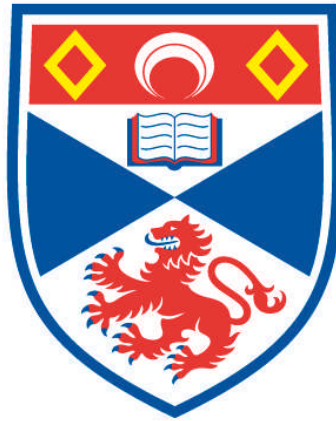


**DAVID STEUART ERSKINE, 11TH EARL OF BUCHAN: A
STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE**

James Gordon Lamb

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



1963

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Thesis
1963



DAVID STEUART ERSKINE,
11th. EARL OF BUCHAN:
A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

A THESIS
PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS
by
JAMES GORDON LAMB



R



DECLARATION.

This thesis has been composed by myself, and the work of which it is a record has been done by myself. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a Research Student in January, 1958, being a graduate of the University of St. Andrews, and have prosecuted part-time research for at least nine terms in the Department of English under the supervision, successively, of Dr. R. H. Carnie and Dr. R. P. Deig.

CERTIFICATE.

I certify that James G. Lamb has spent the statutory period in Higher Study and Research under the direction successively of Dr. R. H. Carnie and myself, has fulfilled the Ordinance and Regulations for the degree of Ph.D. of the University of St. Andrews, and is therefore qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree.

Supervisor.

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Prefatory Note.

All the biographical accounts of David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, are slight, and often very unsympathetic. Most have relied for factual information on his obituary, published in volume 99 of The Gentleman's Magazine.

Malicious and distorted comments, particularly by Sir Walter Scott, have been responsible for the growth of a legend about Buchan's eccentricity, although the charge of absurd conduct was lodged against him in his own lifetime. It is interesting to note that a tradesman in Galashiels, near Buchan's former residence at Dryburgh Abbey, was found to talk about Buchan's patriotism, but at much greater length about his oddities, as recently as 1962.

Those who could have given posterity a fair assessment of Buchan did not do so, and the way was left open for those who saw him only as vain and self-seeking. He was unlucky in living in the neighbourhood of Scott's house, Abbotsford, and because of this he has never had his due, even in the Border Country where he spent almost half his life. The cult of Scott flourishes there, but to Buchan there is no memorial. Whereas Abbotsford is much sought after, and is still in the possession of Scott's descendants, Dryburgh Abbey passed from Buchan's family and

was given to the nation. Scott would probably have been amused had he known that the time would come when visitors to the Abbey would seek out his grave whilst that of Buchan goes unnoticed.

Buchan's Ancestry.

Buchan's family was one of the most ancient in Scotland, for the first Earl of Buchan on record was Fergus, who flourished about the time of William the Lion, and who may have been related to Malcolm Canmore. He is mentioned as having made a grant of a mark of silver annually to the abbacy of Aberbrothwick, founded by King William.

Although Buchan could claim an exalted descent, some of his ancestors were as infamous for misdeeds as others were outstanding for their loyalty and patriotism. Alexander, the second Earl, became Constable of Scotland in 1270, and John Stewart, surnamed "the brave John O'Coull" because of his valour, led a Scottish army to victory over the English at the battle of Beaugé in 1421, whilst espousing the French cause.

Not all the great men in the Buchan family made their names as soldiers. In 1473 James Stewart, high chamberlain of Scotland, was sent to France as an ambassador. James Erskine, sixth Earl of Buchan, who

died in 1640, was one of the lords of the bedchamber to King Charles I.

Sir Alexander Stewart, known for his savage behaviour as "The Wolf of Badenoch", obtained a grant of the Earldom of Buchan from King Robert II. He incurred the wrath of the Church, being excommunicated for the crime of seizing the Bishop of Moray's lands. In revenge, he burnt the towns of Forres and Elgin, with the church of St. Giles, the cathedral, and eighteen houses of the Canons, in 1390.

The house of Buchan could also boast a martyr, for William, eighth Earl, was imprisoned in Stirling Castle, where he died in 1695. He was guilty of remaining loyal to the cause of his King, James II, and was incarcerated by the forces of William III.

The value of the house of Buchan to the state had been recognised, however, for the ruling house of Scotland had reposed great trust in it for five generations, granting it "custody of the heir to the throne during his nonage"¹. Alexander, second Lord Erskine, had charge of King James IV; John, fourth Lord, "had the care of the young King James V"¹; Queen Mary entrusted the infant Prince James to John, fifth Lord;

1. Alexander Fergusson: The Honourable Henry Erskine,
Lord Advocate for Scotland, p.3. Edinburgh, 1882.

"in 1595 Prince Henry was formally given into the safe keeping of Lord Mar, by warrant under the king's own hand"¹; "on the death of the Regent Mar in 1572 Parliament entrusted his (i.e. of James VI) safe keeping and education to a Commission"¹ which included Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar. The house of Buchan had a connection with the royal family, as well, for Thomas, first Lord Erskine, had married a grand-daughter of King James I.

A study of the "French and Italian Pedigree of the Erskines"² reveals relationship with many famous men and women, and even with St. Louis (IX) of France, who died in 1270. It shows, also, that Sir Thomas Browne, the author of Religio Medici was related to the house of Buchan through the marriage of his grand-daughter, Frances Fairfax, to David, fourth Lord Cardross.

When David Steuart Erskine succeeded his father, Henry David, as eleventh Earl in 1767, the glory of the family was only a memory, and even its estates and finances were much smaller than formerly. It is true to say, nevertheless, that Buchan was always keenly aware of the heritage that was his.

