; and the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of the prince became the supreme law in Scotland; and the nobles strove, with emulation, who should most implicitly obey commands which they had formerly been accustomed to contemn. Satisfied with having subjected the nobles to the crown, the king left them in full possession of their ancient jurisdiction over their own vassals. The extensive rights, vested in a feudal chief, became in their hands dreadful instruments of oppression; and the military ideas, on which these rights were founded, being gradually lost or disregarded, nothing remained to correct or to mitigate the rigour with which they were exercised. The nobles, exhausting their fortunes by the expence of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people, who durst hardly utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, nor move him to grant any redress.

At their accession to the throne of England, the kings of Scotland, once the most limited, became, in an instant, the most absolute princes in Europe, and exercised a despotic authority, which their parliaments were unable to controul, or their nobles to resist.

The church felt the effects of the absolute power which the king acquired by his accession; and its revolutions, too, are worthy of notice. James, during the latter years of his administration in Scotland, had revived the name and office of bishops. But they possessed

Scotland. no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or pre-eminence; their revenues were inconsiderable; and they were scarcely distinguished by any thing but by their seat in parliament, and by being the object of the clergy's jealousy and the people's hatred. The king, delighted with the splendour and authority which the English bishops enjoyed, and eager to effect a union in the ecclesiastical policy which he had in vain attempted in the civil government of the two kingdoms, resolved to bring both churches to an exact conformity with each other. Three Scotsmen were consecrated bishops at London. From them their brethren were commanded to receive orders. Ceremonies unknown in Scotland were imposed; and, though the clergy, less obsequious than the nobles, boldly opposed the innovations, James, long practised and well skilled in the arts of managing them, obtained at length their compliance\*.

\* Robert-son's Scot-land.

879 Scottish antiquities.

880 Druidical.

† Caledonia, vol. i.

p. 90.

881 Roman.

The monuments of antiquity belonging to North Britain may be considered under three heads, as they belong to the Celtic period, the Roman period, or the *Scoto-Irish* period. Of the first of these periods very few monuments now remain, and these are chiefly of the tumular kind; consisting either of circles of stones, the evident remains of druidical worship, or of the remains of the hill forts, which appear to have been employed by the ancient Caledonians as places of defence. Of these hill forts there is a remarkable example at Barrowhill in Aberdeenshire, which is described and figured by Mr Chalmers †; and a similar fort appears to have existed at Barry-hill near Alyth in Perthshire.

The remains of the *Roman* period in North Britain appear chiefly in the celebrated wall built in the reign of Antoninus Pius, between the friths of Forth and Clyde; in the ruins of which many curious inscriptions have been found. Another striking object of this epoch was a small edifice, vulgarly called *Arthur's oven*, which seems to have been regarded by some antiquaries as a small temple, dedicated to the god *Terminus*; probably after the erection of the wall of Antoninus, for we are not to conceive that these walls were the absolute lines, beyond which the Romans possessed no territory; while, on the contrary, in the pacific intervals, the garrisons along the wall may have claimed the forage of the exterior fields; and the stream of Carron, beyond which this chapel stood, may have been considered as a necessary supply of water. The remains of the wall and forts, and other Roman antiquities in Scotland, particularly their camps and stations, many of which are remarkably entire, are ably illustrated in a publication of General Roy, and in the *Caledonia* of Mr Chalmers. General Roy, indeed, has too implicitly followed a common antiquarian error, in ascribing all these camps, stations, &c. to Agricola; while they may be more justly assigned to Lollius Urbicus, A. D. 140, or to the emperor Severus, A. D. 207, especially, indeed, to the latter; for the emperor's appearance in person to conduct two campaigns, probably as far as Inverness, must have occasioned the erection of works more eminent and durable than usual; the soldiers being excited by the animating controul of a military monarch. In the reign of Domitian, Bolanus, as we learn from Statius the poet, erected several works in Britain, probably in the north; so that it is idle to impute these remains to any one author: but, to a judicious eye, the claims of Lollius Urbicus and of Severus seem pre-

ferable. One of the most northerly Roman camps yet discovered, is that near the source of the river Ythan, Aberdeenshire; periphery about two English miles. A smaller station has also been observed at Old Meldrum, a few miles to the south-east.

Four remarkable Roman stations are described and figured by Mr Chalmers; one on the north bank of the river Dee, near Peter-Culter in Aberdeenshire, occupying about eight Scotch acres\*; a second in Banffshire on the southern bank of the Spey, near its mouth †; a third on the eastern bank of the river Findhorn, near Forres, which is believed to be the *Varis* of the Romans ‡; and a fourth, now called the *Green Castle*, near *Clattering Brig* in Kincardine-shire, forming a fort whose internal area measures nearly 158 feet, by 262 feet ||.

Scotland.

\* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 125.

† Ib. p. 129.

‡ Ib. p. 131.

|| Ib. p. 175.

Roman roads have been traced a considerable way in the east of Scotland, as far as the county of Angus, affording some evidence of the existence of the province of *Vespasiana*; but the chief remains are within the wall. A hypocaust was also discovered near Perth, and another near Musselburgh, so that there was probably some Roman station near the Scottish capital; but the name of *Alaterna* is a ridiculous error, arising from an inscription by some foreign cohort to obscure goddesses of their own country, styled *Matres Alaternes*. The smaller remains of Roman antiquity found in Scotland, as coins, utensils, &c. are numerous.

There remain few monuments of antiquity that can be referred to the earlier part of the *Scoto-Irish* period. These consist principally of stone pillars and obelisks of rude workmanship, and generally without inscriptions. There are, however, some remarkable sculptured monuments referable to this period, such as the upright stones that stand in a cultivated field near Cargil, and are carved with figures of the moon and stars; a sculptured pillar near Forres, supposed to refer to the expulsion of the Danes in the reign of Malcolm II.; a hieroglyphical column which stands conspicuous on the moor of Rhyne in Aberdeenshire; some carved stones in the churchyard of Meigle, and perhaps the chapel of St Regulus at St Andrew's.

882

Scoto-Irish.

Among the antiquities of this period we must not omit to mention the remarkable *terrace-hills*, which are seen in many parts of Scotland (especially in Peeblesshire, as in the parish of Newlands). These hills appear to have served the purpose of amphitheatres, where the people witnessed the exhibition of plays and other public sports.

The monuments of antiquity that have been referred to the *Picts*, are rather of doubtful authenticity. These round towers, composed of stones without cement, which have been called *Picts houses*, and are still found in the Orkney islands, and in some parts of the north of Scotland, are generally considered as the remains of the nation whose name they bear, though Mr Chalmers will have them to be the remains of the old Celtic architecture.

883

Pictish.

Many Danish monuments have been described by antiquaries as existing in North Britain; but the characters of most of them are not sufficiently distinct to ascertain their Danish origin. One of the most certain Danish antiquities is found in the churchyard of Ruthwell in Dumfries-shire. When this monument was entire, it appears to have been about 18 feet high, without its pedestal,

884

Danish.

Scotland. pedestal, and to have been sculptured on each of its four sides with foliage, birds, and marine animals, and inscribed with Runic letters. This curious pillar, which seems to be almost the only Runic remain in Scotland, was formerly held in such high veneration by the common people, that a decree of the general assembly of the kirk in 1644, ordained it to be thrown down as an object of idolatry.

Of the numerous remains of castles, cathedrals, and monasteries, which occur in almost every part of Scotland, our limits do not permit us to take particular notice. Many of them have been already described under the names of the places where they are found; and such of our readers as desire a more particular account of these interesting ruins, may consult the *Beauties of Scotland*, where their curiosity will be amply gratified.

885  
Population  
of Scotland.

In our tabular view of the counties of Scotland, we have noted the population of each county as it was ascertained in 1801, from which it appeared, that, in that year, the whole population of Scotland amounted to 1,604,826. From the best accounts which we can collect of the population of North Britain, at some preceding periods, there can be no doubt that the general population of the country is gradually increasing. Thus it appears, that, in the year 1755, there were in Scotland about 1,265,000 souls; in 1791, 1,526,000; and in 1798, about 1,526,492 (A). Hence it appears, that, notwithstanding the emigrations which for many years took place to America, especially from the Highlands, the general population has rapidly increased within the last 50 years.

886  
Political  
constitution.

The government of Scotland since the union has been blended with that of England. The chief distinction between the original constitution of the two countries was, that Scotland had no house of commons, the parliament consisting of all descriptions, assembled in one hall. That enlightened prince James I. of Scotland, endeavoured to establish a house of commons in imitation of that of England, where he was educated; but the people most firmly and vigorously defended their ancient customs. The most splendid remaining feature of government in Scotland is the general assembly. Next to this may be classed the high courts of justice, especially that styled the Session, lately consisting of a president and fourteen senators. The Lords of Council and Session, as they are styled in Scotland, upon their promotion to office, assume a title, generally from the name of an estate, by which they are known and addressed, as if peers by creation, while they are only constituted lords by superior interests or talents. This court is the last resort in civil causes, and the only appeal is to the British house of peers. The justiciary court, which is the criminal court of Scotland, consists of five judges, who are likewise lords of session; but with a resident, styled the lord justice clerk, as he is under-

Scotland. food to represent the formerly great office of justice general, an office which still continues, though it may be considered rather as a post of honour and profit. This is the supreme court in criminal causes, which are determined by the majority of a jury and not by their unanimity as in England. There is also a court of exchequer, consisting of a lord chief baron and four barons, who have the chief jurisdiction over the public revenue of Scotland; and a high court of admiralty, in which there is only one judge, who is the king's lieutenant and justice general, on the high seas, and in all ports and harbours. From this court there is no appeal in maritime cases. The keepers of the great and privy seals, and the lord-register or keeper of the records, may also be mentioned under this head.

Besides the above national judges, there is in every county, a sheriff, who acts as chief magistrate, and whose jurisdiction extends to some criminal cases, and to all civil matters which are not by special law or custom appropriated to other courts.

The recent changes which have been made in the court of session, by dividing it into two houses, are well calculated to favour the dispatch of business, and to prevent that notorious delay which had become the disgrace of the Scottish court of judicature. At present the court of session consists of two divisions, the first of which is composed of eight judges, having the lord-president at their head, while in the second there are seven judges whose president is the lord justice clerk (B).

Sir John Sinclair has stated the proportion of the public revenues furnished by North Britain to be as follows, in the year 1789. The produce of the Scotch customs, in the year ending January 5th 1789, was 250,839l.; from which was deducted for debentures, bounties, salaries, and incidents, 171,638. The average yearly amount of the money belonging to the exchequer is 72,500l. The salt duties in the same year yielded 18,043l. from which was deducted for drawbacks, salaries, &c. 8,749l. The duties of excise for that year exceeded 422,000l.; the expence of management 83,982l. The stamp duties amounted to 73,877l.; the charges of managing and collecting were 8,032l. The whole revenue of Scotland for 1788 was 1,099,148l. The expenditure was as follows: expences of the crown 60,342l.; expenditure of the public 173,921l.; bounties, drawbacks, &c. 127,629l.; public expences settled by the union, and by subsequent acts of parliament, 64,868l.; cash remitted to the English exchequer 628,081l.; balance remaining for national purposes 44,307l. According to the same authority, at least  $\frac{1}{7}$  of the revenue raised by Great Britain is now drawn from Scotland, whereas, at the time of the union, the proportion furnished by North Britain was supposed not more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the whole\*.

887  
Public re-  
venues.

To the above statement of Sir John Sinclair must be added the income arising from the posts, which in 1801 amounted

\* See *Playfair's Geography*, vol. ii. p. 558.

(A) This last number is taken from the returns published in Sir John Sinclair's account. According to the returns in the population act in 1801, Scotland, at that period, contained 294,553 inhabited houses, 9537 uninhabited houses, 364,079 families, 734,581 males, 864,487 females, making a total of 1,599,068 inhabitants; of whom 365,516 were chiefly employed in agriculture; 293,373 chiefly employed in trade, manufactures, and handicrafts, and 833,914 were not included in these two classes.

(B) For an account of the first establishment of the *College of Justice* by James V. see N<sup>o</sup> 473.

Scotland. amounted to 89,817l.; and the product of the income tax, which about the same time yielded 344,015l. and was paid by 20,537 persons of various professions, whose incomes were assessed at 4,512,570l. Thus the whole revenue of Scotland at the end of the 18th century, may be estimated at nearly one million and a half.

The great increase of the public revenues of Scotland since the union, will appear from the following statement. In the year 1706, the income of the post-office was not more than 1,194l.; that arising from the excise, only 33,500l.; and that from the customs, only 34,000l.; making a total of 68,694l.: whereas in 1801, the income of the post amounted, as we have said, to 89,817l.; that from the excise to 833,000l.; and that from the customs, to 578,000l.; making a total of 1,500,817l. Thus, the increase of these three sources of revenue above, in less than 100 years, amounted to

† Chalmers' 1,432,123l. † Mr Chalmers estimates the whole revenue derived from Scotland at the union, at 160,000l. vol. i. p. 382. while in 1800, the same author states it at 1,790,000l.

Hence the increase on the whole Scottish revenue since the union, according to this statement, is 1,630,000l.

† Playfair's Geography, vol. ii. p. 558. 883 It appears that the hereditary revenue of the crown in Scotland was so much diminished during the 18th century by lavish grants made by the crown, and a neglect in collecting what remained, as to amount in 1788 to only 800l. †

Scottish representation in parliament. Scotland is represented in the British parliament by 16 peers, chosen by the whole body of the Scottish peerage, and by 45 commoners, of whom 30 are elected by the counties, and the remaining 15 by as many districts of royal boroughs, one by each district. The following table will shew what royal boroughs belong to each district.

| Districts.  | Members. |
|---|----------|
| 1. Edinburgh city   | 1        |
| 2. Aberdeen, Aberbrothick, Bervie, Montrose, and Brechin          | 1        |
| 3. Ayr, Irving, Inverary, Rothsay, and Campbeltown                | 1        |
| 4. Anstruther Easter and Wester, Crail, Kilrenny, and Pittenweem  | 1        |
| 5. Banff, Cullen, Kintore, Elgin and Inverury                     | 1        |
| 6. Stirling, Culrofs, Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and Queensferry | 1        |
| 7. Perth, Dundee, Forfar, St Andrew's, and Cupar Fife             | 1        |
| 8. Glasgow, Renfrew, Rutherglen, and Dumbarton                    | 1        |
| 9. Dumfries, Sanquhar, Annan, Lochmaben, and Kirkcudbright        | 1        |
| 10. Inverness, Fortrose, Nairn, and Forres                        | 1        |
| 11. Kinghorn, Dysart, Kirkcaldy, and Burntisland                  | 1        |
| 12. Jedburgh, Haddington, Lauder, Dunbar, and North Berwick       | 1        |
| 13. Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, and Linlithgow                      | 1        |
| 14. Stranraer, Wigton, Whitehorn, and New Gal-loway               | 1        |
| 15. Kirkwall, Tain, Dingwall, Wick, and Dornoch.                  | 1        |

The county members are elected by gentlemen possessed of landed property, or superiorities of lands valued in the cess-books of the county at 400l. Scots yearly rent, according to a valuation first introduced during

the administration of Cromwell, and afterwards sanctioned by parliament. Scotland. 889 Laws.

The law of Scotland differs essentially from that of England, as the former is founded in a great measure on the civil law, while the latter depends chiefly on the statutes or acts of parliament. The law of Scotland also consists partly of statute law; but as many of its ancient statutes have never been enforced, the chief rule of practice arises from the decisions of the court of session, which are carefully preserved and published, and afford precedents that are generally deemed unexceptionable. The civil and canon laws may be said to form the two great pillars of Scottish judicature, for of common law there is scarcely a trace. The modes of procedure in Scotland are in general free from many of those legal fictions which disgrace the laws of some other countries, though it may be regarded as a fiction, that a debtor who refuses or neglects to pay, should be proclaimed a rebel to the king. The procedure in cases of debt is peculiarly mild in Scotland. No man can be suddenly arrested as in England; but he is first put to the horn, as it is termed, after which a certain delay is granted before the *caption* or arrest takes place. For a particular account of the Scottish laws, see the article LAW.

890 Religion. The Presbyterian church government, which, since the revolution in 1688, has formed the established religion in Scotland, is founded on an equality of authority among all its pastors or presbyters, and is modelled after the Calvinistic plan adopted at Geneva, and recommended to the Scotch reformers by the celebrated John Knox. This form of church government, therefore, excludes all pre-eminence of rank, as all the ministers are on an equal footing. The want of ceremony in the ordinances of the Scottish church is unpleasing to the eye of a stranger who has been brought up in the Catholic or Lutheran persuasion. He will particularly be led to make a comparison between the form or rather *mode* of burial in Scotland and the burial service of England, very unfavourable to the former. He will contrast the hurried step, and indifferent if not noisy behaviour of the bearers and attendants, and the unceremonious deposition of the body in the earth, according to the Scotch custom, with the slow and measured pace, the serious demeanour and melancholy silence, the solemn and impressive burial-service, at an English funeral; and he cannot but give the preference to the latter, as being alone calculated to produce sentiments of awe and becoming thoughts of death and a future state, both on the actors and spectators of the solemn scene.

The most ceremonious ordinance of the Scotch church is the administration of the sacrament. This takes place twice a-year, and the communicants are generally very numerous, though in most parishes they must have previously been examined by the minister, and received from him a *token* of their qualification. Before the sacrament is administered, a solemn fast is held on the preceding Thursday, and the communicants attend divine worship in the forenoon, on the Saturday preceding and the Monday following the sacrament Sunday.

The former austerity of the Scottish clergy is considerably relaxed; but some marks of the ancient strictness of discipline still remain. In particular, the *stool of repentance*, so commonly used in the age of fanaticism,

Scotland. cism, is still occasionally brought forward, especially in the country churches, where a rustic culprit is sometimes seen doing penance, and receiving public reproof for some flagrant act of incontinence.

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Ecclesiasti-  
cal consti-  
tution.

The ecclesiastical power is distributed among the judicatories of the church in the following manner. Scotland is divided into 935 parishes, each of which has one or more ministers, who discharge the pastoral office according to their discretion, and are accountable only to the presbytery of which they are members. In matters relating to discipline, the ministers are assisted by elders, selected from among the most intelligent and regular of his parishioners; but these elders have no right to teach, or to dispense the sacraments. Their proper office is to watch over the morals of the people, to question them as to their knowledge of the church catechism, and to visit the sick. In attending to the interests of the poor, they also discharge the office of deacons, or church-wardens, and are commonly called *ruling elders*. The ruling elders and the minister of the parish form what is called the kirk session, which is the lowest assembly of ecclesiastical judicature in Scotland. The kirk-session distributes among the poor the alms which are collected at the church doors every Sunday, and it takes cognizance of petty offences against religion and good morals. Neither the kirk session, nor any other ecclesiastical court, however, can impose any civil penalty, but must confine its punishments to private or public admonitions, or refusing to the offender admission to the sacraments of the church. Next above the kirk session is the presbytery, composed of an indefinite number of ministers of contiguous parishes, with one ruling elder, elected half-yearly as the representative of each kirk-session; so that a presbytery is composed of an equal number of ministers and elders. The presbyteries take cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters within their bounds; judge in cases of appeal from the kirk-sessions, and judge of the qualifications of candidates for admission to holy orders. Three or more adjacent presbyteries form a synod, of which there are 15. The synod is a court of appeal from the presbytery within its bounds, and has the power of confirming or reversing the judgements of those inferior assemblies, an appeal lying from it to the general assembly. This is the great ecclesiastical court of Scotland, and is composed of representatives from presbyteries, universities, and royal boroughs, in the following proportion. The presbyteries send 200 ministers, and 89 ruling elders; the royal boroughs 67 elders, and the universities five representatives, who may be either ministers or elders. These representatives are elected annually, and the assembly itself meets once a-year, and holds its sittings for about 10 days, after which it is dissolved by the moderator or the ecclesiastical president, and by the lord commissioner, who sits in it as the representative of the king. The general assembly judges in appeals from the synods, and it can also enact laws which are binding on the whole church for one year. A permanent law can be made only in the following manner. It must be decreed by a majority of the general assembly, and be afterwards remitted to the consideration of

Scotland. all the presbyteries. If a majority of these approve it, and if it is also approved by the succeeding general assembly, it becomes a law, and can be repealed only in the form in which it was enacted (c). The numbers of presbyteries and parishes which compose each synod, will appear from the following table:

| Synods.                      | Presb. | Parishes, |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------|
| 1. Lothian and Tweeddale     | 7      | 107       |
| 2. Merse and Tiviotdale      | 6      | 67        |
| 3. Dumfries                  | 5      | 54        |
| 4. Galloway                  | 3      | 37        |
| 5. Glasgow and Ayr           | 7      | 123       |
| 6. Perth and Stirling        | 5      | 79        |
| 7. Fife                      | 4      | 65        |
| 8. Forfar and Mearns         | 6      | 81        |
| 9. Aberdeen                  | 9      | 103       |
| 10. Murray                   | 7      | 53        |
| 11. Ross                     | 3      | 24        |
| 12. Sutherland and Caithness | 3      | 23        |
| 13. Argyle                   | 5      | 52        |
| 14. Glenelg                  | 5      | 29        |
| 15. Orkney                   | 4      | 38        |
|                              | 79     | 935       |

The stipends or salaries of the ministers are paid by the proprietors of the lands within their parishes, called the heritors, and are fixed by the court of Session acting as a committee of the Scottish parliament. They are usually paid partly in money and partly in kind, and in general the latter is preferred by the minister.

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Dissenters. There are in Scotland numerous dissenters from the established persuasion. Of these, some differ in nothing but their ideas of church-government, as those which are called the churches of Relief. These compose a single synod, comprising six presbyteries, viz. Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Ninian's, Dysart, Perth and Dumfries, and about 73 parishes. Two of the principal sects of Scotch dissenters, or as they are called, *Seceders*, are the Burghers and Antiburghers, both independent of the established church, and differing from each other principally in this circumstance, that the Burghers admit the legality of the oaths taken by burghesses in some of the royal boroughs, while the latter deny the legality of these oaths. The Burghers are the more numerous body, and comprise a single synod, comprehending 10 presbyteries, viz. those of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Falkirk and Stirling, Dunfermline, Perth, Coldstream, Selkirk, Lanark, and Aberdeen. The Antiburgher synods are three in number, viz. the synod of Edinburgh, comprehending the presbyteries of Edinburgh, Kelfo, and Dumfries; the synod of Perth, comprehending the presbyteries of Perth, Kirkcaldy and Forfar; and the synod of Glasgow, containing the presbyteries of Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Stirling, Elgin, and Aberdeen.

Besides these dissenters, there are in Scotland seven dioceses belonging to the Episcopalian church, viz. those of Edinburgh and Fife, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Dunkeld, and Brechin, and the congregations of

(c) The general assembly owes its institution to the parliament that met in 1560, by consent of Francis and Mary, to regulate the affairs of the nation and the church; and the first assembly was held in that year.

Scotland. of this persuasion are numerous and respectable. The Methodists and Anabaptists are also numerous, but the Quakers are few in number.

893 Language. It is well known that there prevail in Scotland two languages that are extremely different in their nature and origin, the Earle or Gaelic, spoken in the Highlands and in the Western Islands, and the Lowland Scotch, spoken in the remaining parts of the country. Of the Gaelic language we have already treated at some length in the article PHILOLOGY, N<sup>o</sup> 205, *et seq.* and shall here only give a specimen of that language in the Lord's prayer, contrasting it with the Norse language as formerly spoken in the Orkneys, and with the ancient form of the Lowland Scotch.

*Lord's Prayer in Gaelic.*

A n'Athair ata air Neamh. Gu naamhaichear t-Tinn. Tigeadh do Rìoghachd. Deantar do Thoil air an Talamh mar a nithear air Neamh. Tabhair dhuinn an diu ar n-Aran laitheil. Agus maith dhuinn ar Fiacha amhuil mar mhaitmid d'ar luehd-fia chaibh. Agus na leig am buaireadh sinn. Ach faor sinn o ole. Amen.

*Lord's Prayer in the Orkney Norse Language.*

Favor ir i chimre. Helleur ir i namthite. Gilla cofdum thite cumma. Veya thine mota vara gort o yurn sinna gort i chimrie. Ga vus da on da dalight brow vora. Firgive vus sinna vora sin vee forgive findara mutha vus. Lyve us ye i tuntation. Min delivira vus fro olt ilt. Amen; or, on fa meteth vera.

*Lord's Prayer in Old Scotch.*

Uor fader quhilk beeft i Hevin. Hallowit weird thyne nam. Cum thyne kingrik. Be dune thyne wull as is i hevin sva po yerd. Uor deilie breid gif us thilk day. And forleit us uor skaths, as we forleit tham quha skath us. And leed us na intil temptation. Butan fre us fra cvil. Amen.

By comparing the above specimens, it will be evident, that both the Norse of the Orkneys, and the old Lowland Scotch are essentially different from the Gaelic, but that the two former have some distant resemblance to each other, which may lead an etymologist, without any great stretch of fancy, to believe that they originated from the same source. It has indeed been very generally believed, and almost taken for granted, that the language spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland is merely a corrupt dialect of the Anglo-Saxon, and that it was introduced into Scotland from South Britain at no very early period. The learned author of *Caledonia* is decidedly of this opinion, and contends that, previous to the establishment of a Saxon monarch on the throne of Scotland in the person of Edgar, son of Mal-

colm Canmore, no other language but Gaelic was spoken in North Britain, except in Lothian, which may be considered as then an English settlement. He further declares that the oldest document which he has met with in the Scottish language, is a contract with the magistrates of Edinburgh in 1387.

There can be no doubt of the affinity between the Lowland Scotch and the Anglo Saxon. The only matter in dispute is, whether the latter was borrowed from the former, or was a dialect of the same Gothic language introduced into Scotland at an earlier period. One of the most strenuous, and perhaps successful advocates for the latter opinion is Dr John Jamieson, who in his elaborate work on the Scottish language has ably controverted the arguments of Mr Chalmers, and pleaded for the independent origin of the Scottish language. This is believed by Dr Jamieson to have been spoken by the Picts, and to have been brought by them from Scandinavia; for he is decidedly of opinion, in opposition to Mr Chalmers, that the Picts were not a remnant of the ancient Caledonians under a new name, but an independent Gothic tribe, who at a very early period established themselves in the north of Scotland (D).

There are two principal peculiarities in the Scottish language; the use of the *quh* at the beginning of words, where the English use the *wh*, and the change of the Anglo-Saxon *th* into *d*; both which peculiarities are evidently borrowed from the northern Gothic languages.

In their pronunciation of the vowels, the Scotch follow the method of the French, and other nations of the continent, though, as in England, this general custom is subject to many anomalies. Thus the *a*, which in *man*, and most other words, is pronounced broad, is, in *Father*, and a few other instances, pronounced open, *Feyther*.

Scottish literature cannot be traced to an early period. In the middle ages it consisted, like that of other countries, in little more than meagre chronicles, composed by ill-informed and credulous monks. Indeed, according to Mr Pinkerton, the country that produced Buchanan in the 16th century, could not in the 12th boast of a single native writer. It first began to dawn in the 13th century, when Scotland, filled with a barbarous Scandinavian colony, cannot be compared, in respect of literature, with the southern countries of England and Ireland; but with Scandinavia itself, with Holland and with the north of Germany, with Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Hungary. In all these countries literature is comparatively recent, and compared with them, Scotland will not be found deficient. It must not indeed be forgotten, that in the sacred ground of Iona flourished several respectable Scoto-Irish writers, who were also classed among the apostles of religion in England, such as the biographers of Columba, Cumenius and Adamnan, the latter the friend of the English historian

Scotland.

894 Literature.

(D) We have in the early part of this article, perhaps too hastily, adopted Mr Chalmers's opinion, that the Picts were not an independent race. The arguments which Mr Chalmers has adduced in support of this opinion, so opposite to that of most antiquaries and historians, are ingenious and plausible; but as they are drawn chiefly from the names of places, rivers, &c. in North Britain, which are allowed on all hands to be generally Celtic, and are in direct opposition to the testimony of Bede, the earliest British historian, Dr Jamieson will not allow that they have the weight which at first sight they appear to merit.

Scotland. storian Bede, and among the Strathclyde Gaels, may be noticed St Patrick, the apostle of Ireland.

The earliest fragment of Scottish literature is the *Chronicon Pictorum*, supposed to have been written by some Irish priest, in the beginning of the 11th century. Of the 12th century there are some fragments in the register of St Andrew's, some short chronicles published by Father Innes; the chronicle of Melrose, and that of Holyrood. Towards the conclusion of the 13th century, appeared some writers of considerable estimation, particularly Michael Scot, a philosopher, mathematician and physician, and also celebrated as an astrologer and alchemist, who published voluminous commentaries on the works of Aristotle; Thomas Learmont of Ercildoun, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, famous for his poetical compositions, and his skill in heraldry, who wrote a metrical romance called *Sir Tristrem*; and John Scott of Dunse, or Duns Scotus, a consummate metaphysician and voluminous writer. In the 14th century lived John of Fordoun, the author of *Scoto-Chronicon*, a historical work of considerable merit, and John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, who wrote a poem on the actions of Robert I. which is no mean monument of the industry and talents of that age. King James I. who flourished in the beginning of the 15th century, may be ranked as the next Scottish writer of eminence. He was a learned and accomplished prince, and was the author of some excellent poems. James was followed by Holland and Harry the Rhymer. In the 16th century we may notice Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, who composed the *Scoticorum Chronicum*, and was distinguished both for learning and piety; Dunbar, the chief of the ancient Scottish poets; Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, who published an excellent poetical translation of Virgil's *Eneid*, and David Lindsay of the Mount. John Knox, the chief instrument and promoter of the reformation; John Major and Hector Bœthius, two historians of considerable note, also belonged to this century; and the admirable Crichton must not be forgotten, though the usual accounts that have been given of his accomplishments are strongly tinged with fable and romance. At the latter end of the same period flourished the classical Buchanan, an elegant historian and Latin poet, and John Leslie bishop of Ross, the author of many esteemed works, who was versed in theology and philosophy, in the civil and canon law, and was besides an able statesman.

The learned Archbishop Spottiswood published a judicious ecclesiastical history of Scotland; and the natural history of this country was illustrated by Sir Andrew Balfour and Sir Robert Sibbald, two of its greatest ornaments. The discovery of logarithms in the beginning of the 17th century, is the indisputable right of Napier of Merchiston; and since his time, mathematical science has been cultivated in Scotland with singular success. The works of Keil, Gregory, Maclaurin, Simson, Stewart, Robison, &c. are universally read and admired. During the 18th century this country produced other eminent writers in various departments of science. Among the Scots divine and moral philosophers, we may particularize Blair, Campbell, Hutcheson, Leechman, Macknight; among the statesmen and lawyers, Sir George Mackenzie, Viscount Stair, Sir Thomas Craig, Lord Kames; among the historians, Hume, Robertson, Henry, Lord Hailes, Ferguson; among the political

and moral writers, Reid, Lord Monboddo, Beattie; among the physicians and surgeons, Bell, Black, Cullen, Gregory, William and John Hunter, Hutton, Monro, Smellie, Whytt; and among the Scottish poets, Blair, Burns, Home, Ramsay, Thomson, Wilkie. The names now mentioned, besides Mansfield and Burnet, may be sufficient to show that Scotland has produced able writers in almost every useful branch of science. Among the few departments of literature in which Scottish writers have been less successful, may be mentioned biography, epic poetry, the critical illustration of the classics, and comedy\*. Indeed the efforts of the dramatic muse have been singularly damped in Scotland from the fanatical prejudices of its clergy; but we trust that these illiberal prejudices have now subsided, and that the venerable author of Douglas will stand on record as the last example of ecclesiastical censure, on account of his devotion to the drama.

Within the last 20 years, the progress of Scottish literature has perhaps been greater than at any former period. During that interval, booksellers shops have been established, where formerly there was scarcely a book-stall, and there are now few towns of any consideration that do not possess a printing-press. The increase of newspapers and periodical publications, especially in the capital of Scotland, is also very great, there being now published at Edinburgh not fewer than six monthly and quarterly reviews and magazines, and at least eight newspapers.

The progress of the arts in Scotland has of late scarcely fallen short of that of the sciences. Skilful workmen in the mechanic arts, especially in those of joinery and cabinet-making, are numerous in the large towns; and even musical instruments of considerable price and excellent workmanship, are constructed in Edinburgh. The liberal arts of painting and engraving have been carried to great perfection; and both these and the art of printing are now exercised in Edinburgh in a style little, if at all, inferior to that of the London artists. The numerous public and private buildings in Edinburgh and Glasgow, bear ample testimony to the abilities of Scottish architects, and show that they are by no means behind their brethren of the south in grandeur and beauty of design, and elegance and solidity of execution.

The mode of education pursued in Scotland is highly laudable; and is, perhaps, the best practical system pursued in any country in Europe. The plan which is followed in the cities, is nearly the same with that in England, either by private teachers, or at large public schools, of which the high school of Edinburgh is the most eminent, and may be traced back to the 16th century. The superior advantage of the Scottish education consists in every country parish possessing a schoolmaster as uniformly as a clergyman; at least, the rule is general, and the exceptions rare. The schoolmaster has a small salary, which enables him to educate the children at a rate easy and convenient, even to indigent parents. It may, indeed be computed, that a shilling will go as far in this parochial education, as a guinea in an English school. In the Highlands, the poor children attend to the flocks in summer, and the school in winter. Till within these few years, the salaries of the Scotch parochial schoolmasters were so trifling as to hold out no adequate encouragement to young men of abilities to engage in that useful office; but they have lately

\* See *Finlay's Geography*, vol. i. and *Playfair's* vol. ii.

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State of the arts.

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Education.



Scotland. been augmented, and the establishment of a fund for the widows of schoolmasters in Scotland, has added to the respectability of the situation.

A great majority of the Scottish youth are educated for the church, and from this class the families of the gentry are generally supplied with private tutors, and the schools and academies with masters. It has been observed by Mr Laing, that "the poverty of the church of Scotland is peculiarly unfavourable to the pursuit of letters; her universities make no provision for the independence and ease of a studious life. The wealthy benefices of the English church may afford a final retreat, and its well endowed universities, an intermediate sanctuary for literary repose, where a taste for classical and polite learning is cultivated and preferred. But the Scottish clergy, who are removed from the university early in life, to a remote solitude, have neither access to the works of the learned, nor the means, if they retain the desire, of improving the acquisitions which they have already made. No one is illiterate, but the church has not yet been distinguished by a man of extensive or profound erudition. Their education imparts some smattering of science; their trials of ordination, require an equal proportion of Greek and Hebrew; and the same parity is observable in the learning and in the discipline of the church\*."

\* Laing's  
Hist. of  
Scotland,  
vol. iii.  
p. 479.  
897  
Universities.

There are in Scotland four universities, viz. those of St Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; a particular account of which will be found under those articles. The university of Edinburgh, though of most recent origin, is now in the highest estimation; from the numerous departments of science and literature there taught, and the general ability of its professors. The Scotch universities, unlike those of England, seldom consist of more than one college, and St Andrews may be considered as the only proper exception to this observation, as the colleges of Aberdeen are in distinct towns, viz. the one in Old, and the other in New Aberdeen. There are professors of medicine at all these universities, but only Edinburgh and Glasgow can be regarded as medical schools.

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Agriculture.

We can here only enter on a few general observations respecting Scottish agriculture, as the state of husbandry in Scotland may be best seen from the general description given of the several counties, and from the article AGRICULTURE. In the lower districts particularly, agriculture has arrived at a great degree of perfection. In the counties of Berwick, East Lothian, Ayr, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Angus, and Mearns, the face of the country has, in consequence of the improved cultivation, assumed a new appearance, being highly cultivated, and generally inclosed with thorn hedges, instead of the former inclosures of stone dykes. Rich crops of wheat, barley, clover and turnips, are now raised on fields which some years ago afforded only scanty pasturage for sheep; and potato crops are now become general and excellent. Of the mountainous districts, black cattle and sheep are the staple commodities, and the rocky shores produce abundance of kelp. In a few years the deficiency of timber, so much complained of by southern travellers, will be abundantly supplied, as many proprietors are now covering their waste lands with extensive forests. One nobleman, the earl of Moray, from 1767 to 1807, planted upwards of 13,000,000 of trees, of which 1,500,000 are oak. The

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value of land in Scotland is within these few years prodigiously increased, and an Englishman will scarcely believe, that in some parts of Scotland extensive farms are let at 5l. and even 6l. per acre\*.

As the valued rent of land is intimately connected with the progress of agricultural improvement, we shall here give a table of the rental of the several Scotch counties, as it has been valued in Scotch money.

\* Play-fair's Geog. vol. ii. p. 547.

| Counties.           | Valued rent in Scots Money. |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aberdeen            | L. 235,665 8 11             |
| Argyle              | 149,595 10 0                |
| Ayr                 | 191,605 0 7                 |
| Banff               | 79,200 0 0                  |
| Berwick             | 178,365 7 3½                |
| Bute and Arran      | 15,022 13 8                 |
| Caithness           | 37,256 2 10                 |
| Clackmannan         | 26,482 10 10                |
| Cromarty            | 12,897 2 8                  |
| Dumbarton           | 33,327 19 0                 |
| Dumfries            | 158,627 10 0                |
| Edinburgh           | 191,054 3 9                 |
| Elgin               | 65,603 0 5                  |
| Fife                | 362,534 7 5                 |
| Forfar              | 171,636 0 0                 |
| Haddington          | 168,878 5 10                |
| Inverness           | 73,188 9 0                  |
| Kincardine          | 74,921 1 4                  |
| Kinross             | 20,192 11 2                 |
| Kirkcudbright       | 114,571 19 3                |
| Lanark              | 162,118 16 11               |
| Linlithgow          | 74,931 19 0                 |
| Nairn               | 15,163 1 1                  |
| Orkney and Shetland | 56,551 9 1                  |
| Peebles             | 51,937 3 10                 |
| Perth               | 339,818 5 8                 |
| Renfrew             | 68,076 15 2                 |
| Ross                | 75,140 10 3                 |
| Roxburgh            | 315,594 14 6                |
| Selkirk             | 80,307 15 6                 |
| Stirling            | 108,518 8 9                 |
| Sutherland          | 26,193 9 9                  |
| Wigton              | 67,646 17 0                 |

Total, L. 3,802,574 10 5½ Scots.  
Or, Sterling, L. 316,881 4 2½

The inhabitants of North Britain can scarcely be regarded as a commercial people before the end of the eleventh century, when the accession of Edgar, by placing a line of Saxon monarchs on the Scottish throne, introduced into Scotland that spirit of trade and commerce, which at an early period distinguished the Saxon inhabitants of South Britain. It has indeed been pretended that the Scotch had a fishery at home, and a foreign traffick with the Dutch, as early as the beginning of the ninth century; but the former is improbable, since the religious prejudices of the Gaelic people led them to regard fish as unhallowed food, and fishery as an unlawful occupation; and the latter assertion is at least incorrect, since the Dutch did not exist as a commercial society at that early period. The chief seats of trade have, in all ages, and in every country, been the towns; but Celtic Scotland had neither towns nor cities, till the erection of castles and monasteries, subsequent

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Manufactures and commerce.

Scotland. to the eleventh century, produced the formation of villages under their walls. These villages became towns, from the settlements of the English, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings in them, during the 12th century; and from that time we may properly date the commencement of Scottish commerce.

At a period little anterior to this, the Scotch carried on several domestic manufactures. They manufactured their own flax into linen, and their hides into leather. They also wrought the wool of their flocks into coarse cloth: and these woollen fabrics were regulated by a particular assize during the reign of David I. Necessity had early introduced smiths, tanners, and shoemakers, into every village, and dyers, goldsmiths, and armourers into every town. Salt works became an object of attention in the reign of David I. because they furnished a revenue to the kings and nobles, and profit to the monks. In the same reign, water-mills were subject to tithes, and tenants were obliged to grind at particular mills. The Scottish kings had mills at each of their burghs, and on several of their manors; and from these mills they derived a considerable revenue, and a constant source of munificent grants to the religious establishments. Before the middle of the thirteenth century, wind-mills had been universally introduced, and there was a malt-kiln and a brew-house in every village. These objects were considered as domestic manufactures, arising from husbandry, which was at that time the universal pursuit among all ranks, from the prince to the peasant.

It is curious to observe, that Scone was not only the metropolis of Scotland at the beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, but also one of the earliest places of foreign commerce. Perth had also a foreign traffick in those early times, and St Andrew's partook of the riches which flow from distant trade. Next to these, in the advantages resulting from a commercial intercourse with foreign nations, followed Stirling, Inveresk, Dunfermline and Aberdeen.

The erection of certain towns into royal burghs, though founded on the principles of exclusion and monopoly, tended to advance the general interests of trade. Each of these burghs had particular districts through which their privileges extended, and to which they were confined. Towards the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, the Flemings had placed a commercial factory at Berwick, and before the death of Alexander III. a trade had been opened with Gascony, for the importation of wine and corn.

The first great traders in Scotland seem to have been the heads of monasteries, as they alone possessed at once the spirit of commercial enterprise, and a sufficient capital to engage in promising speculations. To them belonged the principal ships; they had at first the exclusive privilege of fishing, and they were the chief bankers of those times.

After the numerous conflicts and revolutions which disturbed the peace of Scotland, previous to its union with England, its manufactures were not probably in a much better state of improvement at that epoch, than they had been at the death of Alexander III. They had been sometimes encouraged, but they seem never to have advanced beyond the domestic supply. Of course the commerce of North Britain could never have been very extensive, and its exports must have been confined

chiefly to corn, and the raw products of the country. Scotland. Since the union, the industry and manufactures of Scotland have been assiduously cultivated, and the attempts at improvement in the national commerce have, in the tedious result, proved successful beyond expectation. The establishment of the Royal Bank, and of the society for the improvement of agriculture in the reign of George I. and the subsequent establishment of a board of trustees for improving the manufactures, trade, and fisheries of North Britain, have been the means of adding greatly to the riches and prosperity of the country\*.

Since the union, this country has shared in the national prosperity. Towards the middle of last century, manufactures began to flourish, and trade increased in due proportion. Without troubling the reader with a detail on this subject, it may be sufficient to observe that about 20 years ago, manufactures in many towns were carried on to a great extent. Cotton cloths alone employed in Glasgow, and its neighbourhood, 15,000 looms and 135,000 persons. Queen's ware, and the inkle manufacture, were likewise important branches in that city. In and near Paisley, upwards of 10,000 persons of all descriptions, were employed in the manufacture of silk gauze, and 12,000 in working lawns, muslins, and cambrics; besides other trades, which were very productive. Common and flint-glass to a great amount is prepared in Dumbarton, Leith, and other parts of the country. Diapers are wrought in Dunfermline to the value of 50,000l. or 60,000l. a year. Checks and ticks are staple commodities in Kirkcaldy. Coarse linen, sail-cloth, osnaburghs, &c. are manufactured in Dundee, Arbroath, Aberdeen, and Forfar. Paper-mills, distilleries, and sugar-houses have been erected in several towns and villages. Extensive iron works are established in Fife, on the Clyde, and at Carron; in the last of which more than 1000 workmen are occasionally employed. The whale, herring, and salmon fisheries are inexhaustible sources of wealth. The coal trade is well known, and extremely productive. Here it may not be improper to state that the limits of the coal country on the west coast, are Saltcoats and Girvan; on the east coast, North Berwick and Fifeness; stretching from south-west to north-east in breadth, about 30 or 40 miles. Beyond these limits, no coal strata have hitherto been found. The exportation of black cattle to England has been highly advantageous to this country. The coasting trade to the south is carried on from Leith and other eastern ports, while Glasgow is the great emporium with the West Indies†.

Some interesting details are furnished by Mr Chalmers, respecting the progressive improvement of the manufactures and commerce of Scotland, since the union; and the principal of these we shall here lay before our readers.

In 1707, the surplus linen over the consumption made in North Britain was estimated at 1,500,000 yards.

In 1727, it was estimated to 2,000,000 yards.

In 1754, it amounted to 8,914,369 yards.

In 1764, it had risen to 12,823,048.

In 1772, the surplus value of the linen manufacture amounted to 13,089,006.

In 1782, the same surplus amounted to 15,348,744.

In 1792, it amounted to 22,065,386, and thus it was gradually

\* See Chalmers's *Geog. vol. i.*

† *Playfair's Geog. vol. ii.*

Scotland. gradually extended to above 24,000,000 yards, till the introduction of the cotton manufactories rendered that of linen of less importance, and consequently diminished the quantity made for exportation.

The whole quantity of corn exported from Scotland at the union has been estimated at 22,937 quarters.

The quantity exported in 1749 was 105,573 quarters. From that period, owing partly to bad seasons and partly to increased consumption, the export of corn from one part of the country has generally been equalled by its import into others.

The importation of cotton wool into Scotland during the year 1755 amounted to 105,851 pounds.

The importation of the same article in 1789 amounted to 2,401,661.

Its importation during 1803 was estimated at 8,620,996 pounds.

The value of cargoes exported from North Britain in 1754 was 670,000l.

Their value in 1764 was 1,244,000l.

———— in 1774 1,372,143l.

———— in 1792 1,230,884l.

———— in 1802 2,602,858l.

The shipping employed in the foreign trade of North Britain during the year 1763 amounted to 33,352 tons.

In 1782, it amounted to 50,530 tons.

In 1792, it had risen to 84,027 tons.

And in 1802, it was not less than 94,276 tons.

The whole number of ships belonging to Scotland at the union has been estimated at 215, carrying 14,485 tons.

The whole number of Scottish ships in 1805 was at least 2581, and their whole tonnage was estimated at 210,295 tons.

It was estimated, that in 1792 the whole number of men, women, and children, occupied chiefly in the woollen, cotton, and linen manufactories, in the four counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dunbarton, amounted to at least 90,000, who earned daily 6850l. or yearly 2,137,200l. sterling.

The union with England was not for many years productive of those advantages which were at first expected from it. A feeble attempt to obtain a share in the colonial trade was defeated by new regulations, which the commercial jealousy of the English merchants procured. The migration of stock and trade to the north was a visionary expectation. No new manufactories were attracted to Scotland by the cheapness of labour; no improvement was introduced into agriculture; on the contrary, commerce was still languid, and the price and rents of estates inconsiderable. Every national exertion was discountenanced; and, during the interval between the two rebellions, the country was alternately disregarded, or treated like a conquered province prone to revolt. The nation, notwithstanding the gradual increase of its linen manufacture, appeared to be nearly stationary, and was certainly far less progressive for half a century than if no union had ever been contracted.