1. Fergusson, op. cit., p.4.

2. Fergusson, op. cit., facing p.535.

Buchan's Father and Mother.

Both of Buchan's parents had a profound influence in shaping his mind and behaviour, although Buchan had a higher regard for his mother's attainments.

His father, Henry David, 10th Earl of Buchan¹, had very pronounced notions on the education best fitted for his three surviving sons, and it says much for him that all of them became scholarly and cultured men. Buchan's younger brothers, Henry² and Thomas³, were to become famous men. He could not make for himself the kind of public career that each of them did, for various reasons, not the least of which was his accession to his father's title when he was only twenty five years old.

Buchan's father, by his inability to make his estates pay their way, made certain that his heir would have to lead a retired life if the family fortunes were to be restored, and since Buchan found himself with a mother, two brothers, and a younger sister⁴ to support, he was driven to lead the life of a farmer for twelve years, at a time when he might have been shaping a career in

-
1. (1710 - 1767).
 2. (1746 - 1817); he became Lord Advocate in 1783.
 3. (1749 - 1823); in 1806 he became Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and created Lord Erskine.
 4. (d.1824); Lady Isabella Erskine.

politics. His father, however, was not devoid of sense, for his cautious instincts had persuaded him not to declare for Prince Charles Edward in 1745. In addition, he was a confirmed Presbyterian and Whig. Fergusson wrote:

"It was the general opinion, that though Henry David, the tenth Earl, was a man of infinite good-nature and pleasing manners, his abilities were not much above the average.

In one instance, however, he displayed a rare discrimination, namely, in the choice of such a bride as Agnes Steuart of Goodtrees, a lady both good and beautiful. The influence of the maternal blood was never more strikingly illustrated than in the case of this lady's children."¹

Agnes Steuart's father, Sir James Steuart of Coltness,² had been Solicitor-General for Scotland, and her mother was the daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick³, President of the Court of Session. Agnes Steuart's grandfather, Sir James Steuart⁴, had been Lord Advocate in the reign of Queen Anne. In her youth she and her sisters had had the benefit of instruction in mathematics from Professor Maclaurin⁵, which "shows that in point of education these sisters were far in advance of the usual attainments of ladies of that age"⁶. In discussing

1. op. cit., p.43.

2. (1681 - 1727).

3. (d.1737, aet. 84).

4. (1635 - 1715).

5. (1698 - 1746); Professor of mathematics in Edinburgh (1725 - 1745).

6. Alexander Fergusson: Letters and Journals of Mrs. Calderwood of Polton, p. XLV - XLVI. Edinburgh, 1884.

education for girls in the eighteenth century, Pryde says¹ "in general little provision was made for their education". In view of her antecedents and enlightened upbringing, it is small wonder that she should have made so powerful an impression on her son's mind and character.

Buchan's parents believed in cultivating the acquaintance of many of the foremost men of their day. They stayed frequently at Goodtrees², the estate of Lady Buchan's father, whilst Buchan and his brothers were boys, and there they entertained such as Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield³, Allan Ramsay⁴, David Hume⁵, and John Home⁶. Fergusson noted⁷ that Lady Buchan was "in the habit of entertaining Mr. Garrick⁸ at her house at Walcot, near Bath". Since the family did not move to Bath until 1763, it is obvious that the custom of entertaining stimulating company was kept up. What the effect of such continual acquaintance with leading men in various walks of life was on Buchan and his brothers cannot be gauged, but it was

-
1. Scotland from 1603 to the present day, p.106. London, 1962.
 2. To the south of Edinburgh.
 3. (1703 - 1785); eminent physician.
 4. (1686 - 1758); poet.
 5. (1711 - 1776); eminent philosopher and historian.
 6. (1722 - 1808); author of Douglas, a tragedy founded on the ballad of Gil Morrice, Produced at Edinburgh, in 1756, Douglas met with brilliant success, and evoked equal enthusiasm in London.
 7. Letters and Journals of Mrs. Calderwood of Polton, p.325.
 8. David Garrick (1717 - 1779); actor, manager and dramatist.

probably entirely for the good. Buchan, alone, never seems to have been ill at ease in any company, perhaps because of his early experiences.

When one considers the background and training given to Buchan and his brothers, one realises how excellent a foundation they were all given for making their names in the world. It helps to explain in some degree the remarkable careers of Henry and Thomas.

CHAPTER ONE.The Formative Years. (1742-1767).

David Steuart Erskine was "born in a house called Smiths Lawnd in the high street of Edinburgh in Scotland on Tuesday June the first 1742 at seven o'clock in the morning".¹

This prosaic statement served Buchan² as the introduction to a series of autobiographical sketches. He was not the eldest son of Henry David, 10th Earl of Buchan, for he had a brother David (b.1741 d.1747), who appears to have been as engaging a child as Buchan, consciously or not, makes himself seem. Buchan wrote:

"For him my grief was so excessive that it occasioned a considerable interruption in my education nor for a long time could I endure to be called by his honorary Title".

This deep attachment explains why, in manhood, Buchan always referred to the date of his birth as 12th June, the birthday of his elder brother.

Buchan's formal education was attended to zealously by his parents from an early age. Not only did they furnish him with a tutor, but they assisted in the educational process themselves. His father suggested

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1. Except where otherwise stated, the quotations in this chapter are from the G.U.L. MSS "Extracts from Lord Buchan's Diaries and Letter Books".
 2. Until he succeeded his father, as 11th Earl of Buchan, his title was Lord Cardross.

to the tutor a plan which "was admirable and worthy of universal adoption". This plan aimed at forming Buchan's mind, or, as he said, encouraged it "to form itself".