When the contests of domestic faction had ceased, the turbulent fanaticism which distinguished the Scotch during the former century was lost in the pursuits of industry, of literature, and of the arts of peace. Some

attempts had been made before the last rebellion to introduce a better cultivation into the Lothians, which has since extended through the west and the north to the richest provinces beyond the Tay. The gentry, among other efforts to promote manufactures, had begun to breed their sons to mechanical arts, in order to retain them at home. By the abrogation and sale of hereditary jurisdictions, the poverty of the nobles was relieved, and the people were emancipated from their oppressive coercion. The country was gradually enriched by the troops retained to prevent insurrection; and from the advanced price and consumption of cattle in the English market, the farmers accumulated their first stock for the improvement of the soil.

But the beneficial effects of the union were peculiarly reserved for the present reign. The progress of industry and trade was immense; new manufactures, particularly of silk, were introduced with success. The Scots employed in the seven years war returned from abroad with the means or spirit to improve their estates; and the rapid cultivation of the country has redoubled the produce and the value of the soil. Before the commencement of the American war, the merchants of Glasgow had engrossed the chief trade in tobacco for exportation. The interruption of trade during that disastrous war directed their capital and the national industry to the improvement of domestic arts. And from the perfection of modern machinery, the cotton manufacture, a recent acquisition, in all its branches so prodigiously increased, already rivals and supplants the productions of the ancient looms of Indostan\*.

Connected with the commerce of Scotland are its *coins, weights, and measures*. Since the union, the coins are the same both in England and Scotland; but the Scotch money of account is still occasionally employed. The *pound Scots* is equal to 1 shilling and 8 pence English. See COIN. The Scotch weights and measures still differ from those of England. Their proportions and value according to the English standard are explained under WEIGHT and MEASURE.

Another subject connected with commerce is the *inland navigation*. The canals of Scotland are the Forth and Clyde, the Crinan (see CANAL), the Monkland running 12 miles east from Glasgow, the Caledonian, and the Ardrossan, the two latter yet unfinished.

"The Scotch (says Dr Playfair) are commonly divided into two classes, viz. the *Highlanders* and *Lowlanders*; the former occupying the northern and mountainous provinces, the latter the southern districts. These classes differ from each other in language, manners, and dress. The Highlanders use the Irish or Celtic tongue; while, in the low country, the language is the ancient Scandinavian dialect blended with the Anglo-Saxon.

"About half a century ago, the Highlands of Scotland were in a state somewhat similar to that of England before the Norman conquest. The inhabitants were divided into tribes called *clans*. The inferior orders were vassals of particular chiefs, to whom they were attached, and on whom they relied for that safety which the laws were not alone able to ensure to them. On the other hand, the security and consequence of a chieftain depended on the number and fidelity of his servants and retainers; who, on account of their relation to him, assumed a dignity, and acquired in their manners a de-

Scotland.

\* Laing's  
Hist. of  
Scotland,  
vol. iv.890  
Coins,  
weights,  
and mea-  
sures.891  
Inland na-  
vigation.892  
Manners  
and cus-  
toms.

Scotland. } gree of politeness, to which other uncivilized nations are strangers.

"The rents of farms which those vassals occupied were inconsiderable, and paid chiefly in military service; so that the value of a proprietor's land was estimated, not by the money it produced, but by the men whom it could send into the field; and that the number of dependents might be increased, the farms, or allotments of land, were small, and barely sufficient for a scanty subsistence to the tenants. As an inconsiderable proportion of the country was cultivated, and as no intercourse subsisted between the inhabitants and other nation, little time was employed in agriculture and commerce. Most of it was wasted in indolence or amusement, unless when their superior summoned them to avenge, on some neighbouring tribe, an insult or injury. No more grain was raised, and no more raiment manufactured by any family, than what barely sufficed itself.

"Villages and hamlets, situated in valleys for shelter, were rudely constructed of turf and stone. In spring the natives ploughed, or dug, some adjacent patches of soil, in which barley or oats were sown; in summer they prepared and collected turf and peat for fuel; in autumn they gathered in their scanty crops of grain and hay; and the remainder of the year was devoted to pastime, or predatory excursions. In winter evenings, around a common fire, the youth of both sexes generally assembled, for the song, the tale, and the dance. A taste for music was prevalent among them. Their vocal strains were plaintive and melancholy; their instrumental airs were either lively for the dance, or martial for the battle. Every family of note retained an historian, to narrate its heroic deeds and feats of valour, or a bard who sung the praises of the chieftain and his clan. Some fragments of their poetry have been handed down from remote ages, and recently moulded into heroic poems. Strangers, who have ventured to penetrate into their fastnesses, they received and treated in the most hospitable manner; but themselves seldom went abroad, except for the purposes of devastation or plunder.

"Their dress was the last remain of the Roman habit in Europe, well suited to the nature of the country and the necessities of war. It consisted of a light woolen jacket, a loose garment that covered the thigh, and a bonnet that was the usual covering for the head all over Europe, till the hat was introduced towards the end of the 16th century.

"Always armed with a dirk and pistols, they were ready to resist an assault, or revenge a provocation, as soon as it was given. This circumstance contributed to render them polite and guarded in their behaviour to one another. When embodied by their chieftain, they were armed with a broad sword, a dagger, a target, a musket, and two pistols. In close engagement, and in broken ranks, they were irresistible. The only foe they dreaded was cavalry. As soon as the battle was over, most of the troops dispersed, and returned home to dispose of their plunder, and to provide for their families.

"Their religion was deeply tinged with superstition. They believed in ghosts and apparitions; by appearances in the heavens they predicted future events; they practised charms and incantations for the cure of various diseases; and to some individuals they thought

the divinity had communicated a portion of his prescience. Scotland. }

"But the state of society in the Highlands has been greatly changed and ameliorated since the rebellions in 1715 and 1745. The Roman dress and the use of arms were prohibited by government; roads, constructed at vast expence, opened an easy communication with the low country; and the courts of barons were suppressed by the jurisdiction act. The heads of clans have now ceased to be petty monarchs, and the services of their vassals are no longer requisite for their defence or aggrandisement. Divested of their legal authority, they now endeavour to preserve their influence by wealth. With this view their attention is directed to the improvement of their estates. Their ancient mode of living is also entirely altered; and the Highland gentleman, in every respect, differs little from a proprietor of the like fortune in the southern counties. A spirit of industry has been excited among the tenants, while in many places arts and manufactures are encouraged.

"The manners, habits, and dress, of the gentlemen in the low countries, resemble those of their English neighbours, with whom they have frequent intercourse. The peasantry and middle class are sober, industrious, and good economists; hospitable and discreet, intelligent, brave, steady, humane, and benevolent. Their fidelity to one another is a striking feature in their character. In their mode of living and dress there are some peculiarities, but these are gradually wearing out. Within these few years the use of pottage, and bread of oatmeal, is almost disused among the commonalty; and tea, wheat bread, and animal food, are as frequent on the north as on the south of the Tweed \*." \* Play-fair's Geog. vol. ii. p. 548. 893

Though the diet of the superior classes in Scotland differs little from that of the same rank in England, there are still some peculiarities not generally known to strangers, which deserve notice. Among the peculiar Scotch dishes we may enumerate the *haggies*, a sort of hash, made of the lungs, heart, and liver, of a sheep, minced fine, and mixed with suet, oatmeal, onions, pepper, and salt, and boiled in the sheep's maw or stomach; *hotchpotch*, a soup, prepared from mutton or lamb, cut into small pieces, with a large quantity of green pease, carrots, turnips, onions, and sometimes celery or parsley, served up to table with the meat and vegetables in the soup; *cockie-leekie*, a soup made of a cock or capon, with a large quantity of leeks; *crappit-heads*, i. e. the heads of haddocks stuffed with a pudding made of the soft roe, or butter, oatmeal, onions, and spices, and boiled; *fish and sauce*, a sort of stew, made of haddocks, whittings, or codlings, stewed with parsley, onions, butter, and spices; and the celebrated old dish of *singed sheep's-head*, i. e. a sheep's-head, with the skin on, and the wool singed off with a hot iron, well boiled with carrots, turnips, onions, &c. so as to form a rich broth, which is generally served up distinct from the meat.

On the subject of the Scottish diet the following lively remarks of an intelligent French naturalist may prove acceptable to our readers. These remarks refer particularly to the higher ranks in the Western isles; but they will, with some limitation, apply to the same class in the greater part of Scotland. "The English eat very little bread; the Scots eat more: there were three different kinds used at Mr M'Lean's table.

"The

Scotland.

"The first, which may be regarded as a luxury for the country, is sea-biscuit, which vessels from Glasgow sometimes leave in passing.

"The second is made of oatmeal, formed into an unleavened dough, and then spread with a rolling pin into round cakes, about a foot in diameter, and the twelfth part of an inch thick. These cakes are baked, or rather dried, on a thin plate of iron, which is suspended over the fire. This is the principal bread of such as are in easy circumstances.

"The third kind, which is specially appropriated to tea and breakfast, in the opulent families of the isles, consists of barley-cakes, without leaven, and prepared in the same manner as the preceding, but so thin, that, after spreading them over with butter, they are easily doubled into several folds, which render them very agreeable to those who are fond of this kind of dainties.

"At ten in the morning the bell announces that breakfast is on the table. All repair to the parlour, where they find a fire of peat, mixed with pit-coal, and a table elegantly served up, and covered with the following articles:

"Plates of smoked beef; cheese of the country, and English cheese, in trays of mahogany; fresh eggs; salted herrings; butter; milk and cream; a sort of *bouillie* of oatmeal and water (*porritch*). In eating this *bouillie*, each spoonful is plunged into a basin of cream, which is always beside it. Milk worked up with the yolks of eggs, sugar, and rum. This singular mixture is drank cold, and without being prepared by fire. Currant jelly; conserve of bilberries, a wild fruit that grows among the heath; tea; coffee; the three sorts of bread above mentioned, and Jamaica rum.

"Such is the style in which Mr M'Lean's breakfast-table was served up every morning while we were at his house. There was always the same abundance, with no other difference, in general, than in the greater or less variety of the dishes (E).

"Dinner is put on the table at four o'clock. It consists, in general, of the following particulars, which I correctly noted in my journal.

"1. A large dish of Scotch soup, composed of broth of beef, mutton, and sometimes fowl, mixed with a little oatmeal, onions, parsley, and a considerable quantity of pease. Instead of slices of bread, as in France, small slices of mutton, and the giblets of fowls, are thrown into this soup. 2. Pudding of bullock's blood and barley-meal, seasoned with plenty of pepper and ginger. 3. Excellent beef-steaks, broiled. 4. Roasted mutton

of the best quality. 5. Potatoes, done in the juice of the mutton. 6. Sometimes heathcocks, woodcocks, or water-fowl. 7. Cucumbers and ginger, pickled with vinegar. 8. Milk, prepared in a variety of ways. 9. Cream and Madeira wine. 10. Pudding made of barley-meal, cream, and currants, done up with suet.

"All these various dishes appear on the table at the same time, the mistress of the house presides, and serves all around.

"In a very short time the toasts commence; it is the business of the mistress to begin the ceremony. A large glass, filled with port-wine, is put into her hand; she drinks to the health of all the company, and passes it to one of the persons who sit next to her; and it thus proceeds from one to another round the whole table.

"The sideboard is furnished with three large glasses of a similar kind, of which one is appropriated to beer, another to wine, and the third to water, when it is called for in its unmixed state, which is not often. These glasses are common to all at table: they are never rinsed, but merely wiped with a fine towel after each person drinks.

"The dessert, from the want of fruit, consists for the most part only of two sorts of cheese, that of Cheshire, and what is made in the country itself.

"The cloth is removed after the dessert; and a table of well-polished mahogany appears in all its lustre. It is soon covered with elegant glass decanters of British manufacture, containing port, cherry, and Madeira wines, and, with capacious bowls, filled with punch. Small glasses are then profusely distributed to every one.

"In England the ladies leave table soon after the toasts begin. The custom is not precisely the same here, they remain at least half an hour after, and justly partake in the festivity of a scene, in which formality being laid aside, Scottish frankness and kindness have full room to display themselves. It is certain that the men are benefited by this intercourse, and the ladies are nothing the losers by it. The ladies then left us for a little to prepare the tea. They returned in about half an hour after, and the servants followed them with coffee, small tarts, butter, milk, and tea. Music, conversation, reading the news, though a little old by the time they reach this, and walking when the weather permits, fill up the remainder of the evening; and thus the time passes quickly away. But it is somewhat unpleasant to be obliged to take one's seat at table again about ten o'clock, and remain until midnight over a supper nearly of the same fare as the dinner, and in no less abundance \*."

The public amusements in Scotland nearly resemble those of England, especially among the higher classes. There P. 67.

\* See Saint-

fond's Tra-

vels, vol. ii-

There P. 67.

(E) The abundance provided at a Scotch breakfast has been remarked by many travellers. Of these Knox, who travelled more upon the main land than in the islands, gives the following particulars of the breakfasts of the more wealthy families:—

"A dram of whisky, gin, rum, or brandy, plain or infused with berries that grow among the heath, French rolls, oat and barley bread, tea and coffee, honey in the comb, red and black currant jellies, marmalade, conserves, and excellent cream, fine flavoured butter fresh and salted, Cheshire and Highland cheese, the last very indifferent; a plateful of very fresh eggs, fresh and salted herrings, broiled ditto, haddocks and whittings, the skin being taken off; cold round of venison; beef and mutton hams. Besides these articles, which are commonly placed on the table at once, there are generally cold beef and moor-fowl to those who choose to call for them. After breakfast the men amuse themselves with the gun, fishing, or sailing, till the evening, when they dine, which meal serves with some families for supper."

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 ments.

There are, however, two games which may be considered as peculiar to the Scotch. These are *golf* and *curling*. Of the former we have given an account under the article GOLF. The diversion of curling, which is we believe unknown in England, is adapted only to frosty weather, and is played on the ice, by sliding from one mark to another large stones, of from forty to seventy pounds weight, of a hemispherical shape, very smooth on the flat side, and furnished with an iron or wooden handle at top. The great object of the player is to lay his stone as near to the mark as possible, to guard that of his partner which had before been placed in a good position, or to strike off that of his antagonist. To attain these ends much skill and dexterity are often required; and the great art of the game is to make the stones bend in towards the mark, when this is so blocked up by other stones that they cannot reach it by being directed in a straight line.

To conclude: The union having incorporated the two nations of England and Scotland, and rendered them one people, the distinctions that had subsisted for many ages are gradually wearing away. Peculiarities disappear; similar manners prevail in both parts of the island; the same authors are read and admired; the same entertainments are frequented by the elegant and polite; and the same standard of taste and of language is established throughout the British empire.

*New SCOTLAND.* See *NOVA SCOTIA*.

SCOTO-IRISH, in *History*, an epithet applied, by some writers on Scottish antiquities, to the colony of Irish, commonly called *Dalriads* or *Dalriadinians*, who, in the beginning of the sixth century, established themselves in the district of Galloway; and formed a distinct tribe, till, under the reign of their king Kenneth II. they united with the Picts, whom they had nearly subdued. See Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. and SCOTLAND, from n<sup>o</sup> 31. to n<sup>o</sup> 85.

SCOTO-Saxon period, is by Mr Chalmers applied to that period of Scottish history which elapsed from the accession of Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore, to the throne of Scotland in the year 1097, to the reign of Robert Bruce in 1306. See SCOTLAND from n<sup>o</sup> 86. to n<sup>o</sup> 164.

SCOTOMIA, in *Medicine*, a vertigo, accompanied with dimness of sight, frequently the forerunner of an apoplexy.

SCOTT, JOHN, an eminent English divine, was born in 1638, and became minister of St Thomas's in Southwark. In 1684 he was collated to a prebend in the cathedral of St Paul's. Dr Hicke tells us, that, after the revolution, "he first refused the bishopric of Chester, because he would not take the oath of homage; and afterwards another bishopric, the deanery of Worcester, and a prebend of the church of Windsor, because they were all places of deprived men." He published several excellent works, particularly *The Christian Life*, &c. and died in 1695. He was eminent for his humanity, affability, sincerity, and readiness to do good; and his talent for preaching was extraordinary.

SCOTUS, DUNS. See DUNS.

SCOTUS, John. See ERIGENA.

SCOUGAL, HENRY, second son of Patrick Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen, was born, June 1650, at Salton in East Lothian, where his father, the immediate pre-

decessor of Bishop Burnet, was rector. His father, Scougal, designing him for the sacred ministry, watched over his infant mind with peculiar care; nor was his care bestowed in vain. He had soon the satisfaction of perceiving the most amiable dispositions unfold themselves, and his understanding rise at once into the vigour of manhood. Relinquishing the amusements of youth, young Scougal applied to his studies with ardour; and, agreeable to his father's wish, at an early period he directed his thoughts to sacred literature. He perused the historical parts of the bible with peculiar pleasure, and then began to examine its contents with the eye of a philosopher. He was struck with the peculiarities of the Jewish dispensation, and felt an anxiety to understand the reason why its rites and ceremonies were abolished. The nature and evidences of the Christian religion also occupied his mind. He perused sermons with pleasure, committing to writing those passages which most affected him, and could comprehend and remember their whole scope. Nor was he inattentive to polite literature. He read the Roman classics, and made considerable proficiency in the Greek, in the Hebrew, and other oriental languages. He was also well versed in history and mathematics. His diversions were of a manly kind. After becoming acquainted with the Roman history, in concert with some of his companions he formed a little senate where orations of their own composition were delivered.

At the age of fifteen he entered the university, where he behaved with great modesty, sobriety, and diligence. He disliked the philosophy then taught, and applied himself to the study of natural philosophy; that philosophy which has now happily got such footing in the world, and tends to enlarge the faculties. In consequence of this, we may here observe, that when he was yet about eighteen years of age, he wrote the reflections and short essays since published; which, though written in his youth, and some of them left unfinished, breathe forth so much devotion, and such an exalted soul, as must convince us his conversation was in heaven.

In all the public meetings of the students he was unanimously chosen president, and had a singular deference paid to his judgement. No sooner had he finished his courses, than he was promoted to a professorship in the university of Aberdeen, where he conscientiously performed his duty in training up the youth under his care in such principles of learning and virtue as might render them ornaments to church and state. When any divisions and animosities happened in the society, he was very instrumental in reconciling and bringing them to a good understanding. He maintained his authority among the students in such a way as to keep them in awe, and at the same time to gain their love and esteem. Sunday evenings were spent with his scholars in discoursing against vice and impiety of all kinds, and encouraging religion in principle and practice. He allotted a considerable part of his yearly income for the poor; and many indigent families, of different persuasions, were relieved in their straits by his bounty; though so secretly that they knew not whence their supply came.

Having been a professor of philosophy for four years, he was at the age of twenty-three ordained a minister, and settled at Auchterless, a small village about twenty miles from Aberdeen. Here his zeal and ability for his great

**Scougal.** great Master's service were eminently displayed. He catechised with great plainness and affection, and used the most endearing methods to recommend religion to his hearers. He endeavoured to bring them to a close attendance to public worship, and joined with them himself at the beginning of it. He revived the use of lectures, looking on it as very edifying to comment upon and expound large portions of Scripture. And though he endured several outward inconveniencies, yet he bore them with patience and meekness. But as God had designed him for an eminent station, where he could be of more universal use in his church, he was removed from his private charge to that of training up youth for the holy ministry and the care of souls. In the twenty-fifth year of his age he was admitted professor of divinity in the king's college, Aberdeen; and though he was unanimously chosen, yet he declined a station of such importance, from a modest sense of his unfitness for it: And as he had been an ornament to his other stations of life, so in a particular manner he applied himself to the exercise of this office. After he had guarded his students against the common artifices of the Romish missionaries in making profelytes, he proposed two subjects for public exercises; the one, of the pastoral care; the other, of casuistical divinity: but there were no debates he was more cautious to meddle with than the decrees of God; sensible that secret things belong to God, and to us things revealed.

The inward dispositions of this excellent man are best seen in his writings; and the whole of his outward behaviour and conversation was the constant practice of what he preached; as we are assured by the concurring testimony of several respectable persons who knew him. How unsuitable then would panegyric be, where the subject was full of humility? and therefore let it suffice to say, that after he began to appear publicly, you see him as a professor, earnest at once to improve his scholars in human and sacred learning; as a pastor, he ceased not to preach the word, to exhort, to reprove, and to rebuke with all authority: and as a professor of divinity, he bestowed the utmost pains to convince the candidates for the ministry, of the weight and importance of that high office; that it was not to be followed for lucre, but purely to promote the worship of God and the salvation of men. Again, if we consider his private life, how meek, how charitable, and how self-denied! how disinterested in all things, how resigned to the divine will! and above all, how refined his sentiments with regard to the love of God! How amiable must he then appear! How worthy of imitation, and of the universal regret at his death! In this light we see clearly that the memory of the just is blessed.

At length his health began to be impaired by incessant study, and about the twenty-seventh year of his age he fell into a consumption, which wasted him by slow degrees. But during the whole time of his sickness he behaved with the utmost resignation, nor did he ever show the least impatience.

When his friends came to visit him, he would say, "he had reason to bless God it was no worse with him than it was. And (says he) when you have the charity to remember me in your prayers, do not think me a better man than I am; but look on me, as indeed I am, a miserable sinner." Upon the twentieth day of June 1678 he died, in the greatest calmness, in the

twenty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the King's College church in Old Aberdeen. The principal work of Scougal is a small treatise intitled, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. This book is not only valuable for the sublime spirit of piety which it breathes, but for the purity and elegance of its style; qualities for which few English writers were distinguished before the revolution.

**SCOUTS**, in a military sense, are generally horsemen sent out before, and on the wings of an army, at the distance of a mile or two, to discover the enemy, and give the general an account of what they see.

**SCRATCH PANS**, in the English salt-works, a name given to certain leaden pans, which are usually made about a foot and an half long, a foot broad, and three inches deep, with a bow or circular handle of iron, by which they may be drawn out with a hook when the liquor in the pan is boiling. Their use is to receive a felenitic matter, known by the name of *soft scratch*, which falls during the evaporation of the salt-water. See the article *Sea-SALT*.

**SCREED**, with plaiters, is the floated work behind a cornice, and is only necessary when a cornice is to be executed without bracketing.

**SCREW**, one of the six mechanical powers, is a cylinder cut into several concave surfaces, or rather a channel or groove made in a cylinder, by carrying on two spiral planes the whole length of the screw, in such a manner that they may be always equally inclined to the axis of the cylinder in their whole progress, and also inclined to the base of it in the same angle. See *MECHANICS*, p. 66, N<sup>o</sup> 131.

*Archimedes's SCREW*. See *HYDRODYNAMICS*, N<sup>o</sup> 328.

*Endless or Perpetual SCREW*, one so fitted in a compound machine as to turn a dented wheel; so called, because it may be turned for ever without coming to an end. See *MECHANICS*, p. 67, N<sup>o</sup> 135.

**SCRIBE**, in Hebrew סֹפֵר *sepher*, is very common in scripture, and has several significations. It signifies,

1. A clerk, writer, or secretary. This was a very considerable employment in the court of the kings of Judah, in which the scripture often mentions the secretaries as the first officers of the crown. Seraiah was scribe or secretary to King David (2 Sam. viii. 17.). Shevah and Shemaiah exercised the same office under the same prince (2 Sam. xx. 25.). In Solomon's time we find Elihoreph and Ahia secretaries to that prince (1 Kings iv. 4.); Shebna under Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 2.); and Shaphan under Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8.). As there were but few in those times that could write well, the employment of a scribe or writer was very considerable.

2. A scribe is put for a commissary or muster-master of an army, who makes the review of the troops, keeps the list or roll, and calls them over. Under the reign of Uzziah king of Judah, there is found Jeiel the scribe who had under his hand the king's armies (2 Chr. xxvi. 11.). And at the time of the captivity, it is said the captain of the guard, among other considerable persons, took the principal scribe of the host, or secretary at war, which mustered the people of the land (2 Kings xxv. 19.).

3. Scribe is put for an able and skilful man, a doctor of the law, a man of learning that understands affairs. Jonathan, David's uncle by the father's side, was a counsellor,

Scougal  
||  
Scribe.

Scribe  
||  
Scribonius.

counsellor, a wise man, and a scribe (1 Chr. xxvii. 32.). Baruch, the disciple and secretary to Jeremiah, is called a *scribe* (Jer. xxxvi. 26.). And Ezra is celebrated as a skilful scribe in the law of his God (Ezra vii. 6.). The scribes of the people, who are frequently mentioned in the Gospel, were public writers and professed doctors of the law, which they read and explained to the people. Some place the original of scribes under Moses: but their name does not appear till under the judges. It is said, that in the wars of Barak against Sisera, "out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer." (Judges v. 14.). Others think that David first instituted them, when he established the several classes of the priests and Levites. The scribes were of the tribe of Levi; and at the time that David is said to have made the regulations in that tribe, we read that 6000 men of them were constituted officers and judges (1 Chr. xxiii. 4.); among whom it is reasonable to think the scribes were included. For in 2 Chr. xxiv. 6. we read of Shemaiah the scribe, one of the Levites; and in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 13. we find it written, "Of the Levites that were scribes and officers."

The scribes and doctors of the law, in the scripture phrase, mean the same thing; and he that in Mat. xxii. 35. is called a *doctor of the law*, or a *lawyer*, in Mark xii. 28. is named a *scribe*, or *one of the scribes*. And as the whole religion of the Jews at that time chiefly consisted in pharisaical traditions, and in the use that was made of them to explain the scripture; the greatest number of the doctors of the law, or of the scribes, were Pharisees; and we almost always find them joined together in scripture. Each of them valued themselves upon their knowledge of the law, upon their studying and teaching it (Mat. xxii. 52.): they had the key of knowledge, and sat in Moses's chair (Mat. xxiii. 2.). Epiphanius, and the author of the *Recognitions* imputed to St Clement, reckon the scribes among the sects of the Jews; but it is certain they made no sect by themselves; they were only distinguished by their study of the law.

SCRIBONIUS, LARGUS, an ancient physician in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, was the author of

several works; the best edition of which is that of John Scrimzeor, Rhodius.

SCRIMZEOR or SCRIMGEOUR, Henry, an eminent restorer of learning, was born at Dundee in the year 1506. He traced his descent from the ancient family of the Scrimzeours of Didupe or Dudhope, who obtained the office of hereditary standard-bearers to the kings of Scotland in 1057.

At the grammar-school of Dundee our author acquired the Greek and Latin languages to an uncommon degree of perfection, and that in a shorter time than many scholars before him. At the university of St Andrew's his successful application to philosophy gained him great applause. The next scene of his studies was the university of Paris, and their more particular object the civil law. Two of the most famous civilians of that age, Eguinard Baron and Francis Duaren (A), were then giving their lectures to crowded circles at Bourges. The fame of these professors occasioned his removal from Paris; and for a considerable time he prosecuted his studies under their direction.

At Bourges he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrated James Amiôt, Greek professor in that city, well known in the learned world by his translation of Plutarch's Lives, and distinguished afterwards by his advancement to great honours in the church, and finally to the rank of cardinal.

Through the recommendation of this eminent person, Mr Scrimzeor engaged in the education of two young gentlemen of the name of Bucherel, whom he instructed in the belles lettres, and other branches of literature, calculated to accomplish them for their station in life.

This connection introduced him to Bernard Bornelet bishop of Rennes, a person famed in the political world for having served the state in many honourable embassies. Accepting an invitation from this prelate to accompany him to Italy, Mr Scrimzeor greatly enlarged the sphere of his literary acquaintance, by his conversation and connection with most of the distinguished scholars of that country. The death of Francis Spira (B) happened during his visit to Padua; and as the character and conduct of this remarkable person at that time engaged

(A) "Francis Duaren was the first of the French civilians who purged the chair in the civil law schools from the barbarisms of the Glossaries, in order to introduce the pure sources of the ancient jurisprudence. As he did not desire to share that glory with any one, he looked with an envious eye on the reputation of his colleague Eguinard Baron, who also mixed good literature with the knowledge of the law. This jealousy put him upon composing a work, wherein he endeavoured to lessen the esteem that people had for his colleague. The maxim, '*Pascitur in vivis livor; post fata quiescit*,' was verified remarkably in him; for after the death of Baron, he showed himself most zealous to eternize his memory, and was at the expence of a monument to the honour of the deceased." From the Translation of Bayle's Dict. of 1710, p. 1143-4.

(B) Francis Spira was a lawyer of great reputation at Cittadella in the Venetian state, at the beginning of the 16th century. He had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, and was accused before John de la Cala, archbishop of Benevento, the pope's nuncio at Venice. He made some concessions, and asked pardon of the papal minister for his errors. But the nuncio insisted on a public recantation. Spira was exceedingly averse to this measure; but at the pressing instances of his wife and friends, who represented to him that he must lose his practice and ruin his affairs by persisting against it, he at last complied. Shortly after he fell into a deep melancholy, lost his health, and was removed to Padua for the advice of physicians and divines; but his disorders augmented. The recantation, which he said he had made from cowardice and interest, filled his mind with continual horror and remorse; inasmuch that he sometimes imagined that he felt the torments of the damned. No means being found to restore either his health or his peace of mind, in 1548 he fell a-victim to his miserable situation. See Collyer's Dict.—Spira.



Scrimzeor engaged the attention of the world, Mr Scrimzeor is said to have collected memoirs of him in a publication entitled, "The Life of Francis Spira, by Henry of Scotland." This performance, however, does not appear in the catalogue of his works.

After he had stored his mind with the literature of foreign countries, and satisfied his curiosity as a traveller, it was his intention to have revisited Scotland. He might without vanity have entertained hopes, that the various knowledge which he had treasured up would have won him a partial reception among his countrymen. An ambition of being usefully distinguished among them as a man of letters is justly supposed the principal motive of his desire to return: but the most sanguine projects of life are often strangely diverted by accident, or rather perhaps are invisibly turned by Providence, from their purposed course. Mr Scrimzeor, on his journey homewards, was to pass through Geneva. His fame had long forerun his footsteps. The syndics and other magistrates, on his arrival, requested him to set up the profession of philosophy in that city; promising a compensation suitable to the exertion of his talents. He accepted the proposal, and established the philosophical chair.

After he had taught for some time at Geneva, a fire broke out in his neighbourhood, by which his house was consumed, and himself reduced to great distress. His late pupils, the Bucherels, had not forgotten their obligations to him, and sent a considerable sum of money to his relief.

At this time flourished at Augsburg that famous mercantile family (c), the Fuggers. Ulric Fugger was then its representative; a man possessed of prodigious wealth, passionately fond of literature, a great collector of books and manuscripts, and a munificent patron of learned men. Being informed, by means of his literary correspondence, of the misfortune which had befallen Mr Scrimzeor in the burning of his house, he immediately sent him a pressing invitation to accept an asylum beneath his roof till his affairs could be re-established. Mr Scrimzeor, gladly availing himself of such a hospitable kindness, lost no time in going to Germany.

Whilst residing at Augsburg with Mr Fugger, he was much employed in augmenting his patron's library by vast collections, purchased from every corner of Europe. Manuscripts of the Greek and Latin authors were then of inestimable value, and seem to have been more particularly the object of Mr Scrimzeor's researches.

He did not lead a life of yawning indolence amidst these treasures, and, like a mere unfeeling collector, leave them unenjoyed. As librarian, he was not contented to act the part of a black eunuch to his literary seraglio. He seems to have forgotten that he was not its Grand Sultan, and accordingly ranged at will among surrounding beauties. He composed many works of

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great learning and ingenuity, whilst he continued in a situation so peculiarly agreeable to the views and habits of a scholar.

When his manuscripts were ready for the press, he was desirous of returning to Geneva to print them. His patron, Fugger, recommended him for this purpose to the very learned Henry Stephens, one of his pensioners, and at that time one of the most celebrated printers in Europe.

Immediately on his arrival at Geneva, 1563, he was earnestly solicited by the magistrates to resume the chair of philosophy. Notwithstanding his compliance, and in consequence of it the dedication of much of his time to the study of physics, he, two years afterwards, instituted a course of lectures in the civil law, and had the honour of being its first founder and professor at Geneva.

As soon as he was settled again in this city, he hoped, amidst his other occupations, to prosecute the great object of his literary fame, the printing of his various works. But a suspicion which Henry Stephens entertained, that it was his intention to set up a rival press at Geneva, occasioned great dissensions between them. The result of the quarrel was, that the republic of letters, during Mr Scrimzeor's life, was deprived of his valuable productions. They fell most of them at his death into the hands of Isaac Casaubon, who has been accused of publishing considerable portions of them as his own.

Some account of Mr Scrimzeor's several performances will give an idea of his extensive erudition.

He wrote critical and explanatory notes upon Athenæus's (D) *Deipnosophists*, or Table-conversations of Philosophers and Learned Men of Antiquity; having first collated several manuscripts of his author. This work Casaubon published at Leyden in 1600; but without distinguishing his own notes from those of Scrimzeor.

A Commentary and Emendations of the Geography of Strabo were among our author's literary remains. These were published in Casaubon's Parisian edition of Strabo, 1620. Henry Stephens, from an idea of justice due to Scrimzeor's literary fame, notwithstanding the violent animosity which had subsisted betwixt them, reproaches Casaubon for adopting our Scottish critic's lucubrations on Strabo without acknowledgement.—Dempster assures us, that Scrimzeor, in his manuscript letters, mentions his design of publishing this performance; whence, it is probable, that his work appeared to himself of considerable consequence, and had taken up much of his attention. Although Casaubon, in his ample notes exhibited at the foot of Strabo's text, makes no confession of having derived any thing from Scrimzeor, it must not be concealed, that in an epistle to Sir Peter Young, our critic's nephew, through whom the Commentary and Emendations of Strabo came into his hands, Casaubon acknowledges how very useful to him they might be made; for speaking there of his intended

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tended

(c) They were ennobled by the emperor in 1510, under the title of Barons of Kirkberg and Weissenborn.

(D) Athenæus was a grammarian of Naucratis in Egypt, and lived in the second century. His *Deipnosophistæ* is a very curious and learned work, in 15 books. It is full of interesting anecdotes and descriptions of ancient manners, and has preserved many relics of Grecian poetry not to be found elsewhere.

Scrimzeor. tended edition of Strabo, he says, "It cannot be expressed how much assistance I may obtain from your notes of Scrimzeor."

Edward Herrifon, a Scottish author, in his Commentary on Plutarch's Book concerning the Inconsistencies of the Stoics, informs us, that Scrimzeor collated different manuscripts of all the works of Plutarch. This undertaking appears sufficient to have occupied half the life of an ordinary critic. Every one knows how voluminous an author was the philosopher, the historian, and orator of Chæroneæ. Whether our learned critic had meant to publish an edition of Plutarch's works is not known; but such an intention seems highly probable from this laborious enterprise of collating them.

The 10 books of Diogenes Laertius on the Lives, Opinions, and Apophthegms of the Philosophers, were collated from various manuscripts by Scrimzeor. His corrected text of this author, with notes full of erudition, came also into Casaubon's possession, and is supposed to have contributed much to the value of his edition of the Grecian Biographer, printed at Paris in 1593.

The works of Phornutus and Palæphatus were also among the collations of Mr Scrimzeor. To the latter of these authors he made such considerable additions, that the work became partly his own. These were two ancient authors who explain the fables of the heathen deities. The former wrote *De Natura Deorum, seu de Fabularum Poeticarum Allegoriis Speculatio*, "On the Nature of the Gods, or the Allegorical Fictions of the Poets." The latter entitled his book *Απιστο, Sive de falsis Narrationibus*, "Things incredible, or concerning false Relations." These works were printed at Basil, 1570; whether in Greek or Latin is uncertain. They have been published since in both languages.

The manuscripts of them were for some time preserved in the library of Sir Peter Young, after that of his uncle Scrimzeor, which was brought into Scotland in 1573, had been added to it. What became of this valuable bequest at the death of the former, is uncertain.

Our learned philologer also left behind him in manuscript the orations of Demosthenes, Æschines, and Cicero, and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, all carefully collated.

Among his literary remains was a collection of his Latin epistles. The men of letters in the 15th and 16th centuries seem to have kept their republic, as it is called, more united and compact than it is at present, by an epistolary intercourse in the Latin language, then the universal medium of literature and science. This general spirit of communication could not but contribute greatly to the advancement of learning, as well as to the pleasure, and, we may add, to the importance, of those who were engaged in its pursuit. The intercourse and union of enlightened men, able and disposed to promote the happiness of their fellow-creatures, cannot be too close. From such intellectual combination alone it is, that uniformity of religious, moral, and political principles, to its greatest attainable degree, can ever be expected; or, in other words, the greatest possible benefit derived from the cultivation of letters.

Of the many performances which had exercised his pen, it does not appear that any were immediately published by himself but his Translation of Justinian's No-

vels into Greek. This was printed at Paris in 1558, and again with Holoander's Latin version at Antwerp in 1575. This work has been highly extolled, both for the purity of its language and the accuracy of its execution, and is likely, according to some respectable opinions, to hold its estimation as long as any use or memory of the civil law shall exist.

A Latin translation of the *Basilica*, or Basilics, as they are called by our civilians, is the last we have to mention of this author's performances. This is a collection of Roman Laws, which the eastern emperors Basil and Leo, who reigned in the fifth century, commanded to be translated into Greek, and which preserved their authority till the dissolution of the eastern empire. The Basilics comprehend the institutes, digests, code, and novels, and some of the edicts of Justinian and other emperors. Of 60 original books, 41 only remain. Mr Scrimzeor collated them with various manuscripts, probably before he commenced his translation.

From the foregoing recital of the learned labours of this profound scholar and critic, it will be concluded, that almost the whole of his life, although long, was spent in his library, and that the biographer, having now terminated the catalogue of his writings, is probably not distant from the conclusion of his life. Different years have been assigned for the time of his death; but it appears most likely, from a comparison of the different accounts of this event, that it happened very near the expiration of 1571, or at the beginning of the succeeding year, about the 66th year of his age. He died in the city of Geneva.

The characteristic features of Scrimzeor are few, but they are prominent and striking, and remote posterity may regard him with no inferior degree of respect. His industry and perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge and erudition were equalled only by the exquisite judgement which he displayed in his critical annotations and commentaries on the errors and obscurities of ancient books and manuscripts.

His acquisitions in the Greek, Latin, and oriental languages, were reckoned much beyond those of most of the professed linguists of his time. The great Cujacius used to say, "That he never quitted Mr Scrimzeor's conversation without having learned something new." But that which gave peculiar grace to such superiority, was the amiable modesty which on all occasions was observed to accompany it. From the commendation given him by the illustrious civilian just mentioned, it will be concluded, that he did not brood, with a jealous reserve, over unlocked treasures of erudition; but that, conscious of possessing stores too ample to be soon exhausted, at the same time that he avoided an ostentatious profusion of them, he obliged and delighted his friends by a liberal communication. From the period at which he lived, considered with the nature and extent of his studies, and his abilities in prosecuting them, he may be deservedly ranked among those eminent characters who have most successfully contributed their exertions to the revival of letters in Europe.

SCRIPTURE is a word derived from the Latin *Scriptures scriptura*, and in its original sense is of the same import of the Old and New Testaments. It is, however, commonly used to denote the writings of the Old and New Testaments; which are sometimes called

<sup>1</sup> *Scripture.* *the Scriptures*, sometimes the *sacred* or *holy Scriptures*, and sometimes *canonical Scripture*. These books are called *the Scriptures* by way of eminence, as they are the most important of all writings; they are said to be *holy* or *sacred* on account of the sacred doctrines which they teach; and they are termed *canonical*, because when their number and authenticity were ascertained, their names were inserted in ecclesiastical *canons*, to distinguish them from other books; which, being of no authority, were kept as it were out of sight, and therefore styled *apocryphal* (A).

<sup>2</sup> The authenticity of the Old Testament proved

<sup>3</sup> from the character of the Jews,

The authenticity of the Old Testament may be proved from the character of the Jews, from internal evidence, and from testimony.

1. The character of the Jews affords a strong presumptive evidence that they have not forged or corrupted the Old Testament. Were a person brought before a court of justice on suspicion of forgery, and yet no presumptive or positive evidence of his guilt could be produced, it would be allowed by all that he ought to be acquitted. But farther, if the forgery alleged were inconsistent with the character of the accused; if it tended to expose to disgrace and reproach his general principles and conduct; or if we were assured that he considered forgery as an impious and abominable crime—it would require very strong testimony to establish his guilt. The case now mentioned corresponds exactly with the character and situation of the Jews. If a Jew had forged any book of the Old Testament, he must have been impelled to so bold and dangerous an enterprise by some very powerful motive. It could not be national pride, for there is scarcely one of these books which does not severely censure the national manners. It could not be the love of fame; for that passion would have taught him to flatter and extol the national character; and the punishment, if detected, would have been infamy and death. The love of wealth could not produce such a forgery; for no wealth was to be gained.

The Jews were selected from among the other nations of the world, and preserved a distinct people from the time of their emigration from Egypt to the Babylonish captivity, a period of 892 years. The principal purposes for which they were selected was to preserve in a world running headlong into idolatry the knowledge and worship of the one true God, and to be the guardians of those sacred books that contained the prophecies which were to prove to future ages the divine mission of the Redeemer of mankind. To fit them for these important trusts, the spirit of their laws and the rites of their religion had the strongest tendency. Miracles were openly performed, to convince them that the God of Israel was the God of all the earth, and that he alone was to be worshipped. Public calamities always befel them when they became apostates to their God; yet they continued violently attached to idolatry till their captivity in Babylon made them for ever renounce it.

The Jews then had two opposite characters at different periods of their history: At first they were addicted to idolatry; afterwards they acquired a strong antipathy against it.

Had any books of the Old Testament been forged before the Babylonish captivity, when the Jews were devoted to idolatry, is it to be conceived that the impostor would have inveighed so strongly against this vice, and so often imputed to it the calamities of the state; since by such conduct he knew that he would render himself obnoxious to the people and to those idolatrous monarchs who persecuted the prophets?

But it may next be supposed, that “the sacred books were forged after the Babylonish captivity, when the principles of the Jews would lead them to inveigh against the worship of idols. But these principles would surely never lead them to expose the character of their ancestors, and to detail their follies and their crimes. Never had any people more national pride, or a higher veneration for their ancestors, than the Jews. Miracles and prophecies ceased soon after their return to Jerusalem; and from that period their respect for the sacred books approached to superstition. They preserved them with pious care, they read them often in their synagogues, and they considered every attempt to alter the text as an act of sacrilege. Is it possible that such men could be guilty of forgery, or could false writings be easily imposed on them?”

2. There is an internal evidence in the books of the Old Testament that proves them to have been written by different persons, and at distant periods; and enables us with precision to ascertain a time at or before which they must have been composed. It is an undeniable fact that Hebrew ceased to be the living language of the Jews during the Babylonish captivity, and that the Jewish productions after that period were in general written either in Chaldee or in Greek. The Jews of Palestine, some ages before the coming of our Saviour, were unable, without the assistance of a Chaldee paraphrase, to understand the Hebrew original. It necessarily follows, therefore, that every book which is written in pure Hebrew was composed either before or about the time of the Babylonish captivity. This being admitted, we may advance a step farther, and contend that the period which elapsed between the composition of the most ancient and the most modern book of the Old Testament was very considerable; or, in other words, that the most ancient books of the Old Testament were written many ages before the Babylonish captivity.

No language continues stationary; and the Hebrew, like other tongues, passed through the several stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. If therefore, on comparison, the several parts of the Hebrew Bible are found to differ not only in regard to style, but also in regard to character and cultivation, we have strong internal marks that they were composed at different and distant periods. No classical scholar would believe, independent of the Grecian history, that the poems ascribed to Homer were written in the age of Demosthenes, the Orations of Demosthenes in the time of Origen, or the Commentaries of Origen in the time of Lascaris and Chrysoloras. For the very same reason, it is certain that the five books which are ascribed to Moses were not written in the time of David, the

(A) From ἀποκρυφῶς, to put out of sight, or conceal.

Scripture. Psalms of David in the age of Isaiah, nor the prophecies of Isaiah in the time of Malachi; and since the Hebrew became a dead language about the time of the Babylonish captivity, the book of Malachi could not have been written much later. Before that period therefore were written the prophecies of Isaiah, still earlier the Psalms of David, and much earlier than these the books which are ascribed to Moses.

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from testi-  
mony.

3. Let us now consider the evidence of testimony for the authenticity of the Old Testament. As the Jews were a more ancient people than the Greeks or Romans, and for many ages totally unconnected with them, it is not to be expected that we should derive much evidence from the historians of those nations: it is to the Jews alone we must look for information. But it has unfortunately happened that few of their works except the Scriptures themselves have been preserved to posterity. Josephus is the most ancient of the Jewish historians to whom we can appeal. He informs us, that the Old Testament was divided into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa or poetical books. No man, says he, hath ever dared to add or take away from them. He tells us also, that other books were written after the time of Artaxerxes; but as they were not composed by prophets, they were not reckoned worthy of the same credit.

Since the promulgation of the Christian religion, it is impossible that any material alterations or corruptions could have taken place in the books of the Old Testament; for they have been in the hands both of Jews and Christians from that period. Had the Jews attempted to make any alterations, the Christians would have detected and exposed them; nor would the Jews have been less severe against the Christians if they had corrupted the sacred text. But the copies in the hands of Jews and Christians agree; and therefore we justly conclude, that the Old Testament is still pure and uncorrupted.

The division mentioned by our Saviour into the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, corresponds with that of Josephus. We have therefore sufficient evidence, it is hoped, to convince even a deist, that the Old Testament existed at that time. And if the deist will only allow, that Jesus Christ was a personage of a virtuous and irreproachable character, he will acknowledge that we draw a fair conclusion when we assert that the Scriptures were not corrupted in his time: for when he accused the Pharisees of making the law of no effect by their traditions, and when he enjoined his hearers to search the Scriptures, he could not have failed to mention the corruptions or forgeries of Scripture, if any in that age had existed. But we are assured, by very respectable authority, that the canon of the Old Testament was fixed some centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ. Jesus the son of Sirach, the author of Ecclesiasticus, makes evident references to the prophecies of Isaiah\*, Jeremiah †, and Ezekiel ‡, and mentions these prophets by name. He speaks also of the twelve minor prophets §. It appears also from the prologue, that the law and the prophets, and other ancient books, existed at the same period. The book of Ecclesiasticus, according to the calculations of the best chronologers, was written in Syriac about A. M. 3772, that is, 232 years before the Christian era, and was translated into Greek in the next century by the grandson of the au-

\* Ecclesi-  
asticus  
xlvi. 22.  
† xlix. 6.  
‡ xlix. 8.  
§ xlix. 10.

thor. The prologue was added by the translator: but this circumstance does not diminish the evidence for the antiquity of Scripture; for he informs us, that the law and the prophets, and the other books of their fathers, were studied by his grandfather: a sufficient proof that they existed in his time. As no authentic books of a more ancient date, except the sacred writings themselves, have reached our time, we can ascend no higher in search of testimony.