He wrote:

"As my age exceeded that of my next brother more than four years, they hoped by forming me, to secure the formation of the rest of the children if death or accident should intervene to disappoint their operations".

Although "death or accident" did not "intervene", Buchan subsequently supervised his younger brothers' studies.

Of this early education Buchan could write:

"It was not Nomenclature, and Rote, it was not in cultivating these in various languages that they chose to consume the precious days of my Youth: it was in the Principles, it was in Generalisation and abstraction, it was in the acquisition of intuitive knowledge, and unfolding the parts by the Reason of Universal language, that they aimed at making me a real Man, and not a man or rather I should say a Manikin of the Schools!"

Buchan's mother took a greater share in the actual education:

"(she) studied History, Morals, Physics, and Geometry, and all in such a manner, as to be able to infuse them popularly, and pleasingly, into my infant memory, and understanding, and I have yet remaining her notes and Catechisms not of Mysteries in Calvinism, but in the Science of Nature!"

Buchan's education was conducted according to enlightened principles. For example, if he were studying Natural History, he was required to compare the "descriptive part" of his text book with the "natural objects", whenever

possible. Writing more than forty years later of his early education, Buchan noted:

"These days of young and growing curiosity, and of increasing rational delight can never be obliterated from my remembrance".

The common-sense attitude of his parents resulted in his being taught to employ his hands as well as his mind. His father insisted that he "learn Self denial, and to suffer pain and fatigue, rather than be disappointed in any proper design". This "Self denial" accustomed him to "a domestic System of Tactics almost equal to the Prussian discipline" demanded by Frederick the Great of Prussia¹. Frederick's system was improved upon, however, for "the young Soldier was always to know in general the final Cause".

So effective was the system of encouraging his initiative that, without any prompting, he taught himself a small lesson from a locust. Having found it, dead, in his room in October, 1748, he made a drawing of it, and corrected his sketch by consulting a printed authority².

"From that time I became indefatigable in the collection of large insects and in comparing them with prints".

The method employed in teaching Buchan Classics

1. (1712 - 1786).
2. Universal Magazine of Knowledge, August, 1748.

earned the acclaim of so celebrated a scholar as David Hume¹. He was taught so that he enjoyed reading Homer and Virgil - he "could not be kept from poring on the 20 vols. of The Cicero as another Lad must be torn from the Arabian nights entertainments". Surely no greater testimonial could be accorded Buchan's parents' efforts.

In 1754 Buchan was introduced to university study, in St. Andrews. His father "had conceived a good opinion (of it) on account of the virtuous habits of the people and the diligence of the Professors". An additional reason was that he was in a poor state of health, and probably moved his family there so that he could convalesce whilst his sons were educated. Thomas and Henry were sent to the "Grammar School" whilst Buchan was "now able in some measure to assist" in their education. Buchan himself worked diligently at St. Andrews, attending lectures, and even hiring a room where, separated from the distractions of family life, he could study. So "ravenous of Study" did he become that he "generally studied nine or ten hours a day with unbended application".

If some of the foregoing seems unrealistic, it is instructive to consider two anecdotes concerning the

1. (1711 - 1776) Philosopher and Historian.

childhood of Buchan and his two brothers related in the "Life" of Henry Erskine¹. The first² refers to the strong love the three boys had for each other, a love not diminished, but probably augmented by their boyish quarrels. In view of the doctrine of "Self denial", it is amusing to note that Thomas threatened to kill Buchan for having vowed to disown him when he should become Earl of Buchan, suiting action to words by flinging a heavy slate at him, but fortunately missing. The second³ mentions Lord Buchan's "use of the disagreeable, as a salutary discipline for young people". Since "the children disliked veal, so veal was ordered every day as part of their dinner for a long while". That the prescription continued in application so long is surely a sign that there was some rebellion on the part of the boys.

The wise balance of mental and physical effort taught to Buchan resulted in his participating in such sports as golf and archery, but over-application to study and sport led to a serious illness in 1756. Buchan was always convinced that only the common-sense medical advice of Benjamin Franklin⁴, then on a visit to Scotland,

1. Alexander Fergusson: The Honourable Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate for Scotland, Edinburgh & London, 1882.

2. p.60.

3. p.62.

4. (1706 - 1790); American Scientist.

saved his life on this occasion. Many years later, Buchan had printed¹, a letter² he received from Franklin. In answer to Buchan's reference to this illness³, Franklin wrote:

"I do not recollect the circumstance you are pleased to mention, of my having saved a citizen of St. Andrew's by giving a turn to his disorder".

It may easily be supposed that so famous a man as Franklin would scarcely be likely to retain any memory of a boy's illness after so many years. That Buchan seems to have expected him to do so argues a certain naivete. When he looked back on his life he could point to several other occasions when he narrowly escaped death, and he obviously cherished the idea that providence had a special interest in saving him. This may have coloured his view that Franklin ought to have remembered.

At St. Andrews Buchan formed a great affection for James Buchanan⁴, and studied reverentially under him. Even after Buchanan went to the chair of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow, Buchan maintained a correspondence with him that lasted until Buchanan's death, and when Buchan wrote his autobiographical "extracts",

-
1. The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 64, part 2, p.587.
 2. Dated 17th March, 1783.
 3. In a letter of 18th February, 1783.
 4. (1732 - 1764).

thirty years after Buchanan died, he noted:

"(my) heart still aches with the recollection of my most dear Preceptor James Buchanan".