There is, however, one remarkable historical fact, which proves the existence of the law of Moses at the dissolution of the kingdom of Israel, when the ten tribes were carried captive to Assyria by Shalmaneser, and dispersed among the provinces of that extensive empire; that is, about 741 years before Christ. It was about that time the Samaritans were transported from Assyria to repopulate the country, which the ten captive tribes of Israel had formerly inhabited. The posterity of the Samaritans still inhabit the land of their fathers, and have preserved copies of the Pentateuch, two or three of which were brought to this country in the seventeenth century. The Samaritan Pentateuch is written in old Hebrew characters (see PHILOLOGY, N<sup>o</sup> 28). and therefore must have existed before the time of Ezra. But so violent were the animosities which subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, that in no period of their history would the one nation have received any books from the other. They must therefore have received them at their first settlement in Samaria from the captive priest whom the Assyrian monarch sent to teach them how they should fear the Lord (2 Kings xvii.).

The canon of the Old Testament, as both Jewish and Christian writers agree, was completed by Ezra and some of his immediate successors (see BIBLE). In our copies the sacred books are divided into 39. The Jews reckoned only 22, corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. They united the books of Judges and Ruth; they joined the two books of Samuel; the books of Kings and Chronicles were reckoned one; Ezra and Nehemiah one; the Prophecies and Lamentations of Jeremiah were taken under the same head; and the 12 minor prophets were considered as one book—so that the whole number of books in the Jewish canon amounted to 22.

The Pentateuch consists of the five books, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Several observations have been already made respecting the authenticity of these under the article PENTATEUCH; but several additional remarks have occurred, which may not improperly be given in this place. For many of these we acknowledge ourselves indebted to a sermon published by the reverend Mr Marshall, whose research, learning, and critical accuracy, will be acknowledged by every reader of discernment.

One of the strongest arguments that have occurred to us in support of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and the inspiration of the writer, has already been given under the article RELIGION, N<sup>o</sup> 14, &c. which see: But we shall in this place present two arguments of a different kind, which would be sufficient to prove at least the former of these conclusions. We argue from the language and contents of the Mosaic writings, and from the testimony of the other books of Scripture.

From

Scripture. proved by internal evidence,

Marsh.

and by testimony.

From the contents and language of the Pentateuch there arises a very strong presumption that Moses was its author. The very mode of writing in the four last books discovers an author contemporary with the events which he relates; every description, both religious and political, is a proof that the writer was present at each respective scene; and the legislative and historical parts are so interwoven with each other, that neither of them could have been written by a man who lived in a later age. The account which is given in the book of Exodus of the conduct of Pharaoh towards the children of Israel, is such as might have been expected from a writer who was not only acquainted with the country at large, but had frequent access to the court of its sovereign: and the minute geographical description of the passage through Arabia is such, as could have been given only by a man like Moses, who had spent 40 years in the land of Midian. The language itself is a proof of its high antiquity, which appears partly from the great simplicity of the style, and partly from the use of archaisms or antiquated expressions, which in the days even of David and Solomon were obsolete (B). But the strongest argument that can be produced to show that the Pentateuch was written by a man born and educated in Egypt, is the use of Egyptian words; words which never were, and never could have been, used by a native of Palestine: and it is a remarkable circumstance, that the very same thing which Moses had expressed by a word that is pure Egyptian, Isaiah, as might be expected from his birth and education, has expressed by a word that is purely Hebrew (C).

That Moses was the author of the Pentateuch is proved also from the evidence of testimony. We do not here quote the authority of Diodorus Siculus, of Longinus, or Strabo, because their information must have been derived from the Jews. We shall seek no authority but that of the succeeding sacred books themselves, which bear internal evidence that they were written in different ages, and therefore could not be forged, unless we were to adopt the absurd opinion that there was a succession of impostors among the Jews who united in the same fraud. The Jews were certainly best qualified to judge of the authenticity of their own books. They could judge of the truth of the facts recorded, and they could have no interest in adopting a forgery. Indeed, to suppose a whole nation combined in committing a forgery, and that this combination should continue for many hundred years, would be the most chimerical supposition that ever entered into the mind of man. Yet we must make this supposition, if we reject the historical facts of the Old Testament. No one will deny that the Pentateuch existed in the time of Christ and his apostles; for they not only mention it, but quote it. "This we admit," reply the advocates for the hypothesis which we are now combating; "but you cannot

therefore conclude that Moses was the author; for there is reason to believe it was composed by Ezra." But unfortunately for men of this opinion, both Ezra and Nehemiah ascribe the book of the law to Moses \*. 2. The Pentateuch was in the possession of the Samaritans before the time of Ezra. 3. It existed in the reign of Amaziah king of Judah, A. C. 839 years †. 4. It was in public use in the reign of Jehosaphat, A. C. 912; for that virtuous prince appointed Levites and priests who taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah and taught the people ‡. 5. It is referred to by David in his dying admonitions to Solomon §. The same royal bard makes many allusions to it in the book of Psalms, and sometimes quotes it \*. There remains therefore only one resource to those who contend that Moses was not the author, viz. that it was written in the period which elapsed between the age of Joshua and that of David. But the whole history of the Jews from their settlement in Canaan to the building of the temple presupposes that the book of the law was written by Moses. 6. We have satisfactory evidence that it existed in the time of Joshua. One passage may be quoted where this fact is stated. The Divine Being makes use of these words to Joshua: "Only be thou strong, and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do all according to the law which Moses my servant commanded thee; turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest. *This book of the law* shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein †."

To the foregoing demonstration objections may be stated. "We will admit the force of your arguments, and grant that Moses actually wrote a work called the book of the law; but how can we be certain that it was the very work which is now current under his name? And unless you can show this to be at least probable, your whole evidence is of no value." To illustrate the force or weakness of this objection, let us apply it to some ancient Greek author, and see whether a classical scholar would allow it to have weight. "It is true that the Greek writers speak of Homer as an ancient and celebrated poet; it is true also that they have quoted from the works which they ascribe to him various passages that we find at present in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: yet still there is a possibility that the poems which were written by Homer, and those which we call the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, were totally distinct productions." Now an advocate for Greek literature would reply to this objection, not with a serious answer, but with a smile of contempt; and he would think it beneath his dignity to silence an opponent who appeared to be deaf

Scripture. \* Ezra iii. 2. viii. 14. Nehem. xiii. 1. † 2 Chron. xxv. 4. 2 Kings xiv. 6. ‡ 2 Chron. xxvii. 8, 9. § 1 Kings i. 3. \* Comp. Psalm ciii. 7, 8. with Exod. xxxiv. 6. in the original, where the words are the very same.

† Joshua 1. 7, 8. viii. 31. xxiii. 6.

General objections answered.

to

(B) For instance, *למנו* *ille*, and *עמי* *puer*, which are used in both genders by no other writer than Moses. See Gen. xxiv. 14. 16. 28. 55. 57. xxxviii. 21. 25.

(C) For instance, *אשר* (perhaps written originally *אשרי*, and the *i* lengthened into *y* by mistake), written by the Seventy *ασι* or *ασις*, Gen. xli. 2. and *תרה*, written by the Seventy *τηρη* or *τηρις*. See *La Croze Lexicon Aegyptiaca*, art. AXI and ΘΗΒΙ.

The same thing which Moses expresses by *אשר*, Gen. xli. 2. Isaiah xix. 7. expresses by *עונה*, for the Seventy have translated both of these words by *ασι*.

Scripture. to the clearest conviction. But still more may be said in defence of Moses than in defence of Homer; for the writings of the latter were not deposited in any temple or sacred archive, in order to secure them from the devastations of time; whereas the copy of the book of the law, as written by Moses, was intrusted to the priests and the elders, preserved in the ark of the covenant, and read to the people every seventh year (D). Sufficient care therefore was taken not only for the preservation of the original record, but that no spurious production should be substituted in its stead. And that no spurious production ever has been substituted in the stead of the original composition of Moses, appears from the evidence both of the Greek and the Samaritan Pentateuch. For as these agree with the Hebrew, except in some trifling variations (E), to which every work is exposed by length of time, it is absolutely certain that the five books which we now ascribe to Moses are one and the same work with that which was translated into Greek in the time of the Ptolemies, and, what is of still greater importance, with that which existed in the time of Solomon. And as the Jews could have had no motive whatever, during that period which elapsed between the age of Joshua and that of Solomon, for substituting a spurious production instead of the original as written by Moses, and, even had they been inclined to attempt the imposture, would have been prevented by the care which had been taken by their lawgiver, we must conclude that our present Pentateuch is the very identical work that was delivered by Moses.

II  
Particular  
objections  
obviated.

The positive evidence being now produced, we shall endeavour to answer some particular objections that have been urged. But as most of these occur in the book of Genesis, we shall reserve them for separate examination, and shall here only consider the objections peculiar to the last four books. They may be comprised under one head, viz. expressions and passages in these books which could not have been written by Moses. 1. The account of the death of Moses, in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, we allow must have been added by some succeeding writer; but this can never prove that the book of Deuteronomy is spurious. What is more common among ourselves than to see an account of the life and death of an author subjoined to his works, without

informing us by whom the narrative was written? 2. It has been objected, that Moses always speaks of himself in the third person. This is the objection of foolish ignorance, and therefore scarcely deserves an answer. We suspect that such persons have never read the classics, particularly Cæsar's Commentaries, where the author uniformly speaks of himself in the third person, as every writer of correct taste will do who reflects on the absurdity of employing the pronoun of the first person in a work intended to be read long after his death. (See GRAMMAR, N<sup>o</sup> 33.) 3. As to the objection, that in some places the text is defective, as in Exodus xv. 8. it is not directed against the author, but against some transcriber; for what is wanting in the Hebrew is inserted in the Samaritan. 4. The only other objection that deserves notice is made from two passages. It is said in one place that the bed of Og is at Ramah *to this day*; and in another (Deut. iii. 14.), "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, *unto this day.*" The last clause in both these passages could not have been written by Moses, but it was probably placed in the margin by some transcriber by way of explanation, and was afterwards by mistake inserted in the text. Whoever doubts the truth of this assertion may have recourse to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and he will find that the spurious additions in the texts of some manuscripts are actually written in the margin of others (F).

That the Pentateuch, therefore, at least the last four books of it, was written by Moses, we have very satisfactory evidence; which, indeed, at the distance of 3000 years is wonderful, and which cannot be affirmed of any profane history written at a much later period.

The book of Genesis was evidently not written by a person who was contemporary with the facts which he records; for it contains the history of 2369 years, a period comprehending almost twice as many years as all the rest of the historical books of the Old Testament put together. Moses has been acknowledged the author of this book by all the ancient Jews and Christians; but it has been matter of dispute from what source he derived his

12  
Authenticity  
of the  
book of  
Genesis.

(D) "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God." Deut. xxxi. 9—11. 24—26. There is a passage to the same purpose in Josephus: *Δηλῶται διὰ τῶν ἀνακεκμημένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χειρῶντος, Josephi Antiquitat. lib. v. c. 1. § 17. ed. Hudson.*

(E) See the collation of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, in the 6th vol. of the *London Polyglot*, p. 19. of the *Animadversiones Samaritice*.

(F) To mention only two examples. 1. The common reading, 1 Cor. xvi. 2. is *μὴν σαββατῶν*; but the Codex Petavian. 3. has *τὴν κυριακῆν* in the margin; and in one of the manuscripts which Beza used, this marginal addition has been obtruded in the text. See his note on this passage. 2. Another instance is, 1 John ii. 27. where the genuine reading is *χεῖρῶν*; but Wetstein quotes two manuscripts, in which *πνεῦμα* is written in the margin; and this marginal reading has found its way not only into the Codex Covelli 2. but into the Coptic and Ethiopic versions.

Scripture. his materials; some affirming that all the facts were revealed by inspiration, and others maintaining that he procured them from tradition.

Some who have looked on themselves as profound philosophers, have rejected many parts of the book of Genesis as fabulous and absurd: but it cannot be the wisdom of philosophy, but the vanity of ignorance, that could lead to such an opinion. In fact, the book of Genesis affords a key to many difficulties in philosophy which cannot otherwise be explained. It has been supposed that the diversities among mankind prove that they are not descended from one pair; but it has been fully shewn that all these diversities may be accounted for from natural causes. It has been reckoned a great difficulty to explain how fossil shells were introduced into the bowels of the earth; but the deluge explains this fact better than all the romantic theories of philosophers. It is impossible to account for the origin of such a variety of languages in a more satisfactory manner than is done in the account of the confusion of tongues which took place at Babel. It would be no easy matter to shew why the sea of Sodom is so different from every other sea on the globe which has yet been explored, if we had not possessed the scriptural account of the miraculous destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is saturated with bitumen and salt, and contains no fishes. These are very singular facts, which have been fully established by late travellers. The book of Genesis, too, has been treated with contempt, because it makes the world less ancient than is necessary to support the theories of modern philosophers, and because it is difficult to reconcile the chronologies of several nations with the opinion that the world is not above 6000 or 7000 years old. The Chaldeans, in the time of Cicero, reckoned up 470,000 years. The Egyptians pretend that they have records extending 50,000 years back; and the Hindoos go beyond all bounds of probability, carrying back their chronology, according to Halhed, more than 7,000,000 of years.

13  
Mosaic  
chronology  
vindicatd.

An attempt has been made by the unfortunate M. Bailly, once mayor of Paris, to reconcile these magnified calculations with the chronology of the Septuagint, which is justly preferred to the Hebrew. (See SEPTUAGINT.) He informs us, that the Hindoos, as well as the Chaldeans and Egyptians, had years of arbitrary determination. They had months of 15 days, and years of 60 days, or two months. A month is a night and day of the patriarchs; a year is a night and day of the gods; four thousand years of the gods, are as many hundred years of men. By attention to such modes of computation, the age of the world will be found very nearly the same in the writings of Moses, and in the calculations and traditions of the Bramins. With these also we have a remarkable coincidence with the Persian chronology. Bailly has established these remarkable epochs from the Creation to the Deluge.

|                      |     |             |
|----------------------|-----|-------------|
| The Septuagint gives | -   | 2256 years. |
| The Chaldeans        | - - | 2222        |
| The Egyptians        | - - | 2340        |
| The Persians         | - - | 2000        |
| The Hindoos          | - - | 2000        |
| The Chinese          | - - | 2300        |

The same author has also shewn the singular coinci-

dence of the age of the world as given by four distinct and distant situated people. Scripture.

|                                  |     |             |
|----------------------------------|-----|-------------|
| The ancient Egyptians            | -   | 5544 years. |
| The Hindoos                      | - - | 5502        |
| The Persians                     | - - | 5501        |
| The Jews, according to Josephus, | -   | 5555        |

Having made these few remarks, to shew that the facts recorded in Genesis are not inconsistent with truth, we shall now, by a few observations, establish the evidence, from testimony, that Moses was the author, and answer the objections that seem strongest.

There arises a great probability, from the book of Genesis itself, that the author lived near the time of Joseph; for as we advance towards the end of that book, the facts gradually become more minute. The materials of the antediluvian history are very scanty. The account of Abraham is more complete; but the history of Jacob and his family is still more fully detailed. This is indeed the case with every history. In the early part, the relation is very short and general; but when the historian approaches his own time, his materials accumulate. It is certain, too, that the book of Genesis must have been written before the rest of the Pentateuch; for the allusions in the last four books to the history of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, are very frequent. The simplicity of the style shows it to be one of the most ancient of the sacred books; and perhaps its similarity to the style of Moses would determine a critic to ascribe it to him. It will be allowed that no man was better qualified than Moses to compose the history of his ancestors. He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, the most enlightened nation of his time, and he had the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information. The short account of the antediluvian world could easily be remembered by Abraham, who might obtain it from Shem, who was his contemporary. To Shem it might be conveyed by Methuselah, who was 340 years old when Adam died. From Abraham to Moses, the interval was less than 400 years. The splendid promises made to that patriarch would certainly be carefully communicated to each generation, with the concomitant facts: and thus the history might be conveyed to Moses by the most distinguished persons. The accounts respecting Jacob and his son Joseph might be given to Moses by his grandfather Kohath, who must have been born long before the descent into Egypt; and Kohath might have heard all the facts respecting Abraham and Isaac from Jacob himself. Thus we can easily point out how Moses might derive the materials of the book of Genesis, and especially of the last 38 chapters, from the most authentic source.

It will now be necessary to consider very shortly the objections which have been supposed to prove that Genesis could not have been written by Moses. 1. It is objected, that the author of the first chapters of Genesis must have lived in Mesopotamia, as he discovers a knowledge of the rivers that watered Paradise, of the cities Babylon, Erech, Resen, and Calneh; of the gold of Pison; of the bdellium and onyx stone. But if he could not derive this knowledge from the wisdom of the Egyptians, which is far from being improbable, he might surely obtain it by tradition from Abraham, who was born and brought up beyond the Euphrates. 2. In Genesis

14  
Objections  
to the au-  
thenticity  
of the book  
of Genesis  
obviated.

Scripture.  
\* Judges  
chap. xviii.  
22.

Genesis xiv. 14. it is said, Abraham pursued the four confederate kings to Dan, yet that name was not given till after the conquest of Palestine\*. We answer, this might be inserted by a transcriber. But such a supposition is not necessary; for though we are told in the book of Judges that a city originally called Lais received then the name of Dan, this does not prove that Lais was the same city with the Dan which is mentioned in Genesis. The same answer may be given to the objection which is brought from Genesis xxxv. 21. where the tower of Edar is mentioned, which the objectors say was the name of a tower over one of the gates of Jerusalem. But the tower of Edar signifies the tower of the flocks, which in the pastoral country of Canaan might be a very common name. 3. The most formidable objection is derived from these two passages, Gen. xii. 6. "And the Canaanite was then in the land." Gen. xxxvi. 31. "These are the kings that reigned over the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Now, it is certain that neither of these passages could be written by Moses. We allow they were added by a later writer; but this circumstance cannot invalidate the evidence which has been already produced. It does not prove that Moses was not the author of the book of Genesis, but only that the book of Genesis has received two alterations since his death.

According to Rivet, our Saviour and his Apostles have cited 27 passages verbatim from the book of Genesis, and have made 38 allusions to the sense.

15  
The book  
of Exodus.

The book of Exodus contains the history of the Israelites for about 145 years. It gives an account of the slavery of the Israelites in Egypt; of the miracles by which they were delivered; of their passage through the Red sea, and journey through the wilderness; of the solemn promulgation of the Decalogue on Mount Sinai, and of the building and furniture of the Tabernacle. This book is cited by David, by Daniel, and other sacred writers. Twenty-five passages are quoted by our Saviour and his apostles in express words, and they make 19 allusions to the sense.

16  
Leviticus.

The book of Leviticus contains the history of the Israelites for one month. It consists chiefly of laws. Indeed, properly speaking, it is the code of the Jewish ceremonial and political laws. It describes the consecration of Aaron and his sons, the daring impiety and exemplary punishment of Nadab and Abihu. It reveals also some predictions respecting the punishment of the Israelites in case of apostasy; and contains an assurance that every sixth year should produce abundance to support them during the seventh or sabbatical year. This book is quoted as the production of Moses in several books of scripture\*.

\* 2 Chron.  
xxx. 16.  
Jerem. vii.  
22, 23.  
ix. 16.  
Ezek. xx.  
11.  
Matth.  
viii. 4.  
Rom. x. 5.  
xiii. 9.  
2 Cor. vi.  
16.  
Gal. iii. 12.  
1 Pet. i. 16.

The book of Numbers comprehends the history of the Israelites for a period of about 38 years, reckoning from the first day of the second month after their departure from Egypt. It contains an account of two numberings of the people; the first in the beginning of the second year of their emigration, the second in the plains of Moab towards the conclusion of their journey in the wilderness †. It describes the ceremonies employed at the consecration of the tabernacle, gives an exact journal of the marches and encampments of the Israelites, relates the appointment of the 70 elders, the miraculous cure performed by the brazen serpent, and the misconduct of Moses when he was commanded to bring water

17  
Numbers.  
† Numb. i.  
xxvi.

out of the rock. There is also added an account of the death of Aaron, of the conquest of Sihon and Og, and the story of Balaam, with his celebrated prophecy concerning the Messiah ‡.

The book of Numbers is quoted as the work of Moses in several parts of Scripture\*.

The book of Deuteronomy comprehends a period of nearly two months. It consists of an interesting address to the Israelites, in which Moses recalls to their remembrance the many instances of divine favour which they had experienced, and reproaches them for their ingratitude. He lays before them, in a compendious form, the laws which he had formerly delivered, and makes some explanatory additions. This was the more necessary, because the Israelites, to whom they had been originally promulgated, and who had seen the miracles in Egypt, at the Red sea, and Mount Sinai, had died in the wilderness. The divine origin of these laws, and the miracles by which they were sanctioned, must already have been well known to them; yet a solemn recapitulation of these by the man who had miraculously fed the present generation from their infancy, who by the lifting up of his hands had procured them victory in the day of battle, and who was going to leave the world to give an account of his conduct to the God of Israel, could not but make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all who heard him. He inculcates these laws by the most powerful motives. He presents before them the most animating rewards, and denounces the severest punishments against the rebellious. The prophecies of Moses towards the end of this book, concerning the fate of the Jews, their dispersion and calamities, the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans, the miseries of the besieged, and the present state of the Jewish nation, cannot be read without astonishment. They are perspicuous and minute, and have been literally accomplished.

This book is quoted as the production of Moses by Christ and his apostles\*.

4. The historical books are 12 in number, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel I. and II. Kings I. and II. Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. These, if considered distinctly from the Pentateuch, and the writings more properly styled prophetic, contain a compendium of the Jewish history from the death of Moses, A. M. 2552, to the reformation established by Nehemiah after the return from the captivity, A. M. 3595, comprehending a period of 1043 years.

To enable us to discover the authors of these books, we have no guide to conduct us but conjecture, internal evidence, or the authority of the modern Jews. From the frequent references in Scripture, and from the testimony of Josephus, it appears that the Jews were in possession of many historical records which might have thrown much light on this subject if they had still been preserved. But during the calamities which befel that infatuated nation in their wars with the Romans, and the dispersion which followed, these writings have perished. But though we can produce no testimony more ancient than the age of our Saviour to authenticate the historical books, yet there are some facts respecting the mode of their preservation which entitle them to credit. The very circumstance itself, that the Jews have preserved them in the sacred volume to this day, while their other ancient books have been lost, is a proof that they considered them as the genuine records

Scripture.  
‡ Numb.  
xxiv. 17.

\* Joshua  
iv. 22.

2 Chron.  
xxix. 11.

xxx. 3.

Ezek. xx.

13. xlv. 27.

Matth.  
xii. 5.

John vi.  
31. ix. 36.

18

Deutero-  
nomy.

\* Matth.  
iv. 4.

John i. 4.

Acts iii. 22.

Gal. iii. 13.

19

The histo-  
ric books,

20

deserving  
of the full-  
est credit.



Scripture. cords of their nation. Josephus †, whose authority is of great importance, informs us, that it was the peculiar province of the prophets and priests to commit to writing the annals of the nation, and transmit them to posterity. That these might be faithfully preserved, the sacerdotal function was made hereditary, and the greatest care was taken to prevent intermarriages either with foreigners or with the other tribes. No man could officiate as a priest who could not prove his descent in a right line by unquestionable evidence †. Registers were kept in Jerusalem, which at the end of every war were regularly revised by the surviving priests; and new ones were composed. As a proof that this has been faithfully performed, Josephus adds, that the names of all the Jewish priests, in an uninterrupted succession from father to son, had been registered for 2000 years; that is, from the time of Aaron to the age of Josephus.

† Ezra ii.  
61, 62.

The national records were not allowed to be written by any man who might think himself fit for the office; and if a priest falsified them, he was excluded from the altar and deposed from his office. Thus we are assured that the Jewish records were committed to the charge of the priests; and since they may be considered as the same family from Aaron to the Babylonian captivity and downwards, the same credit is due to them that would be due to family records, which by antiquarians are esteemed the most authentic sources of information.

21  
Authenticity  
of the  
Hebrew  
records.

Of the 22 books which Josephus reckoned himself bound to believe, the historical books from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, he informs us, were written by contemporary prophets. It appears, then, that the prophets were the composers, and the priests the hereditary keepers, of the national records. Thus, the best provision possible was made that they should be written accurately, and preserved uncorrupted. The principal office of these prophets was to instruct the people in their duty to God, and occasionally to communicate the predictions of future events. For this purpose they were educated in the schools of the prophets, or in academies where sacred learning was taught. The prophets were therefore the learned men of their time, and consequently were best qualified for the office of historians. It may be objected, that the prophets, in concert with the priests, might have forged any writings they pleased. But before we suspect that they have done so in the historical books of the Old Testament, we must find out some motive which could induce them to commit so daring a crime. But this is impossible. No encomiums are made either on the prophets or the priests; no adulation to the reigning monarch appears, nor is the favour of the populace courted. The faults of all ranks are delineated without reserve. Indeed there is no history extant that has more the appearance of impartiality. We are presented with a simple detail of facts, and are left to discover the motives and intentions of the several characters; and when a character is drawn, it is done in a few words, without exaggerating the vices or amplifying the virtues.

It is of no great consequence, therefore, whether we can ascertain the authors of the different books or not.  
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From Josephus we know that they existed in his time; and from his account of the manner in which they were preserved we are assured they were not in danger of being corrupted. They existed also when the Septuagint translation was made. Frequent references are made to them in the writings of the later prophets; sometimes the same facts are related in detail. In short, there is such a coincidence between the historical books and the writings of those prophets who were contemporary, that it is impossible to suppose the latter true without receiving the former.

Indeed, to suppose that the Jews could have received and preserved with such care for so many hundred years false records, which it must have been in the power of every person to disprove, and which at the same time do so little credit to the character of their nation, is to suppose one of the greatest absurdities in the world; it is to suppose that a whole nation could act contrary to all those principles which have always predominated in the human mind, and which must always predominate till human nature undergo a total revolution.

The book which immediately follows the Pentateuch has been generally ascribed to Joshua the successor of Moses. It contains, however, some things which must have been inserted after the death of Joshua. It is necessary to remark, that there is some accidental derangement in the order of the chapters of this book, which was probably occasioned by the ancient mode of fixing together a number of rolls. If chronologically placed, they should be read thus, 1st chapter to the 10th verse, then the 2d chapter; then from the 10th verse to the end of the 1st chapter; afterwards should follow the vi. vii. viii. ix. x. and xi. chapters; then the xxii.; and lastly the xii. and xiii. chapters to the 24th verse of the latter.

The facts mentioned in this book are referred to by many of the sacred writers §. In the first book of Kings xvi. 34. the words of Joshua are said to be the words of God. See JOSHUA.

By whom the book of Judges was written is uncertain; but as it contains the history of the Jewish republic for 317 years, the materials must have been furnished by different persons. The book, however, seems to be the composition of one individual (G), who lived after the regal government was established \*, but before the accession of David; for it is said in the 21st verse of the 1st chapter, that the Jebusites were still in Jerusalem; who, we know, were dispossessed of that city early in the reign of David †. We have reason, therefore, to ascribe this book to Samuel.

The history of this book may be divided into two parts; the first contains an account of the judges from Othniel to Samson, ending at the 16th chap. The second part relates several remarkable transactions which occurred soon after the death of Joshua; but are added to the end of the book, that they might not interrupt the course of the history.

The book of Ruth is a kind of supplement to the book of Judges, and an introduction to the history of David,

(G) In support of this opinion, it may be observed that the author, chap. ii. 10, &c. lays before us the contents of the book.

Scripture. David, as it is related in the books of Samuel. Since the genealogy which it contains descends to David, it must have been written after the birth of that prince, but not at any considerable time after it; for the history of Boaz and Ruth, the great-grandfather and great-grandmother of David, could not be remembered above two or three generations. As the elder brothers of David and their sons are omitted, and none of his own children are mentioned in the genealogy, it is evident that the book was composed in honour of the Hebrew monarch, after he was anointed king by Samuel, and before any of his children were born; and consequently in the reign of Saul. The Jews ascribe it to Samuel; and indeed there is no person of that age to whom it may be attributed with more propriety. We are informed (1 Sam. x. 25.) that Samuel was a writer, and are assured that no person in the reign of Saul was so well acquainted with the splendid prospects of David as the prophet Samuel.

25  
The two  
books of  
Samuel.

The Greeks denominate the books of Samuel, which follow next in order, *The Books of Kingdoms*; and the Latins, *The Books of Kings I. and II.* Anciently there were but two books of Kings; the first was the two books of Samuel, and the second was what we now call the two books of Kings. According to the present division, these two books are four, viz. the first and second books of *Samuel*, and the first and second books of *Kings*.

Concerning the author of the two books of Samuel there are different opinions. Some think that Samuel wrote only twenty or twenty-four chapters of the first book, and that the history was continued by Nathan and Gad. This opinion they ground on the following passage in *Chronicles* †, “Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the *seer*, and in the book of Nathan the *prophet*, and Gad the *seer*.” Others think they were compiled by Ezra from ancient records; but it is evident that the books of Samuel were written before the books of Kings and Chronicles; for on comparison it will be found, that in the last mentioned books many circumstances are taken from the former. The first book carries down the history of the Israelites from the birth of Samuel to the fatal battle of Gilboa, comprehending a period of about 80 years. The second relates the history of David from his succession to the throne of Israel till within a year or two of his death, containing 40 years. There are two beautiful passages in these books which every man of sentiment and taste must feel and admire, the lamentation or elegy on Saul and Jonathan, and the parable of Nathan. The impartiality of the historian is fully attested by the candour and freedom with which the actions of Saul and David are related. There are some remarks interspersed which were probably added by Ezra.

† 1 Chron.  
xix. 29.

26  
Of Kings.

When the two books of Kings were written, or by whom they were compiled, is uncertain. Some have supposed that *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hesekiah*, wrote the history of their own times. Others have been of opinion that the prophets, viz. *Isaiak*, *Jeremiah*, *Gad*, and *Nathan*, each of them wrote the history of the reign in which he lived. But it is generally believed that *Ezra* wrote those two books, and published them in the form in which we have them at present. There can be no doubt that the prophets drew up the lives of the kings

who reigned in their times; for the names and writings of those prophets are frequently mentioned, and cited. Still, however, it is evident that the two books of Kings are but an abridgement of a larger work, the substance of which is contained in the books before us. In support of the opinion that Ezra is the author of these books, it is said, That in the time of the penman, the ten tribes were captives in Assyria, whither they had been carried as a punishment for their sins: That in the second of these books the author makes some reflections on the calamities of Israel and Judah, which demonstrate that he lived after that event. But to this it is objected, That the author of these books expresses himself throughout as a cotemporary, and as one would have done who had been an eye and ear witness of what he related. To this objection it is answered, That Ezra compiled these books from the prophetic writings which he had in his possession; that he copied them exactly, narrating the facts in order as they happened, and interspersed in his history some reflections and remarks arising from the subjects which he handled.

The first book comprises a period of 126 years, from the death of David to that of Jehothaphat. The second book records the transactions of many kings of Judah and Israel for about 300 years, from the death of Jehothaphat to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, A. M. 3416, A. C. 588.

The Hebrews style the two books of Chronicles *De-Ori Chro-*  
*beri Imin* ‡, i. e. *Words of days*, journals or diaries, in allusion to those ancient journals which appear to have been kept among the Jews. The Greeks call them *Paralipomena* \*, which signifies *things omitted*; as if these two books were a kind of supplement to inform us what had been omitted or too much abridged in the books of *Kings*. The two books of Chronicles contain indeed several particulars which are not to be met with in the other books of scripture: but it is not therefore to be supposed that they are the records of the kings of Judah and Israel, so often referred to in the books of Kings. Those ancient registers were apparently much more copious than the books before us; and the compiler of the books of Chronicles often refers to, and makes long extracts from, them.

Some suppose that the author of these two books was the same with that of the two books of Kings. The Jews say that they were written by *Ezra*, after the return from the captivity, assisted by *Zechariah* and *Haggai*, who were then alive. But events are mentioned in them of so late a date as to show that he could not have written them in their present form; and there is another objection to his being their author, which is little less forcible: between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* there are numerous variations both in dates and facts, which could not have happened if *Ezra* had been the author of them, or indeed if they had been the work of any one person.

The books of Chronicles are not to be regarded merely as an abridgement of former histories with some useful additions, but as books written with a particular view; which seems to have been to furnish a genealogical register of the twelve tribes, deduced from the earliest times, in order to point out those distinctions which were necessary to discriminate the mixed multitude which returned from Babylon; to ascertain the lineage of Judah;

dah;

Scripture.  
28  
The book  
of Ezra.

dah; and to re-establish on their ancient footing the pretensions and functions of each individual tribe.

The book of Ezra, and also that of Nehemiah, are attributed by the ancients to the former of these prophets; and they called them the 1st and 2d books of *Esdra*; which title is still kept up by the Latin church. It is indeed highly probable that the former of these books, which comprises the history of the Jews from the time that Cyrus made the decree for their return until the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (which was about 100 years, or as others think 79 years), was all composed by Ezra, except the first six chapters, which contain an account of the first return of the Jews on the decree of Cyrus; whereas Ezra did not return till the time of Artaxerxes. It is of this second return therefore that he writes the account; and adding it to the other, which he found composed to his hand, he made it a complete history of the Jewish restoration.

This book is written in Chaldee from chap. iv. 8. to chap. vii. 27. As this part of the works chiefly contains letters, conversations, and decrees expressed in that language, the fidelity of the historian has probably induced him to take down the very words which were used. The people, too, had been accustomed to the Chaldee during the captivity, and probably understood it better than Hebrew; for it appears from Nehemiah's account, chap. viii. 2, 8, that all could not understand the law.

29  
Of Nehemiah.

The book of Nehemiah, as has been already observed, bears, in the Latin bibles, the title of the *second book of Esdras*; the ancient canons likewise give it the same name, because, perhaps, it was considered as a sequel to the book of Ezra. In the Hebrew bibles it has the name of *Nehemiah* prefixed to it; which name is retained in the English bible. But though that chief is by the writer of the second book of Maccabees affirmed to have been the author of it, there cannot, we think, be a doubt, either that it was written at a later period, or had additions made to it after Nehemiah's death.

With the book of Nehemiah the history of the Old Testament concludes. This is supposed to have taken place about A. M. 3574, A. C. 434. But Prideaux

with more probability has fixed it at A. M. 3595. See <sup>Scripture,</sup> NEHEMIAH.

It is uncertain who was the author of the book of *Ezra*. *Clement* of Alexandria, and many commentators, have ascribed it to Mordecai; and the book itself seems to favour this opinion; for we are told in chap. ix. 20. that "Mordecai wrote these things." Others have supposed that Ezra was the author; but the more probable opinion of the Talmudists is, that the great Synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE), to perpetuate the memory of the deliverance of the Jews from the conspiracy of Haman, and to account for the origin of the feast of Purim, ordered this book to be composed, very likely of materials left by Mordecai, and afterwards approved and admitted it into the sacred canon. The time when the events which it relates happened, is supposed by some to have been in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and by others in that of Darius the son of Hystaspes, called by the sacred penman *Ahasuerus*.

Concerning the author of the book of Job there are <sup>31</sup> many different opinions. Some have supposed that Job himself wrote it in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, and that it was afterwards translated by Moses. Others have thought that *Elihu* wrote it; and by others it is ascribed to Moses, to Solomon, to Isaiah, and to Ezra. To give even an abridgement of the arguments brought in support of these various opinions would fill a volume, and at last leave the reader in his present uncertainty. He who has leisure and inclination to weigh them may study the second section of the sixth book of Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, together with the several works there referred to; but the question at issue is of very little importance to us. The book of Job, by whomsoever it was written, and whether it be a real history, or a dramatical poem founded on history, has been always esteemed a portion of canonical scripture, and is one of the most sublime compositions in the sacred volume.

The book of Job appears to stand single and unparalleled in the sacred volume. It seems to have little connection with the other writings of the Hebrews, and no relation whatever to the affairs of the Israelites. The scene is laid in Idumæa (H); the history of an inhabitant

3 G 2

(H) "The information which the learned have endeavoured to collect from the writings and geography of the Greeks concerning the country and residence of Job and his friends, appears to me (says Dr Lowth) so very inconclusive, that I am inclined to take a quite different method for the solution of this question, by applying solely to the Sacred Writings: the hints with which they have furnished me towards the illustration of this subject, I shall explain as briefly as possible.

"The land of *Uz*, or *Gnuz*, is evidently *Idumæa*, as appears from Lam. iv. 21. *Uz* was the grandson of Seir the Horite, Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21, 28. 1 Chron. i. 38, 42. Seir inhabited that mountainous tract which was called by his name antecedent to the time of Abraham; but his posterity being expelled, it was occupied by the Idumæans: Gen. xiv. 6. Deut. ii. 12. Two other men are mentioned of the name *Uz*; one the grandson of Shem, the other the son of Nachor, the brother of Abraham; but whether any district was called after their name is not clear. *Idumæa* is a part of Arabia Petræa, situated on the southern extremity of the tribe of Judah: Numb. xxxiv. 3. Josh. xv. 1, 21. The land of Uz therefore appears to have been between Egypt and Philistia, Jer. xxv. 20. where the order of the places seems to have been accurately observed in reviewing the different nations from Egypt to Babylon; and the same people seem again to be described in exactly the same situations, Jer. xlv. 1.

"*Children of the East*, or *Eastern people*, seems to have been the general appellation for that mingled race of people (as they are called, Jer. xxv. 20.) who inhabited between Egypt and the Euphrates, bordering upon Judea from the south to the east; the Idumæans, the Amalekites, the Midianites, the Moabites, the Ammonites. See Judges vi. 3. and Isa. xi. 14. Of these the Idumæans and Amalekites certainly possessed the southern parts. See Numb. xxxiv. 3. xiii. 29. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 10. This appears to be the true state of the case: The whole region between

Scripture. habitant of that country is the basis of the narrative; the characters who speak are Idumæans, or at least Arabians of the adjacent country, all originally of the race of Abraham. The language is pure Hebrew, although the author appears to be an Idumæan; for it is not improbable that all the posterity of Abraham, Israelites, Idumæans, and Arabians, whether of the family of Keturah or Ishmael, spoke for a considerable length of time one common language. That the Idumæans, however, and the Temanites in particular, were eminent for the reputation of wisdom, appears by the testimony of the prophets Jeremiah and Obadiah †: Baruch also particularly mentions them among "the authors (or ex-

† Jer. xlix.  
7-Ob. 8.

Scripture. pounders) of fables, and searchers out of understanding †."

The principal personage in this poem is Job; and in his character is meant to be exhibited (as far as is consistent with human infirmity) an example of perfect virtue. This is intimated in the argument or introduction, but is still more eminently displayed by his own actions and sentiments. He is holy, devout, and most piously and reverently impressed with the sacred awe of his divine Creator; he is also upright, and conscious of his own integrity; he is patient of evil, and yet very remote from that insensibility or rather stupidity to which the Stoic school pretended. Oppressed therefore

† Baruch  
iii. 22, 23.  
32  
The cha-  
racter of  
Job.

tween Egypt and Euphrates was called the East, at first in respect to Egypt (where the learned Jos. Mede thinks the Israelites acquired this mode of speaking. Mede's *Works*, p. 580.), and afterwards absolutely and without any relation to situation or circumstances. Abraham is said to have sent the sons of his concubines, Hagar and Keturah, "eastward, to the country which is commonly called the East," Gen. xxv. 6. where the name of the region seems to have been derived from the same situation. Solomon is reported "to have excelled in wisdom all the Eastern people, and all Egypt," 1 Kings iv. 30.; that is, all the neighbouring people on that quarter: for there were people beyond the boundaries of Egypt, and bordering on the south of Judea, who were famous for wisdom, namely, the Idumæans (see Jer. xlix. 7. Ob. 8.), to whom we may well believe this passage might have some relation. Thus Jehovah addresses the Babylonians; "Arise, ascend unto Kedar, and lay waste the children of the East," (Jer. xlix. 28). notwithstanding these were really situated to the west of Babylon. Although Job, therefore, be accounted one of the orientals, it by no means follows that his residence must be in Arabia Deserta.

"*Eliphaz the Temanite* was the son of Esau, and Teman the son of Eliphaz, (Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11.). The Eliphaz of Job was without a doubt of this race. Teman is certainly a city of Idumæa, (Jer. xlix. 7, 20. Ezek. xxv. 13. Amos i. 11, 12. Ob. 8, 9.).

"*Bildad the Shuhite*: *Shuah* was one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, whose posterity were numbered among the people of the East, and his situation was probably contiguous to that of his brother Midian, and of his nephews Shebah and Dedan, (see Gen. xxv. 2, and 3.). Dedan is a city of Idumæa (Jer. xlix. 8.), and seems to have been situated on the eastern side, as Teman was on the west, (Ezek. xxv. 13.). From Sheba originated the Sabæans in the passage from Arabia Felix to the Red Sea: Sheba is united to Midian (Isa. lx. 6.); it is in the same region however with Midian, and not far from Mount Horeb, (Exod. ii. 15. iii. 1.).

"*Zophar the Naamathite*: among the cities which by lot fell to the tribe of Judah, in the neighbourhood of Idumæa, Naama is enumerated, (Josh. xv. 21, 41.). Nor does this name elsewhere occur; this probably was the country of Zophar.

"*Elilu the Buzite*: Buz occurs but once as the name of a place or country (Jer. xxv. 23.), where it is mentioned along with Dedan and Thema: Dedan, as was just now demonstrated, is a city of Idumæa; Thema belonged to the children of Ishmael, who are said to have inhabited from Havilah, even to Shur, which is in the district of Egypt, (Gen. xxv. 15. 18.). Saul, however, is said to have smitten the Amalekites from Havilah even to Shur, which is in the district of Egypt, (1 Sam. xv. 7.). Havilah cannot, therefore, be very far from the boundaries of the Amalekites; but the Amalekites never exceeded the boundaries of Arabia Petraea. (See *Reland Palæstin. lib. i. c. 14.*) Thema, therefore, lay somewhere between Havilah and the desert of Shur, to the southward of Judea. Thema is also mentioned in connection with Sheba, (Job vi. 19.).

"Upon a fair review of these facts, I think we may venture to conclude, still with that modesty which such a question demands, that Job was an inhabitant of Arabia Petraea, as well as his friends, or at least of that neighbourhood. To this solution one objection may be raised: it may be asked, How the Chaldeans, who lived on the borders of the Euphrates, could make depredations on the camels of Job, who lived in Idumæa at so great a distance? This too is thought a sufficient cause for assigning Job a situation in Arabia Deserta, and not far from the Euphrates. But what should prevent the Chaldeans, as well as the Sabæans, a people addicted to rapine, and roving about at immense distances for the sake of plunder, from wandering through these defenceless regions, which were divided into tribes and families rather than into nations, and pervading from Euphrates even to Egypt? Further, I would ask on the other hand, whether it be probable that all the friends of Job who lived in Idumæa and its neighbourhood, should instantly be informed of all that could happen to Job in the desert of Arabia and on the confines of Chaldea, and immediately repair thither? Or whether it be reasonable to think, that, some of them being inhabitants of Arabia Deserta, it should be concerted among them to meet at the residence of Job; since it is evident, that Eliphaz lived at Thema, in the extreme parts of Idumæa? With respect to the *Astias* of Ptolemy (for so it is written, and not *Austias*) it has no agreement, not so much as in a single letter, with the Hebrew *Gnutz*. The LXX indeed call that country by the name *Austida*, but they describe it as situated in Idumæa; and they account Job himself an Idumæan, and a descendant of Esau." See the Appendix of the LXX to the book of Job, and *Hyde Not. in Perizool. chap. xi. Lowth on Hebrew Poetry.*

Scripture. therefore with unparalleled misfortunes, he laments his misery, and even wishes a release by death; in other words, he obeys and gives place to the dictates of nature. Irritated, however, by the unjust insinuations and the severe reproaches of his pretended friends, he is more vehemently exasperated, and a too great confidence in his own righteousness leads him to expostulate with God in terms scarcely consistent with piety and strict decorum.

\* Job. vi.  
26.

It must be observed, that the first speech of Job, though it bursts forth with all the vehemence of passion, consists wholly of complaint, "the words and sentiments of a despairing person, empty as the wind \*;" which is indeed the apology that he immediately makes for his conduct; intimating, that he is far from pre-suming to plead with God, far from daring to call in question the divine decrees, or even to mention his own innocence in the presence of his all-just Creator: nor is there any good reason for the censure which has been passed by some commentators on this passage. The poet seems, with great judgement and ingenuity, to have performed in this what the nature of his work required. He has depicted the affliction and anguish of Job, as flowing from his wounded heart in a manner so agreeable to human nature (and certainly so far venial), that it may be truly said, "in all this Job sinned not with his lips." It is, nevertheless, embellished by such affecting imagery, and inspired with such a warmth and force of sentiment, that we find it afforded ample scope for calumny; nor did the unkind witnesses of his sufferings permit so fair an opportunity to escape. The occasion is eagerly embraced by Eliphaz to rebuke the impatience of Job; and, not satisfied with this, he proceeds to accuse him in direct terms of wanting fortitude, and obliquely to insinuate something of a deeper dye. Though deeply hurt with the coarse reproaches of Eliphaz, still, however, when Job afterwards complains of the severity of God, he cautiously refrains from violent expostulations with his Creator, and, contented with the simple expression of affliction, he humbly confesses himself a sinner †. Hence it is evident, that those vehement and perverse attestations of his innocence, those murmurs against the divine Providence, which his tottering virtue afterwards permits, are to be considered merely as the consequences of momentary passion, and not as the ordinary effects of his settled character or manners. They prove him at the very worst not an irreligious man, but a man possessed of integrity, and too confident of it; a man oppressed with almost every imaginable evil, both corporal and mental, and hurried beyond the limits of virtue by the strong influence of pain and affliction. When, on the contrary, his importunate visitors abandon by silence the cause which they had so wantonly and so maliciously maintained, and cease unjustly to load him with unmerited criminations; though he defends his argument with scarcely less obstinacy, yet the vehemence of his grief appears gradually to subside, he returns to himself, and explains his sentiments with more candour and sedateness: and however we may blame him for assuming rather too much arrogance in his appeals to the Almighty, certainly his defence against the accusations of Eliphaz is no more than the occasion will strictly justify. Observe, in the first place, how admirably the confidence and perseverance

† See chap.  
vii. 20.

of Job is displayed in replying to the slander of his false friends:

As God liveth, who hath removed my judgement;  
Nay, as the Almighty liveth, who hath embittered my  
soul;  
Verily as long as I have life in me,  
And the breath of God is in my nostrils;  
My lips shall not speak perversity,  
Neither shall my tongue whisper prevarication.  
God forbid that I should declare you righteous!  
Till I expire I will not remove my integrity from me.  
I have fortified myself in my righteousness,  
And I will not give up my station:  
My heart shall not upbraid me as long as I live.  
May mine enemy be as the impious man,  
And he that riseth up against me as the wicked\*.