That Buchanan reciprocated Buchan's feeling is apparent from a small bequest he made him. Shortly before his death he sent his watch to Buchan:

"When he (Buchan) shall look upon it (said he) he will remember the happy hours we have passed together in Study and in Friendship".

Although Buchan made great strides at St. Andrews in Mathematics, Classics, and French, he found time to make a diligent study of the campaigns of Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War. When he tired "of campaigning", he often went fishing or shooting with Dr. Gregory¹, his Mathematics Professor. If the sport was unrewarding, Buchan and Gregory would discuss Mathematical problems in the open air.

In 1758 Buchan made his first visit to London:

"I was presented to the King² and the Royal family by the old Duke of Newcastle³ ... Lord Chesterfield⁴, Lord Bathurst⁵, Mr. Pitt⁶

1. David Gregory. In 1747 he was "the only professor of any great distinction." (Cant: The University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh, 1946. p.93.)
2. George II.
3. (1693 - 1768); Thomas Pelham Holles, created Duke of Newcastle in 1715.
4. (1694 - 1773); Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl.
5. (1684 - 1775); Allen Bathurst, Tory Statesman.
6. (1708 - 1778); William, Earl of Chatham.

and several other old acquaintance of my Father were very civil to me, and I passed a great deal of my time very agreeably in visiting Sir Hans Sloane's collections¹ and the interesting environs of London.

The forms of the english court and its dullness disgusted me greatly. Garrick² and the Theatre was the King and Court in which I delighted."

It is not very surprising that Buchan should have enjoyed the pleasures London afforded him, but it seems odd that a youth apparently destined for a court life should have so adult a reaction to its many imperfections. Perhaps the "civil" reception given him by some of the most important men in the kingdom was a tribute to his dignified and studious manner rather than mere deference to the son of a poor Scots nobleman.

Buchan's thirst for knowledge could not be satisfied:

"(in 1761) I established myself in Edinburgh for the Winter Session of the College".

He had already attended a course of Chemistry lectures given by Dr. Cullen³ in 1760, but now he was to read "civil and Municipal law" with his cousin, "the justly celebrated John Erskine of Carnock⁴".

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1. Sir Hans Sloane (1660- 1753), physician and naturalist. His museum and library of 50,000 volumes and 3560 mss. formed the nucleus of the British Museum.
 2. David Garrick, actor, manager, and dramatist. (1717 - 1779).
 3. (1710 - 1790); William Cullen, Physician.
 4. (1695 - 1768); Scottish jurist,

In preparation for the arduous studies ahead of him Buchan spent "the early part" of the summer in making "excursions on foot thro the most sequestered valleys in Inverness shire". He contemplated a visit to Skye, but his intended host, Sir James Macdonald of Sleat¹, suffered a serious accident, and the scheme was abandoned. Instead, Buchan

"roamed about the Glens of the west Highland climbed the Steepest mountains and penetrated into the deepest recesses for the curiosities of Nature".

The pattern is familiar, for on many previous occasions Buchan had combined study and physical exercise. He seems to have felt the need to occupy both his body and mind constantly. Perhaps this in some measure explains the keen interest he took in most things until he had attained a very advanced age.

During his series of wanderings Buchan almost met his death from asphyxiation in an inn at Dornoch, and it was fortunate for him that his companion at that time was a doctor. This narrow escape left him so shaken that he refrained from going on to Orkney as he had intended.

1. (1741 - 1766); "The Scottish Marcellus".

One thing more than any other had impressed him during his tour, and that was the "dreary woodless coasts of Scotland". The farmer in him pointed out the usefulness and profit of afforestation, and, although such a notion had not yet received universal acceptance, he suggested to such as Lord Saltoun¹ that it ought to be adopted. He had the satisfaction of learning subsequently that his scheme was "partly adopted".

Returning south to meet his father and brother Thomas in Aberdeen, Buchan made use of his short stay in that city to examine such objects of historical interest as the tombs of Bishop Elphinstone² and Hector Boece³. On 22 September he received the freedom of the city as he had "a little before that of Tain and Dornoch".

In October he went to St. Andrews to "dedicate" himself to his family and to "domestic duties and affections" till he should be "called to Edinburgh". His life in recent years demanded that he be away a great deal from his family, but he must always have been glad to return to St. Andrews. All his life he regarded its university with affection. On various occasions he made

1. (1720 - 1781); George, 14th Lord Saltoun.

2. (1431 - 1514); Bishop of Ross (in 1481) and Aberdeen (1488), founder of King's College.

3. (c1465 - 1536); Scottish historian.

donations to the library¹. Perhaps he appreciated most the relative smallness of St. Andrews, with its "one principal street, on both sides of which appear the decaying remains of several houses, once splendid and stately, but now desolate"². Certainly, he would not fail to admire the tradition apparent. The family name is still remembered in St. Andrews, not for anything Buchan himself did, but because his mother visited a cave to the south-east of the castle so frequently that it came to be known as "Lady Buchan's cave".

In November Buchan moved to Edinburgh for the beginning of the university's winter session. Buchan wrote:

"fearing the interruptions of an idle dissipated Town I hired an apartment in the suburbs at one Palmer's a carver and gilder beyond the City gates to the South on the road leading to my old residence at Goodtrees".

Buchan's habits were now those of a dedicated scholar:

"At an early hour of the morning I read with my Cousin Professor Erskine on the principles of general Jurisprudence and the Laws of Nature and Nations at another I attended the Lectures on the Municipal Law of Scotland I had diligently dug into the mines of Iustinian³.

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1. vide St. Andrews Library Bulletin, vol. V, p.145.
 2. Fergusson, op.cit., p. 67, n.2.
 3. (c.482 - 565); Flavius Anicius Justinianus, Roman Emperor.

& the best writers on the Roman at St. And's. & Glasgow & he conversed with me.....on the harmony of National institutions & their connection with Government & Manners. He allowed me to reason & dispute with him & this served to make all the knowledge i received from him perfectly my own.....Sometimes I attended general lectures of Monro¹ the Professor of Anatomy Cicero² was often in my hand & i used often to mumble my self asleep with his Orations & dream of the Roman Forum & the Senate".

Setting aside the inflated language, it is clear that Buchan made the most of his time studying subjects well calculated to tax his mind. He did not neglect the lighter side of life altogether, though, for he was "admitted an honorary Member of the Belles Lettres Society at Ed"³. He seems to have shown for its activities the enthusiasm he brought to his studies, for on one occasion he

"spoke to the Questions 'whether women ought to be taught the Sciences' - in the affirmative".

No doubt he expected to meet with some banter about his opinion, but it was founded to some extent upon his own experience. Sensibly and far-sightedly he gave as his reason Woman's responsibility for the "early training of Youth", and the greater leisure women had for assimilating

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1. (1697 - 1767).
 2. (106 - 43 b.c.): Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman Orator.
 3. Instituted in 1759 for "the improvement of the Students in the University & others in literature & Public speaking".

knowledge which could not fail to be an "improvement of the Sex". This was a view to which he always adhered. He delivered other discourses on such divergent topics as the effects of laws and manners on society, and whether "Poetry, Painting or Music affect the Mind in the most lively manner".

Stimulating though his attendance at the meetings of this society must have been, Buchan was still not completely satisfied. He cultivated the acquaintance of Lord Kames¹, whose circle of friends included men like Sir Alexander Dick², and other scholars whom Buchan already knew, such as David Hume and Dr. Cullen. Well might Buchan say of his meetings with these men that they afforded him "great satisfaction".

Although it is surprising, during his spare time, and he could have had little during this winter of 1761, Buchan studied the harpsichord and flute. It is to be doubted whether he attained any high degree of proficiency in performing on a musical instrument, for in later years he seems to have said little about music or musicians.

To his already crowded academic curriculum he

1. (1696 - 1782); Henry Home, Lawyer and Metaphysician.
2. (1703 - 1785); of Prestonfield, eminent Physician.

now added attendance at lectures in Rhetoric, under Sheridan¹, and Blair². Inevitably, his health began to deteriorate, and he was "forced to get on horseback" and to resort to a doctor's prescription to regain fitness. Even as late as the summer of 1762 he was obliged to go to Harrogate to take the waters. Ill or not, he used this holiday as a rare opportunity to visit the neighbourhood and make drawings of anything of antiquarian interest. But he did learn now, as he should have done before at St. Andrews, that

"Temperance and exercise alone produce the surprising cures that are ascribed to mineral impregnations".

Having come to this healthful conclusion, Buchan took care not to forget it. It was his habit, even when an old man, to observe strictly the virtues of an existence based on "Temperance and exercise". According to some recollections of him³, published a few years after his death, he frequently walked out from the city of Edinburgh, where he resided during each winter, to St. Bernard's well. There he would drink two glasses

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1. Thomas Sheridan.
 2. (1718 - 1800); Hugh Blair, Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Edinburgh University 1762 - 1783.
 3. "Humours of the North": Fraser's Magazine, vol. XV (1837), pp. 355 - 361.

of mineral water. He even went so far as to build an edifice, "like a sentry box", over another mineral spring nearby to encourage visitors, enhancing the beauty of his building with the addition of a stucco bust of himself! To his temperate habits goes the credit, probably, of the good health he enjoyed, even when very old. His son referred to his fitness in a letter of 3 January 1823¹, remarking upon the fact that he seemed as spry and energetic as he had always been. In these same recollections, Buchan is quoted as having intimated to a friend, suffering from the effects of the previous night's debauch, that

"whoever drinks whisky punch after supper, and lies in bed after six in the morning, is no longer a disciple of Epicurus, but of the devil".

He himself chose never to stay up later than midnight, the account goes on, and he made it his custom to allow himself only five hours' sleep each night. Whilst he was in Edinburgh he sallied forth on most mornings between the hours of five and six. Whilst such habits are praiseworthy, he appears to have carried them to extremes.

Having regained his health at Harrogate, Buchan

1. L.U.L. Mss.

made a leisured return journey to Edinburgh, passing some time in Yorkshire. Alert as always, his mind began to toy with the setting up in the Scottish Borders of a huge woollen industry. Thirty years later he was to publish an essay dealing with the rapid growth of the woollen trade in those parts¹. In it he referred to Galashiels as likely to become a "Scottish Huddersfield". Prosper it did, but never to the extent that Buchan envisaged.

Once in Edinburgh, Buchan made ready to depart for Glasgow where he was to attend the University. He was to be

"prepared for a course of Civil Law with John Millar², Jurisprudence with Smith³ and Chemistry with Black⁴".

At Glasgow University he formed what was to prove a lifelong friendship with William Ogilvie⁵. James Watt⁶ became a "most intimate associate", and James Tassie's⁷ acquaintance was made. In his choice of lodgings he was swayed by the fellow lodgers he would have. One of these

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1. The Bee, vol. 12 pp. 171 - 177.
 2. (1735 - 1801); Professor of Law (1761 - 1801).
 3. (1723 - 1790); Adam Smith, political economist.
 4. Joseph Black (1728 - 1799); Professor of Anatomy and Chemistry.
 5. (1736 - 1819); subsequently Professor of Humanity in King's College, Aberdeen.
 6. (1736 - 1819); inventor.
 7. (1735 - 1799); artist.

was John Robison¹. Buchan said of his stay in Glasgow:

"(I) turned my attention to Ethics and Theology, studying under Leechman² and Wight³".