Scripture.  
33  
His confi-  
dence and  
perseve-  
rance.

\* Chap.  
xxvii. 2—7.

But how magnificent, how noble, how inviting and beautiful is that image of virtue in which he delineates his past life! What dignity and authority does he seem to possess!

If I came out to the gate, nigh the place of public re-  
fort,  
If I took up my seat in the street;  
The young men saw me, and they hid themselves;  
Nay, the very old men rose up and stood.  
The princes refrained talking,  
Nay, they laid their hands on their mouths.  
The nobles held their peace,  
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth †.

What liberality! what a promptitude in beneficence!

Because the ear heard, therefore it blessed me;  
The eye also saw, therefore it bare testimony for me.  
That I delivered the poor who cried,  
The orphan also, and him who had no helper.  
The blessing of him who was ready to perish came upon  
me,

And I caused the heart of the widow to sing for joy ‡.

What sanctity, what integrity in a judicial capacity! §.

I put on righteousness, and it clothed me like a robe;  
My justice also was a diadem.  
I was a father to the poor,  
And the controversy which I knew not, I searched it  
out.  
Then brake I the grinders of the oppressor,  
And I plucked the prey out of his teeth §.

§ Chap.  
xxix. 14,  
16, 17.

But what can be more engaging than the purity of his devotion, and his reverence for the Supreme Being, founded on the best and most philosophical principles? Besides that through the whole there runs a strain of the most amiable tenderness and humanity:

For what is the portion which God distributeth from  
above,  
And the inheritance of the Almighty from on high?  
Is it not destruction to the wicked,  
And banishment from their country to the doers of ini-  
quity?  
Doth he not see my ways?  
And numbereth he not all my steps?  
If I should despise the cause of my servant,

Or,

Scripture. Or my maid, when they had a controversy with me,  
 What then should I do when God ariseth,  
 And when he visiteth, what answer could I make him ?  
 † Chap. xxxi. 2—4.  
 13—15.  
 Did not he who formed me in the belly form him,  
 And did not one fashion us in the womb † ?

34  
 Characters of his three friends.  
 The three friends are exactly such characters as the nature of the poem required. They are severe; irritable, malignant censors, readily and with apparent satisfaction deviating from the purpose of consolation into reproof and contumely. Even from the very first they manifest this evil propensity, and indicate what is to be expected from them. The first of them, indeed, in the opening of his harangue, assumes an air of candour :

Wouldst thou take it unkindly that one should essay to speak to thee † ?

† Chap. iv. 2.

Indignation is, however, instantly predominant :

But a few words who can forbear ?

The second flames forth at once :

How long wilt thou trifle in this manner ?

How long shall the words of thy mouth be as a mighty wind † ?

† Chap. viii. 2.

But remark the third :

Shall not the master of words be answered ?

Or shall a man be acquitted for his fine speeches ?

Shall thy prevarications make men silent ?

Shall thou even scoff, and there be no one to make thee ashamed \* ?

\* Chap. xi. 2, 3.

35  
 Of Elihu.

The lenity and moderation of Elihu serves as a beautiful contrast to the intemperance and asperity of the other three. He is pious, mild, and equitable; equally free from adulation and severity; and endued with singular wisdom, which he attributes entirely to the inspiration of God: and his modesty, moderation, and wisdom, are the more entitled to commendation when we consider his unripe youth. As the characters of his detractors were in all respects calculated to inflame the mind of Job, that of this arbitrator is admirably adapted to soothe and compose it: to this point the whole drift of the argument tends, and on this the very purport of it seems to depend.

Another circumstance deserving particular attention in a poem of this kind, is the sentiment; which must be agreeable to the subject, and embellished with proper expression. It is by Aristotle enumerated among the essentials of a dramatic poem; not indeed as peculiar to that species of poetry alone, but as common, and of the greatest importance, to all. Manners or character are essential only to that poetry in which living persons are introduced; and all such poems must afford an exact representation of human manners: but sentiment is essential to every poem, indeed to every composition whatever. It respects both persons and things. As far as it regards persons, it is particularly concerned in the delineation of the manners and passions: and those instances to which we have just been adverting are sentiments expressive of manners. Those which relate to the delineation of the passions, and to the description of other subjects, yet remain unnoticed.

The poem of Job abounds chiefly in the more vehement passions, grief and anger, indignation and violent

contention. It is adapted in every respect to the incitement of terror; and, as the specimens already quoted will sufficiently prove, is universally animated with the true spirit of sublimity. It is, however, not wanting in the gentler passions. The following complaints, for instance, are replete with an affecting spirit of melancholy:

Man, the offspring of a woman,  
 Is of few days, and full of inquietude;  
 He springeth up, and is cut off like a flower;  
 He fleeth like a shadow, and doth not abide:  
 On such a creature dost thou open thine eyes?  
 And wilt thou bring me even into judgement with thee?  
 Turn thy look from him, that he may have some respite,

Till he shall, like a hireling, have completed his day †.

† Chap. xiv. 1, 2, 3, 6.

The whole passage abounds with the most beautiful imagery, and is a most perfect specimen of the Elegiac. His grief afterwards becomes more fervent; but is at the same time soft and querimonious.

How long will ye vex my soul,  
 And tire me with vain harangues?  
 These ten times have ye loaded me with reproaches,  
 Are ye not ashamed that ye are so obstinate against me?  
 Pity me, O pity me, ye are my friends,  
 For the hand of God hath smitten me.  
 Why will ye be my persecutors as well as God,  
 And therefore will ye not be satisfied with my flesh † ?

† Chap. xiv. 2, 3, 21, 22.

The ardour and alacrity of the war-horse, and his eagerness for battle, are painted with a masterly hand:

For eagerness and fury he devoureth the very ground;  
 He believeth it not when he heareth the trumpet.  
 When the trumpet soundeth, he saith, ahah!  
 Yea he scenteth the battle from afar,  
 The thunder of the chieftains and their shouts\*.

\* Chap. xxxix. 24, 25.

The following sublime description of the creation is admirable:

Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?  
 If thou knowest, declare.  
 Say, who fixed the proportions of it, for surely thou knowest?

Or who stretched out the line upon it?  
 On what were its foundations fixed?  
 Or who laid the corner-stone thereof?  
 When the morning-stars sang together,  
 And all the sons of God shouted for joy;  
 When the sea was shut up with doors;  
 When it burst forth as an infant that cometh out of the womb;

When I placed the cloud for its robe,  
 And thick darkness for its swadling-band;  
 When I fixed my boundary against it,  
 When I placed a bar and gates;  
 When I said, Thus far shalt thou come, and not advance,

And here shall a stop be put to the pride of thy waves †.

† Job xxxviii. 4—11.

Let it suffice to say, that the dignity of the style is answerable to that of the subject; its force and energy, to the greatness of those passions which it describes; and as this production excels all the other remains of the

Scripture. the Hebrew poetry in economy and arrangement, so it yields to none in sublimity of style and in every grace and excellence of composition. Among the principal of these may be reckoned the accurate and perfectly poetical conformation of the sentences, which is indeed generally most observable in the most ancient of the poetical compositions of the Hebrews. Here, however, as is natural and proper in a poem of so great length and sublimity, the writer's skill is displayed in the proper adjustment of the period, and in the accurate distribution of the members, rather than in the antithesis of words, or in any laboured adaptation of the parallelisms.

38  
The book  
of Psalms.  
\* חהלים  
ספר.

The word *Psalms* is a Greek term, and signifies *Songs*. The Hebrews call it *Sepher Tehillim*\*, that is, "the Book of Praises;" and in the Gospel it is styled the Book of Psalms. Great veneration has always been paid to this collection of divine songs. The Christian church has from the beginning made them a principal part of her holy services; and in the primitive times it was almost a general rule that every bishop, priest, and religious person, should have the psalter by heart.

Many learned fathers, and not a few of the moderns, have maintained that *David* was the author of them all. Several are of a different opinion, and insist that *David* wrote only 72 of them; and that those without titles are to be ascribed to the authors of the preceding psalms, whose names are affixed to them. Those who suppose that *David* alone was the author, contend, that in the New Testament, and in the language of the church universal, they are expressly called the *Psalms of David*. That *David* was the principal author of these hymns is universally acknowledged, and therefore the whole collection may properly enough go under his name; but that he wrote them all, is a palpable mistake. Nothing certain can be gathered from the titles of the psalms; for although unquestionably very ancient, yet authors are not agreed as to their authority, and they differ as much about their signification. The Hebrew doctors generally agree that the 92d psalm was composed by *Adam*; an opinion which for many reasons we are not inclined to adopt. There seems, however, to be no doubt that some of them were written by *Moses*; that *Solomon* was the author of the 49th; and that others were occasioned by events long posterior to the flourishing era of the kingdom of *Judah*. The 137th particularly is one of those which mentions the captivity of *Babylon*.

39  
Written by  
different  
authors.

The following arrangement of the Psalms, after a careful and judicious examination, has been adopted by *Calmet*.

1. Eight Psalms of which the date is uncertain, viz. 1, 4, 19, 81, 91, 110, 139, 145. The first of these was composed by *David* or *Ezra*, and was sung in the temple at the feast of trumpets held in the beginning of the year and at the feast of tabernacles. The 81st is attributed to *Asaph*, and the 110th to *David*. The authors of the rest are unknown.

2. The Psalms composed by *David* during the persecution of *Saul*. These are seventeen, 11, 31, 34,

56, 16, 54, 52, 109, 17, 22, 35, 57, 58, 142, 140, 141, 7. Scripture.

3. The Psalms composed by *David* at the beginning of his reign, and after the death of *Saul*. These are sixteen, 2, 9, 24, 63, 101, 29, 20, 21, 28, 39, 40, 41, 6, 51, 32, 33.

4. The Psalms written by *David* during the rebellion of *Abalom* are eight in number; 3, 4, 55, 62, 70, 71, 143, 144.

5. The Psalms written between the death of *Abalom* and the captivity, which are ten, 18, 30, 72, 45, 78, 82, 83, 76, 74, 79: of these *David* wrote only three; 18, 30, and 72.

6. The Psalms composed during the captivity, which amount to forty. These were chiefly composed by the descendants of *Asaph* and *Korah*: they are 10, 12, 13, 14, 53, 15, 25, 26, 27, 28, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 49, 50, 60, 64, 69, 73, 75, 77, 80, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 120, 121, 123, 130, 131, 132.

Lastly, Those hymns of joy and thanksgiving, written on the release from the *Babylonish* captivity, and at the building and dedication of the temple. These are, 122, 61, 63, 124, 23, 87, 85, 46, 47, 48, from 96 to 117 inclusive, 126, 133 to 137 inclusive, 149, 150, 146, 147, 148, 59, 65, 66, 67, 118, 125, 127, 128, 129, 138.—According to this distribution, only 45 are positively assigned to *David*.

*Josephus*, and most of the ancient writers, assert, that the Psalms were composed in numbers: little, however, respecting the nature and principles of the Hebrew verification is known.

There existed a certain kind of poetry among the Hebrews, principally intended, it would appear, for the assistance of the memory; in which, when there was little connection between the sentiments, a sort of order or method was preserved, by the initial letters of each line or stanza following the order of the alphabet. Of this there are several examples extant among the sacred poems (1); and in these examples the verses are so exactly marked and defined, that it is impossible to mistake them for prose; and particularly if we attentively consider the verses, and compare them with one another, since they are in general so regularly accommodated, that word answers to word, and almost syllable to syllable. This being the case, though an appeal can scarcely be made to the ear on this occasion, the eye itself will distinguish the poetic division and arrangement, and also that some labour and accuracy has been employed in adapting the words to the measure.

The Hebrew poetry has likewise another property altogether peculiar to metrical composition. It admits foreign words and certain particles, which seldom occur in prose composition, and thus forms a distinct poetical dialect. One or two of the peculiarities also of the Hebrew verification it may be proper to remark, which as they are very observable in those poems in which the verses are defined by the initial letters, may at least be reasonably conjectured of the rest. The first of these is, that the verses are very unequal in length; the shortest consisting of six or seven syllables; the longest extending

(1) Psalms xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. cxlv. Prov. xxxi. from the 10th verse to the end. The whole of the Lamentations of *Jeremiah* except the last chapter.

Scripture. tending to about twice that number : the same poem is, however, generally continued throughout in verses not very unequal to each other. It must also be observed, that the close of the verse generally falls where the members of the sentences are divided.

But although nothing certain can be defined concerning the metre of the particular verses, there is yet another artifice of poetry to be remarked of them when in a collective state, when several of them are taken together. In the Hebrew poetry, as is formerly remarked, there may be observed a certain conformation of the sentences ; the nature of which is, that a complete sense is almost equally infused into every component part, and that every member constitutes an entire verse. So that as the poems divide themselves in a manner spontaneously into periods, for the most part equal ; so the periods themselves are divided into verses, most commonly couplets, though frequently of greater length. This is chiefly observable in those passages which frequently occur in the Hebrew poetry, in which they treat one subject in many different ways, and dwell on the same sentiment ; when they express the same thing in different words, or different things in a similar form of words ; when equals refer to equals, and opposites to opposites : and since this artifice of composition seldom fails to produce even in prose an agreeable and measured cadence—we can scarcely doubt that it must have imparted to their poetry, were we masters of the versification, an exquisite degree of beauty and grace.

<sup>41</sup>  
Peculiarities of it.

The elegant and ingenious Dr Lowth has with great acuteness examined the peculiarities of Hebrew poetry, and has arranged them under general divisions. The correspondence of one verse or line with another he calls *parallelism*. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, equivalent or contrasted with it in sense, or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction, these he calls *parallel lines* ; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, *parallel terms*. Parallel lines he reduces to three sorts ; parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic. Of each of these we shall present a few examples.

First, of parallel lines synonymous, which correspond one to another by expressing the same sense in different but equivalent terms.

O-Jehovah, in-thy-strength the-king shall-rejoice ;  
And-in-thy-salvation how-greatly shall-he-exult !  
The-desire-of-his-heart thou-hast-granted unto-him ;  
And-the-request-of-his-lips thou-hast-not denied.

Pf. xxi. 1. 2.

Because I-called, and-ye-refused ;  
I-stretched-out my-hand, and-no-one regarded :  
But-ye-have-defeated all my-counsel ;  
And-would-not incline to-my-reproof :  
I also will-laugh at-your-calamity ;  
I-will-mock, when-what-you-feared cometh ;  
When-what-you-feared cometh like-a-devastation ;  
And-your-calamity advanceth like-a-tempest ;  
When distresses and-anguish come upon-you :  
Then shall-they-call-upon-me, but-I-will-not answer ;

Scripture. They-shall-seek-me-early, but-they-shall-not find-me :  
Because they-hated knowledge ;  
And-did-not choose the-fear-of-Jehovah ;  
Did-not incline to-my-counsel ;  
Contemptuously-rejected all my-reproof ;  
Therefore-shall-they-eat-of-the-fruit-of-their-ways ;  
And-shall-be-fatiated-with-their-own-devices.  
For the-defection-of-the-simple shall-slay-them ;  
And-the-security-of-fools shall-destroy them.

Prov. i. 24—32.

Seek-ye Jehovah, while-he-may-be-found ;  
Call-ye-upon-him, while-he-is near ;  
Let-the-wicked for-fake his-way ;  
And-the-unrighteous man his-thoughts :  
And-let-him-return to Jehovah, and-he-will compassion-ate-him ;  
And unto our-God, for he-aboundeth in-forgiveness (κ).  
Isaiah lv. 6. 7.

These synonymous parallels sometimes consist of two, three, or more synonymous terms. Sometimes they are formed by a repetition of part of the first sentence : As,

What shall I do unto thee, O Ephraim !  
What shall I do unto thee, O Judah !  
For your goodness is as the morning cloud,  
And as the early dew it passeth away.

Hosea vi. 4.

The following is a beautiful instance of a parallel triplet, when three lines correspond and form a kind of stanza, of which two only are synonymous.

That day, let it become darkness ;  
Let not God from above inquire after it ;  
Nor let the flowing light radiate upon it.  
That night, let utter darkness seize it ;  
Let it not be united with the days of the year ;  
Let it not come into the number of the months.  
Let the stars of its twilight be darkened ;  
Let it look for light, and may there be none ;  
And let it not behold the eyelids of the morning.

Job iii. 4, 6, 9.

The second sort of parallels are the antithetic, when two lines correspond with one another by an opposition of terms and sentiments ; when the second is contrasted with the first, sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only. Accordingly the degrees of antithesis are various : from an exact contraposition of word to word through the whole sentence, down to a general disparity, with something of a contrariety, in the two propositions. Thus in the following examples :

A wife son rejoiceth his father ;  
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.

Prov. x. 1.

Where every word hath its opposite ; for the terms *father* and *mother* are, as the logicians say, relatively opposite.

The memory of the just is a blessing ;  
But the name of the wicked shall rot.

Prov. x. 7.

Here

(κ) All the words bound together by hyphens answer to single words in Hebrew.



Scripture. Here there are only two antithetic terms: for *memory* and *name* are synonymous.

There is that scattereth, and still increaseth ;  
And that is unreasonably sparing, yet groweth poor.  
Prov. xi. 24.

Here there is a kind of double antithesis ; one between the two lines themselves ; and likewise a subordinate opposition between the two parts of each.

These in chariots, and those in horses ;  
But we in the name of Jehovah our God will be strong.  
They are bowed down, and fallen ;  
But we are risen, and maintain ourselves firm.  
Pf. xx. 7, 8.

For his wrath is but for a moment, his favour for life ;  
Sorrow may lodge for the evening, but in the morning  
gladness.  
Pf. xxx. 5.

Yet a little while, and the wicked shall be no more ;  
Thou shalt look at his place, and he shall not be found :  
But the meek shall inherit the land ;  
And delight themselves in abundant prosperity.  
Pf. xxxvii. 10, 11.

In the last example the opposition lies between the two parts of a stanza of four lines, the latter distich being opposed to the former. So likewise the following :

For the mountains shall be removed ;  
And the hills shall be overthrown :  
But my kindness from thee shall not be removed ;  
And the covenant of my peace shall not be overthrown.  
Isaiah liv. 10.

Isaiah by means of the antithetic parallelism, without departing from his usual dignity, adds greatly to the sweetness of his composition in the following instances :

In a little anger have I forsaken thee ;  
But with great mercies will I receive thee again :  
In a short wrath I hid my face for a moment from thee ;  
But with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.  
Isaiah liv. 7, 8.

Behold my servants shall eat, but ye shall be famished ;  
Behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty ;  
Behold my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be confounded ;  
Behold my servants shall sing aloud, for gladness of heart,  
But ye shall cry aloud for grief of heart ;  
And in the anguish of a broken spirit shall ye howl.  
Isaiah lxxv. 13, 14.

Frequently one line or member contains two sentiments :

The nations raged ; the kingdoms were moved ;  
He uttered a voice ; the earth was dissolved :  
Be still, and know that I am God :  
I will be exalted in the nations, I will be exalted in the earth.  
Pf. xlvi. 6, 10.

When thou passest through waters I am with thee ;  
And through rivers, they shall not overwhelm thee :  
When thou walkest in the fire thou shalt not be scorched ;  
And the flame shall not cleave to thee.  
Isaiah xliii. 2.

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The third sort of parallels is the synthetic or constructive : where the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction ; in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite ; but there is a correspondence and equality between different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts ; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative.

Lo ! he withholdeth the waters, and they are dried up :  
And he sendeth them forth, and they overturn the earth.  
With him is strength, and perfect existence ;  
The deceived, and the deceiver, are his.  
Job xii. 13—16.

Is such then the fast which I choose ?  
That a man should afflict his soul for a day ?  
Is it, that he should bow down his head like a bulrush,  
And spread sackcloth and ashes for his couch ?  
Shall this be called a fast,  
And a day acceptable to Jehovah ?  
Is not this the fast that I choose ?  
To dissolve the bands of wickedness ;  
To loosen the oppressive burdens ;  
To deliver those that are crushed by violence ;  
And that ye should break asunder every yoke ?  
Is it not to distribute thy bread to the hungry ?  
And to bring the wandering poor into thy house ?  
When thou seest the naked, that thou clothe him ;  
And that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh ?  
Then shall thy light break forth like the morning ;  
And thy wounds shall speedily be healed over :  
And thy righteousness shall go before thee ;  
And the glory of Jehovah shall bring up thy rear."  
Isaiah lviii. 5—8.

We shall produce another example of this species of parallelism from Pf. xix. 8—11. from Dr Lowth :

The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul ;  
The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple :  
The precepts of Jehovah are right, rejoicing the heart ;  
The commandment of Jehovah is clear, enlightening the eyes :  
The fear of Jehovah is pure, enduring for ever ;  
The judgements of Jehovah are truth, they are just altogether.  
More desirable than gold, or than much fine gold ;  
And sweeter than honey, or the dropping of honey-combs.

Synonymous parallels have the appearance of art and concinnity, and a studied elegance ; they chiefly prevail in shorter poems ; in many of the Psalms ; in Balaam's prophecies ; frequently in those of Isaiah, which are most of them distinct poems of no great length. The antithetic parallelism gives an acuteness and force to adages and moral sentences ; and therefore abounds in Solomon's Proverbs, and elsewhere is not often to be met with. The poem of Job, being on a large scale and in a high tragic style, though very exact in the division of the lines and in the parallelism, and affording many fine examples of the synonymous kind, consists chiefly

Scripture. chiefly of the constructive. A happy mixture of the several sorts gives an agreeable variety; and they mutually serve to recommend and set off one another.

The reader will perceive that we have derived every thing we have said relating to Hebrew poetry from the elegant Lectures of Dr Lowth, which are beautifully translated by Mr Gregory, a distinguished author as well as translator.

42  
The book  
of Pro-  
verbs.  
משלי \*

The book of Proverbs has always been accounted canonical. The Hebrew title of it is *Mishli*\*, which signifies "fimitudes." It has always been ascribed to Solomon, whose name it bears, though some have doubted whether he really was the author of every one of the maxims which it contains. Those in chap. xxx. are indeed called *the words of Agur* the son of *Jakeh*, and the title of the 31st or last chapter is *the words of King Lemuel*. It seems certain that the collection called the *Proverbs of Solomon* was digested in the order in which we now have it by different hands; but it is not, therefore, to be concluded that they are not the work of Solomon. Several persons might have made collections of them: Hezekiah, among others, as mentioned chapter xxv. Agur and Ezra might have done the same. From these several collections the work was compiled which we have now in our hands.

The book of Proverbs may be considered under five divisions. 1. The first, which is a kind of preface, extends to the 10th chapter. This contains general cautions and exhortations from a teacher to his pupil, expressed in elegant language, duly connected in its parts, illustrated with beautiful description, and well contrived to engage and interest the attention.