Such leisure time as he had he spent in the company of Dr. Wilson⁴ at his foundry, and with the Foulis brothers⁵ at their Academy.

By this time Buchan also held an army commission, in the 32nd Cornwall Regiment of Foot, a post his father had managed to secure for him. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Buchan managed to combine all his scholastic pursuits with a tour of military duty. Since he often left a period of guard duty to go directly to Millar's Law lecture at 7 a.m., his mental and physical stamina must have been of a high order.

Perhaps as a result of his attending theological lectures he now entered a period of soul-searching. He had also conceived the highest respect for Adam Smith, as a man and a scholar, and this doubtless accounts in some degree for his uneasiness. He seems to have found some

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1. (1739 - 1805); Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh University.
 2. William Leechman (1706 - 1785); Professor of Divinity.
 3. William Wight (d.1782); Professor of Ecclesiastical History.
 4. Alexander Wilson (1714 - 1786); typefounder; Professor of Astronomy.
 5. Robert Foulis (1707 - 1776) and his brother Andrew (1712 - 1775) created an Academy for painting, engraving, moulding and drawing. It was discontinued in 1776. vide. p. 297.

difficulty in accepting the christian religion, but after a great deal of thought he emerged from his state of doubt with a belief in God that remained unshaken for the rest of his life. Many years later he wrote in a commonplace book¹ some remarks on Smith, and from the impassioned outcry of "why, why was you not a Christian!" can be gleaned in part the struggle he underwent.

Early in 1763 occurred an incident, amusing in itself, but hardly in accord with Buchan's principles. In a letter of 8 March, 1763², Isabella Buchan³ wrote to him, expressing her relief that he had not had to fight a duel! To the letter Buchan added a note:

"The Duel or rather the threatned Duel here alluded to was occasioned by Miss Somerville of Greenock a Beauty of the day at Glasgow having given me her hand to dance at a Ball after she had promised to dance with the present Earl of Caernarvon⁴ then Henry Herbert ... The Duel was prevented by an Arrest at the instance of the College. Herbert and I were immediately after the best friends in the world".

Since Buchan did not see fit to include any reference to this escapade in the autobiographical details he furnished, it is likely that he felt ashamed of it. It acts,

1. G.U.L. MSS., pp. 238 - 245.

2. G.U.L. MSS.

3. Daughter of Sir William Blackett of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

4. (1741 - 1811); Created Earl of Carnarvon in 1793.

nevertheless, as a corrective to the view that Buchan was only a machine, an impression which his "Extracts" almost force on us.

Buchan's sojourn in Glasgow was of high importance for him, for during it his formal studies were rounded off. They set a seal on him, for by the time he left there he was essentially as complete a man as ever he could be. There is more than a hint of a desire for "completeness" in all the story of Buchan's life from the time when he first attended the University of St. Andrews, almost as if he hoped to be a second "Admirable Crichton"¹.

Now that Scotland had done all that it could for him, he intended to go on the "Grand Tour" to complete the process apparently necessary for becoming a nobleman worthy of his status. It is obvious that Buchan must have anticipated with great relish the prospect of a year or so in the company of distinguished European scholars and in visiting the brilliant courts of the day, but as his time at Glasgow grew near to its close he became painfully aware of his father "encumbered and distressed by the consequences of a numerous family". For Buchan the only honourable course was to forgo a visit to the Continent. He wrote:

1. James Crichton (1560 - ca. 1591).

"(when) i became of age i relinquished my intention to travel into foreign parts and made over to him one thousand pounds of old South sea annuities from a Trust estate in my favour wherein that sum had been destined by my Grandfather for my expences on the Continent. - I own that this piece of self denial cost me a great deal of uneasiness as i had resolved to pass my time abroad in a course of improvement very different from what is usual, and calculated by the best advice in Britain to afford me the most lasting satisfaction and advancement in Political knowledge. I feel, however a more lasting satisfaction in recording & remembering that I never spoke to my Father on the subject of the Sacrifice I had made to his interest & ease, and that he was deeply sensible of my delicate friendship. I might now say "If I am capable of producing any thing worthy the attention of the Publick, it was to him with Buchanan that i owed it - to that truly paternal care, which from the first dawnings of my reason, had always watched over my education and afforded me every proper opportunity of improvement".

In these words we have the man.

Contemporary opinion of Buchan in his later life was that he was a miser. Kinder men called him "parsimonious". But it seems that his father had little skill in handling money. It is even likely that he was totally improvident. In the "Life" of Henry Erskine we are told that as early as 1749 the 10th Earl's estates were "much contracted in extent" and that Lady Buchan had to practise "careful economy"¹. When he died in 1767

1. p. 48.

it was after a considerable period of failing health, and yet he left no will. His heir succeeded to a yearly income of only £200, and had two brothers, two sisters, and his mother dependent upon him. Buchan might reasonably have pointed out that his extensive education had in no way fitted him for redeeming his family's fortunes, but the fact that he more than did so says much for his financial abilities.

Residence at Bath.

Buchan's parents now determined to take up residence in Bath so that his father could have "the benefit of the Waters" and enjoy "cheerful society". Swallowing his disappointment, Buchan determined to "superintend" his brothers' education. Thomas showed such promise that Buchan admitted he was kept always on his "mettle". He said:

"I then foresaw that I should have wherewithall to indemnify my feelings for the loss of my favourite Travels. I was resolved therefore not to slight the workmanship in such noble materials & every day evinced a progress that was astonishing".

Buchan's residence at Bath enabled him to form many new attachments. Early in 1764 he met William Melmoth¹

1. (1710 - 1799); Literateur.

and Horace Walpole¹, and he renewed his acquaintance with William Pitt. His already strong interest in antiquities was stimulated by meetings with Dr. Birch² and Da Costa³ in London about the same time.

In April, Thomas went to sea, and it is characteristic that Buchan should have persuaded him to keep a diary, to "render him methodical & teach him the inexpressible value of Time". Thomas dutifully kept a record which betrayed his keen interest in all around him, and it abounded in "drawings in Topography, Geography and Natural history!"

Towards the close of 1764 Buchan was in London, and he had many conversations with Benjamin Franklin "on the subject of America". Of these he said:

"(they) led me to enquire very dilligently & minutely into the circumstances of Britain's oppressive and foolish conduct towards her colonies which I found to be radically fixt in the complexion of a mercantile Nation and an ambitious & grasping System of Monarchical administration".

Buchan felt he could take a personal interest in the American cause since his great grandfather⁴ had settled in Carolina. Being a "sort of Citizen of the Land of

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1. (1717 - 1797); Fourth Earl of Orford.
 2. (1705 - 1766); Thomas Birch, Historian & Biographer.
 3. (d.c. 1788); Emanuel Mendez Da Costa, Librarian to the Royal Society.
 4. Henry, 3rd Lord Cardross. (d.1693).

Columbus" as well as a Briton led him to conclude that America was striving for "Truth & Liberty". When the Stamp Act¹ made its appearance Buchan was inevitably indignant, seeing it only as "vile" and "Tyrranical". He tried to take action to have the Act repealed, by approaching "the friends & connections of Secretary Pitt to induce that strange man to come forth in opposition to the Bill". Finally, however, Buchan reached a sad conclusion concerning Pitt:

"I soon became convinced that that crafty place hunter abstained from opposition at that time with a view to overthrow the administration of Grenville² throw his opponents into the dirt and mount the Saddle himself; on the neck of popularity".

Buchan's judgment in this matter was quite sound. He remained sympathetic to America and Americans for the rest of his life, making a point of assisting any American traveller who chanced to come his way. For long he considered that only America held any promise of the liberty he felt all men should enjoy. At a time when responsible politicians misjudged so entirely the situation in North America, Buchan foresaw the possibilities

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1. A tax imposed on papers required in official transactions in America; the revenue from this tax was to pay for the defence of the thirteen North American colonies.
 2. George Grenville (1712 - 1770); Prime Minister, 1763 - 1765.

of the colony Britain was soon to lose. Buchan's political long-sightedness is also apparent in his estimate of the Marquis of Rockingham¹ whom he "frequently visited".

Buchan said:

"Of him I had conceived a better opinion than any of his English Noble contemporaries".

Subsequent events were to show that Rockingham was by no means the most inept of George III's Prime Ministers.

The longer Buchan stayed in London studying the political situation, the less he felt inclined to take an active part in politics himself. He could not see

"any thing like a real knowledge of the right principles of a free Government among any of the Competitors for Office".

After a close examination of the political scene his "desire of coming out into Political life which never had been ardent greatly decreased". Whilst he felt that the only man who might be able sensibly to resolve the quarrel with the American Colonies was Pitt, he doubted whether he really could "come again to the head of affairs in the reign of a Monarch who would suffer no minister to remain in power who regarded the rights of the people as a primary consideration". In this he was also right, although he felt that it was worth

1. Charles Watson Wentworth (1730 - 1782); Prime Minister in 1765 and 1782.

entrusting the matter to Pitt. He wrote:

"(I) used the advantages I derived from Rank, youth & alliance, to get into the interior of the Court & to impress the King thro the medium of Women & Confidential servants with the notion of his getting better terms for himself & family from Pitt than from any of the other leaders of Opposition".

Correspondence between Buchan and various members of the Royal Family shows that he was much respected, but it is very unlikely that he could have had much effect upon the mind and intentions of the King.

Buchan now determined to refresh himself by leaving England for a time. He wrote:

"I bent my course to Scotland & the Paternal acres where my Father had given me a commission to act for the good management of his affairs ... I examined every furrow of my Father's Estate drew sketches of every farm, and laid down plans of future improvement. I lived chiefly on Milk eggs & pulse walked every where seldom using either horseback or a carriage".

When Buchan succeeded to the "Paternal acres" he employed this method of farming, always keeping a close watch on the sources of his income as his father probably never did. He renewed the acquaintance in Edinburgh of Lord Kames, spending much time discussing the subject of agriculture, and no doubt he derived assistance from the suggestions he received. In the "extracts" Buchan quotes from a letter he had from Kames on 26 June, 1764:

"I will tell you sincerely that you are one of the few young men of figure whom I have destined in my own mind to be an ornament to your Country".

This was high praise, but not unmerited, nor was Buchan the kind of man to suffer adversely from eulogy.

Having been "honoured" by the University of Glasgow with "a Degree of Doctor of Laws" in 1763¹, he wrote:

"I was well aware how nugatory these honours have been rendered by their Abuse yet I accepted of them with gratitude as marking my growing attachment & my Allegiance to the Republick of Learning".

His "Fathers Commission" completed on the family estates, Buchan returned to London, on horseback, and then proceeded to Walcot, near Bath, where his father's residence was. Here he had a further taste of scheming politicians.