2. The second part extends from the beginning of chap. x. to chap. xxii. 17. and consists of what may strictly and properly be called proverbs, viz. unconnected sentences, expressed with much neatness and simplicity. They are truly, to use the language of their sage author, "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

3. In the third part, which is included between chapter xxii. 16. and chapter xxv. the tutor drops the sententious style, addresses his pupil as present, and delivers his advices in a connected manner.

4. The proverbs which are included between chapter xxv. and chapter xxx. are supposed to have been selected by *the men of Hezekiah* from some larger collection of Solomon, that is, by the prophets whom he employed to restore the service and writings of the church. Some of the proverbs which Solomon had introduced into the former part of the book are here repeated.

5. The prudent admonitions which Agur delivered to his pupils Ithiel and Ucal are contained in the 30th chapter, and in the 31st are recorded the precepts which the mother of Lemuel delivered to her son.

Several references are evidently made to the book of Proverbs by the writers of the New Testament\*.

\* Rom. xii.  
16, 20.  
1 Pet. iv.  
8. v. 5.  
James iv.  
6.

The Proverbs of Solomon afford specimens of the didactic poetry of the Hebrews. They abound with antithetic parallels; for this form is peculiarly adapted to that kind of writing, to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences. Indeed, the elegance, acuteness, and force of a great number of Solomon's wise sayings arise in a great measure from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment. Take the following examples:

The blows of a friend are faithful;  
But the kisses of an enemy are treacherous.  
The cloyed will trample on an honeycomb;  
But to the hungry every bitter thing is sweet.  
There is who maketh himself rich, and wanteth all things;  
Who maketh himself poor, yet hath much wealth.  
The rich man is wise in his own eyes,  
But the poor man that hath discernment to trace him out will despise him †.

Scripture.  
† Proverbs  
xxvii. 6, 7.  
xiii 7.  
xxviii. 11.

The Hebrew title of the book which we call Ecclesiastes is *Keleth*, that is, the *Gatherer* or *Collector*; and it is so called, either because the work itself is a *collection* of maxims, or because it was delivered to an assembly *gathered* together to hear them. The Greek term *Ecclesiastes* is of the same import, signifying one who *gathers* together a congregation, or who *discourses* or *preaches* to an assembly convened. That Solomon was the author of this book is beyond all doubt; the beautiful description of the phenomena in the natural world, and their causes; of the circulation of the blood, as some think †, and the economy of the human frame, shews it to be the work of a philosopher. At what period of his life it was written may be easily found out. The affecting account of the infirmities of old age which it contains, is a strong indication that the author knew by experience what they were; and his complete conviction of the vanity of all earthly enjoyments proves it to have been the work of a penitent. Some passages in it seem, indeed, to express an Epicurean notion of Providence. But it is to be observed, that the author, in an academic way, disputes on both sides of the question; and at last concludes properly, that to "fear God and keep his commandments is the whole duty of man; for God (says he) will bring every work to judgement, and every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

The general tenor and style of Ecclesiastes is very different from the book of Proverbs, though there are many detached sentiments and proverbs interspersed. For the whole work is uniform, and confined to one subject, namely, the vanity of the world exemplified by the experience of Solomon, who is introduced in the character of a person investigating a very difficult question, examining the arguments on either side, and at length disengaging himself from an anxious and doubtful disputation. It would be very difficult to distinguish the parts and arrangement of this production; the order of the subject, and the connection of the arguments, are involved in so much obscurity, that scarcely any two commentators have agreed concerning the plan of the work, and the accurate division of it into parts or sections. The truth is, the laws of methodical composition and arrangement were neither known by the Hebrews nor regarded in their didactic writings. They uniformly retained the old sententious manner, nor did they submit to method, even where the occasion appeared to demand it. The style of this work is, however, singular; the language is generally low; it is frequently loose, unconnected, approaching to the incorrectness of conversation; and possesses very little of the poetical character, even in the composition and structure of the periods: which peculiarity may possibly be accounted

43  
Ecclesiastes.  
† See *Horsley's Sermon before the Hamane Society.*

Scripture.

counted for from the nature of the subject. Contrary to the opinion of the Rabbies, Ecclesiastes has been classed among the poetical books; though, if their authority and opinions were of any weight or importance, they might perhaps on this occasion deserve some attention.

44  
Song of  
Solomon.

The Song of Solomon, in the opinion of Dr Lowth, is an *epithalamium* or nuptial dialogue, in which the principal characters are Solomon, his bride, and a chorus of virgins. Some are of opinion that it is to be taken altogether in a literal sense; but the generality of Jews and Christians have esteemed it wholly allegorical, expressing the union of Jesus Christ and the church. Dr Lowth has supported the common opinion, by showing that the sacred writers often apply metaphors to God and his people derived from the conjugal state. Our Saviour is styled a *bridegroom* by John the Baptist (John iii.), and is represented in the same character in the parable of the ten virgins. Michaelis, on the other hand, rejects the argument drawn from analogy as inconclusive, and the opinion of Jews and Christians as of no greater authority than the opinion of the moderns.

The second of those great divisions under which the Jews classed the books of the Old Testament was that of the Prophets, which formerly comprehended 16 books.

The Prophets were 16 in number: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. The first four are called the *greater* prophets; the other twelve are denominated the *minor* prophets.

45  
Writings of  
the prophets.

The writings of the Prophets are to Christians the most interesting part of the Old Testament; for they afford one of the most powerful arguments for the divine origin of the Christian religion. If we could only prove, therefore, that these prophecies were uttered a single century before the events took place to which they relate, their claim to inspiration would be unquestionable. But we can prove that the interval between their enunciation and accomplishment extended much farther, even to 500 and 1000 years, and in some cases much more.

46  
Their au-  
thenticity,

The books of the prophets are mentioned by Josephus, and therefore surely existed in his time; they are also quoted by our Saviour, under the general denomination of the *Prophets*. We are informed by Tacitus and Suetonius, that about 60 years before the birth of our Saviour there was an universal expectation in the east of a great personage who was to arise; and the source of this expectation is traced by the same writers to the sacred books of the Jews. They existed also in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, A. C. 166; for when that tyrant prohibited the reading of the law, the books of the Prophets were substituted in its place, and were continued as a part of the daily service after the interdiction against the law of Moses was taken off. We formerly remarked, that references are made by the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, A. C. 200, to the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and that he mentions the 12 Prophets. We can ascend still higher, and assert from the language of the Prophets, that all their writings must have been composed before the Babylonish captivity, or within a century after it; for all of them, ex-

cept Daniel and Ezra, are composed in Hebrew, and even in them long passages are found in that language: but it is a well-known fact, that all the books written by Jews about two centuries after that era are composed in the Syriac, Chaldaic, or Greek language. "Let any man (says Michaelis) compare what was written in Hebrew after the Babylonish exile, and, I apprehend, he will perceive no less evident marks of decay than in the Latin language." Even in the time of Ezra, the common people, from their long residence in Babylon, had forgotten the Hebrew, and it was necessary for the learned to interpret the law of Moses to them. We can therefore ascertain with very considerable precision the date of the prophetic writings; which indeed is the only important point to be determined: For whether we can discover the authors or not, if we can only establish their ancient date, we shall be fully entitled to draw this conclusion, that the predictions of the Prophets are inspired.

Much has been written to explain the nature of inspiration, and to show by what methods God imparted to the prophets that divine knowledge which they were commanded to publish to their countrymen. Attempts have been made to disclose the nature of dreams and visions, and to describe the ecstasy or rapture to which the prophets were supposed to be raised while they uttered their predictions. Not to mention the degrading and indecent comparison which this last circumstance suggests, we shall only inform those who expect here an explanation of the prophetic dreams and visions, that we *shall not attempt to be wise above what is written*. The manner in which the allwise and unseen God may think proper to operate upon the minds of his creatures, we might expect *à priori* to be mysterious and inexplicable. Indeed such an inquiry, though it were successful, would only gratify curiosity, without being in the least degree conducive to useful knowledge.

The business of philosophy is not to inquire how almighty power produced the frame of nature, and bestowed upon it that beauty and grandeur which is everywhere conspicuous, but to discover those marks of intelligence and design, and the various purposes to which the works of nature are subservient. Philosophy has of late been directed to theology and the study of the Scriptures with the happiest effects; but it is not permitted to enter within the veil which the Lord of Nature has thrown over his councils. Its province, which is sufficiently extensive, is to examine the language of the prophecies, and to discover their application.

The character of the prophetic style varies according to the genius, the education, and mode of living of the respective authors; and there are some peculiarities which run through the whole prophetic books. A plain unadorned style would not have suited those men who were to wrap the mysteries of futurity in a veil, which was not to be penetrated till the events themselves should be accomplished. For it was never the intention of prophecy to unfold futurity to our view, as many of the rash interpreters of prophecy fondly imagine; for this would be inconsistent with the free agency of man. It was therefore agreeable to the wisdom of God that prophecies should be couched in a language which would render them unintelligible till the period of their completion; yet such a language as is

Scripture.

47  
and inspi-  
ration.48  
Character  
of their  
style sym-  
bolical.

Scripture. distinct, regular, and would be easily explained when the events themselves should have taken place. This is precisely the character of the prophetic language. It is partly derived from the hieroglyphical symbols of Egypt, to which the Israelites during their servitude were familiarized, and partly from that analogy which subsists between natural objects and those which are moral and political.

40  
Borrowed  
from ana-  
logy,

The prophets borrowed their imagery from the most splendid and sublime natural objects, from the host of heaven, from seas and mountains, from storms and earthquakes, and from the most striking revolutions in nature. The *celestial bodies* they used as symbols to express thrones and dignities, and those who enjoyed them. *Earth* was the symbol for men of low estate. *Hades* represents the miserable. *Ascending to heaven*, and *descending to earth*, are phrases which express rising to power, or falling from it. *Great earthquakes*, the *shaking of heaven and earth*, denote the commotions and overthrow of kingdoms. The *sun* represents the whole race of kings shining with regal power and glory. The *moon* is the symbol of the common people. The *stars* are subordinate princes and great men. *Light* denotes glory, truth, or knowledge. *Darkness* expresses obscurity of condition, error, and ignorance. The *darkening of the sun*, the *turning of the moon into blood*, and the *falling of the stars*, signify the destruction or desolation of a kingdom. *New moons*, the returning of a nation from a dispersed state. *Conflagration of the earth*, is the symbol for destruction by war. The *ascent of smoke* from any thing burning for ever, denotes the continuance of a people under slavery. *Riding in the clouds*, signifies reigning over many subjects. *Tempestuous winds*, or *motion of the clouds*, denote wars. *Thunder* denotes the noise of multitudes. *Fountains of waters* express cities. *Mountains and islands*, cities with the territories belonging to them. *Houses and ships* stand for families, assemblies, and towns. A *forest* is put for a kingdom. A *wilderness* for a nation much diminished in its numbers.

50  
and from  
hierogly-  
phics.

Animals, as a *lion*, *bear*, *leopard*, *goat*, are put for kingdoms or political communities corresponding to their respective characters. When a man or beast is put for a kingdom, the head represents those who govern; the *tail* those who are governed; the *horns* denote the number of military powers or states that rise from the head. *Seeing* signifies understanding; *eyes* men of understanding; the *mouth* denotes a lawgiver; the *arm of a man* is put for power, or for the people by whose strength his power is exercised; *feet* represent the lowest of the people.

Such is the precision and regularity of the prophetic language, which we learn to interpret by comparing prophecies which are accomplished with the facts to which they correspond. So far is the study of it carried already, that a dictionary has been composed to explain it; and it is probable, that in a short time it may be so fully understood, that we shall find little difficulty in explaining any prophecy. But let us not from this expect, that the prophecies will enable us to

penetrate the dark clouds of futurity: No! The difficulty of applying prophecies to their corresponding events, before completion, will still remain insurmountable. Those men, therefore, however pious and well-meaning they may be, who attempt to explain and apply prophecies which are not yet accomplished, and who delude the credulous multitude by their own romantic conjectures, cannot be acquitted of rashness and presumption.

The predictions of the prophets, according to the opinion of Dr Lowth, are written in a poetic style. They possess indeed all the characteristics of Hebrew poetry, with the single exception, that none of them are alphabetical or acrostic, which is an artificial arrangement utterly repugnant to the nature of prophecy.

51  
Is also  
poetical.

The other arguments, however, ought to be particularly adverted to on this subject: the poetic dialect, for instance, the diction so totally different from the language of common life, and other similar circumstances, which an attentive reader will easily discover, but which cannot be explained by a few examples; for circumstances which, taken separately, appear but of small account, are in a united view frequently of the greatest importance. To these we may add the artificial conformation of the sentences; which is a necessary concomitant of metrical composition, the only one indeed which is now apparent, as it has always appeared to us.

The order in which the books of the minor prophets are placed is not the same in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew\*. According to the latter, they stand as in our translation; but in the Greek, the series is altered as to the first six, to the following arrangement: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah. This change, however, is of no consequence, since neither in the original, nor in the Septuagint, are they placed with exact regard to the time in which their sacred authors respectively flourished.

\* Chronology of the Prophets.

The order in which they should stand, if chronologically arranged, is by Blair and others supposed to be as follows: Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Joel, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. And this order will be found to be generally consistent with the periods to which the Prophets will be respectively assigned in the following pages, except in the instance of Joel, who probably flourished rather earlier than he is placed by these chronologists. The precise period of this prophet, however, cannot be ascertained; and some disputes might be maintained concerning the priority of others also, when they were nearly contemporaries, as Amos and Hosea; and when the first prophecies of a later prophet were delivered at the same time with, or previous to, those of a prophet who was called earlier to the sacred office. The following scheme, however, in which also the greater prophets will be introduced, may enable the reader more accurately to comprehend the actual and relative periods in which they severally prophesied.

Scripture.

The PROPHETS in their supposed Order of Time, arranged according to Blair's Tables\* with but little variation.

Scripture.

\* *Bishop Newcome's Version of Minor Prophets*, Preface, p. 43.

|            | <i>Before Christ.</i>          | <i>Kings of Judah.</i>  | <i>Kings of Israel.</i>   |
|------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Jonah,     | Between 856 and 784.           |   | Jehu, and Jehoahaz, according to Lloyd; but Joash and Jeroboam the Second according to Blair. |
| Amos,      | Between 810 and 785.           | Uzziah, chap. i. 1.   | Jeroboam the Second, chap. i. 1.  |
| Hofea,     | Between 810 and 725.           | Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, the third year of Hezekiah.   | Jeroboam the Second, chap. i. 1.  |
| Isaiah,    | Between 810 and 698.           | Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1. and perhaps Manasseh.                         |   |
| Joel,      | Between 810 and 660, or later. | Uzziah, or possibly Manasseh.   |   |
| Micah,     | Between 758 and 699.           | Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1.   | Pekah and Hofea.  |
| Nahum,     | Between 720 and 698.           | Probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign.   |   |
| Zephaniah, | Between 640 and 609.           | In the reign of Josiah, chap. i. 1.   |   |
| Jeremiah,  | Between 628 and 586.           | In the thirteenth year of Josiah.   |   |
| Habakkuk,  | Between 612 and 598.           | Probably in the reign of Jehoiakim.   |   |
| Daniel,    | Between 606 and 534.           | During all the Captivity.   |   |
| Obadiah,   | Between 588 and 583.           | Between the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the destruction of the Edomites by him. |   |
| Ezekiel,   | Between 595 and 536.           | During part of the Captivity.   |   |
| Haggai,    | About 520 to 518.              | After the return from Babylon.  |   |
| Zechariah, | From 520 to 518, or longer.    |   |   |
| Malachi,   | Between 436 and 397.           |   |   |

Scripture.

52  
Isaiah.

Isaiah is supposed to have entered on the prophetic office in the last year of the reign of Uzziah, about 758 years before Christ: and it is certain that he lived to the 15th or 16th years of Hezekiah. This makes the least possible term of the duration of his prophetic office about 48 years. The Jews have a tradition that Isaiah was put to death in the reign of Manasseh, being sawn asunder with a wooden saw by the command of that tyrant: but when we recollect how much the traditions of the Jews were condemned by our Saviour, we will not be disposed to give them much credit. The time of the delivery of some of his prophecies is either expressly marked, or sufficiently clear from the history to which they relate. The date of a few others may with some probability be deduced from internal marks; from expressions, descriptions, and circumstances interwoven.

53  
Character  
of his style.Lowth's  
Isaiab.

Isaiah, the first of the prophets both in order and dignity, abounds in such transcendent excellencies, that he may be properly said to afford the most perfect model of the prophetic poetry. He is at once elegant and sublime, forcible and ornamented; he unites energy with copiousness, and dignity with variety. In his sentiments there is uncommon elevation and majesty; in his imagery the utmost propriety, elegance, dignity, and diversity; in his language uncommon beauty and energy; and, notwithstanding the obscurity of his subjects, a surprising degree of clearness and simplicity. To these we may add, there is such sweetness in the poetical composition of his sentences, whether it proceed from art or genius, that if the Hebrew poetry at present is possessed of any remains of its native grace and harmony, we shall chiefly find them in the writings of Isaiah: so that the saying of Ezekiel may most justly be applied to this prophet:

Thou art the confirmed exemplar of measures,  
Full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty\*.

\* Ezek.  
xxviii. 12.

Isaiah greatly excels too in all the graces of method, order, connection, and arrangement: though in asserting this we must not forget the nature of the prophetic impulse, which bears away the mind with irresistible violence, and frequently in rapid transitions from near to remote objects, from human to divine; we must also be careful in remarking the limits of particular predictions, since, as they are now extant, they are often improperly connected, without any marks of discrimination; which injudicious arrangement, on some occasions, creates almost insuperable difficulties. It is, in fact, a body or collection of different prophecies, nearly allied to each other as to the subject, which, for that reason, having a sort of connection, are not to be separated but with the utmost difficulty. The general subject is the restoration of the church. Its deliverance from captivity; the destruction of idolatry; the vindication of the divine power and truth; the consolation of the Israelites, the divine invitation which is extended to them, their incredulity, impiety, and rejection; the calling in of the Gentiles; the restoration of the chosen people; the glory and felicity of the church in its perfect state; and the ultimate destruction of the wicked—are all set forth with a sufficient respect to order and method. If we read these passages with attention, and duly regard the nature and genius of the mystical allegory, at the same time remembering that all these points have been

frequently touched upon in other prophecies promulged at different times, we shall neither find any irregularity in the arrangement of the whole, nor any want of order and connection as to matter or sentiment in the different parts. Dr Lowth esteems the whole book of Isaiah to be poetical, a few passages excepted, which, if brought together, would not at most exceed the bulk of five or six chapters.

The 14th chapter of Isaiah is one of the most sublime odes in the Scripture, and contains one of the noblest personifications to be found in the records of poetry.

The prophet, after predicting the liberation of the Jews from their severe captivity in Babylon, and their restoration to their own country, introduces them as reciting a kind of triumphal song upon the fall of the Babylonish monarch, replete with imagery, and with the most elegant and animated personifications. A sudden exclamation, expressive of their joy and admiration on the unexpected revolution in their affairs, and the destruction of their tyrants, forms the exordium of the poem. The earth itself triumphs with the inhabitants thereof; the fir-trees and the cedars of Lebanon (under which images the parabolic style frequently delineates the kings and princes of the Gentiles) exult with joy, and persecute with contemptuous reproaches the humbled power of a ferocious enemy:

The whole earth is at rest, is quiet; they burst forth  
into a joyful shout:  
Even the fir-trees rejoice over thee, the cedars of Lebanon:  
Since thou art fallen, no feller hath come up against us.

This is followed by a bold and animated personification of Hades, or the infernal regions:

Hades from beneath is moved because of thee, to meet  
thee at thy coming:  
He rouseth for thee the mighty dead, all the great chiefs  
of the earth;  
He maketh to rise up from their thrones all the kings of  
the nations.

Hades excites his inhabitants, the ghosts of princes, and the departed spirit of kings: they rise immediately from their seats, and proceed to make the monarch of Babylon; they insult and deride him, and comfort themselves with the view of his calamity:

Art thou, even thou too, become weak as we? art thou  
made like unto us?  
Is then thy pride brought down to the grave; the  
found of thy sprightly instruments?  
Is the vermin become thy couch, and the earthworm thy  
covering?

Again, the Jewish people are the speakers, in an exclamation after the manner of a funeral lamentation, which indeed the whole form of this composition exactly imitates. The remarkable fall of this powerful monarch is thus beautifully illustrated:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the  
morning!  
Art cut down from earth, thou that didst subdue the  
nations!  
Yet thou didst say in thy heart, I will ascend the heavens;

Scripture. Above the stars of God I will exalt thy throne ;  
 And I will sit upon the mount of the divine presence, on  
 the sides of the north :  
 I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ; I will be  
 like the most High.  
 But thou shalt be brought down to the grave, to the  
 sides of the pit.

He himself is at length brought upon the stage, boasting in the most pompous terms of his own power ; which furnishes the poet with an excellent opportunity of displaying the unparalleled misery of his downfall. Some persons are introduced, who find the dead carcase of the king of Babylon cast out and exposed ; they attentively contemplate it, and at last scarcely know it to be his :

Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that  
 shook the kingdoms ?

That made the world like a desert, that destroyed the  
 cities ?

That never dismissed his captives to their own home ?

All the kings of the nations, all of them,

Lie down in glory, each in his sepulchre :

But thou art cast out of the grave, as the tree abominated :

Clothed with the slain, with the pierced by the sword,  
 With them that go down to the stones of the pit ; as a  
 trodden carcase.

Thou shalt not be joined to them in burial ;

Because thou hast destroyed thy country, thou hast slain  
 thy people :

The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned.

They reproach him with being denied the common

rites of sepulture, on account of the cruelty and atrocity of his conduct ; they execrate his name, his offspring, and their posterity. A solemn address, sa of the Deity himself, closes the scene, and he denounces against the king of Babylon, his posterity, and even against the city which was the scene of their cruelty, perpetual destruction, and confirms the immutability of his own counsels by the solemnity of an oath.

How forcible is this imagery, how diversified, how sublime ! how elevated the diction, the figures, the sentiments !—The Jewish nation, the cedars of Lebanon, the ghosts of departed kings, the Babylonish monarch, the travellers who find his corpse, and last of all Jehovah himself, are the characters which support this beautiful lyric drama. One continued action is kept up, or rather a series of interesting actions are connected together in an incomparable whole. This, indeed, is the principal and distinguished excellence of the sublimer ode, and is displayed in its utmost perfection in this poem of Isaiah, which may be considered as one of the most ancient, and certainly the most finished, specimen of that species of composition which has been transmitted to us. The personifications here are frequent, yet not confused ; bold, yet not improbable : a free, elevated, and truly divine spirit, pervades the whole ; nor is there any thing wanting in this ode to defeat its claim to the character of perfect beauty and sublimity. “ If (says Dr Lowth) I may be indulged in the free declaration of my own sentiments on this occasion, I do not know a single instance in the whole compass of Greek and Roman poetry, which, in every excellence of composition, can be said to equal, or even approach it.”

SCRIPTURE continued in next Volume.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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ERRATUM.—Page 366, note at bottom, in some copies, instead of This was the name given to the palace of the Grand Duke, &c. read as follows : The Kremlin, or Kreml, is a particular quarter of Mosco, where stands the palace of the tzars, first built of stone by Dimitri Ivanovitch Donski in 1367. See Mosco.

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