Pitt soon returned to power, in 1766, and Buchan went to London for the express purpose of hearing the speech he would make when he again entered parliament. Greatly though he admired Pitt, Buchan yet remarked upon a speech which seemed to him "well practised at the looking glass". He was compelled to conclude from witnessing Pitt's tricks of oratory and demeanour that he was "an accomplished English Political Mountebank". If the judgment seems harsh or derogatory, it has to be remembered that Buchan himself was too honest a man in his speech and dealings to appreciate chicanery of any sort

1. W. Innes Addison: A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow, 1898. p. 73.

in any man, however exalted.

It must have come as relief to Buchan when his brother Thomas returned from the navy, intending to read for the Bar. Buchan now "resumed the task of directing him in his studies". He himself was even stirred into producing some translations of Seneca¹.

By this time Pitt had accepted a peerage, and Buchan regarded him with "contempt". Nevertheless, because he wished to go to Spain, he accepted Pitt's proposal that he should go there as "Secretary of the Embassy which was to adjust the business of the Manilla Ransom"². Buchan wrote of his reason for wishing to go abroad:

"(in Spain) there were many things to attract my curiosity & particularly the old Libraries in the Convents where I hoped to meet with some of the lost Classicks".

There was no hypocrisy in this reason, for Buchan considered scholarship of such importance that personal feelings such as those he entertained for Pitt should not be allowed to hamper any scheme for its promotion. It was for this same reason that he gave Pinkerton³ so much assistance in later years despite the ungrateful attitude

1. Roman Philosopher, (c. 4 B.C. - 65 A.D.).

2. Britain had captured Manila from Spain during the Seven Years' War.

3. John Pinkerton, eminent antiquary and author (1758 - 1826).

of that scholarly boor:

When Lord Chesterfield heard of Buchan's appointment to the embassy, he said he was being sent "to divert the Donnas of Spain". Unfortunately for Buchan, the "Donnas" never set eyes on him in their native country, for he had to withdraw from the appointment. In his "extracts" he gave his reason:

"Soon after this (i.e. applying for the embassy post) my Father's health which had been long declining became languishing and dangerous.

He disapproved in these circumstances of my leaving the Kingdom when in the event of his death I should be at a distance from the care of his surviving family".

Buchan, then, abandoned his opportunity of visiting Spain out of deference to his father's wishes, and not because he resented being asked to serve under an Ambassador¹ who was his social inferior, as Dr. Johnson apparently believed². Buchan found this question of social status a "silly hobble", but the Spaniards, with their stricter notions of etiquette, might not have agreed. Perhaps Buchan was spared a considerable degree of embarrassment. He did not dwell on the matter, contenting himself by saying:

"Samuel Johnson & all the Aristocrats were on my side but it was Duty & affection alone that determined me to relinquish this situation".

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1. Sir James Gray.
 2. Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, Revised and enlarged edition by L.F. Powell, Oxford, 1934. Vol.2, p.177.

Buchan's father's fears for his health were well-founded for he died on 1 December, 1767, at Walcot.

CHAPTER II.The Young Earl.(1767-1780).

After his father's death, "the young Earl of Buchan now became very conspicuous in the ranks of Methodism. He made a bold avowal of his faith, and was zealous and constant in his attachment to the cause of God and truth"¹. Part of a letter written by Buchan at this time to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher² bears out this comment on his religious fervour:

"Pray for me, that I also may be found faithful when our Master calls for me, and that I may live a martyr to redeeming love, and die a trophy and a monument of the reality of the despised influences of the Holy Ghost"³.

George Whitefield⁴ also was impressed by Buchan's zeal, for to Dr. Gillies⁵ he wrote⁶:

"(Buchan) hath got the blessing indeed, and seems, upon the best evidence, to determine to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified. He hath behaved in the most delicate manner to the Countess (his mother) and other noble survivors (his brothers and sisters). He stands here in town against all

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1. Aaron C.H. Seymour: Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, 2 vols. London, 1840. Vol.2, p. 17.
 2. Buchan appointed him, and two other ministers - Mr. Venn and Mr. Berridge - as personal chaplains.
 3. Seymour, op. cit., p. 18.
 4. (1714 - 1770); The famous Methodist preacher.
 5. (1712 - 1796); Preacher in Glasgow.
 6. Seymour, op. cit. ... p.17.

opposition, like an impregnable rock, and I humbly hope will prove the Daniel of the age".

Unhappily for Buchan and Whitefield's hopes, when the young earl "made a public avowal of his principles", he was assailed by the "laugh and lash of all wittlings of the rooms". It was more to his credit that he "defied all the sneers of the court, and dared 'to be singularly good'". Those who now reviled him were his "former companions and associates"¹. Most of Buchan's associates before his father's death were people of a very different stamp from the members of the shallow, artificial world of eighteenth century Bath and its "rooms". The experience must have been shattering for the studious young man who, despite his army service, must have had very little personal experience of the world. After the coarse reception of his views by the aristocratic society at Bath he made the appointment of the three chaplains, perhaps partly to vindicate his sentiments, but he seems never again to have made so public a statement of his religious attitude. It is obvious that he remained a firm Christian, at least, for the rest of his life, but the jeers which met his naive revelation must have chastened him.

1. Seymour, op. cit., *Ibid.* ... p.18.

In the "Extracts" from his diaries, he wrote that he first began to question the truth of Christianity in 1763. He gave a great deal of time and thought, he said, to the problem of belief in Christian doctrine, and ultimately satisfied himself that he was right to accept its teachings.

"I took the Sacrament at St. Andrews as a public mark of my sentiments in the Christian Religion and its Author. On the same grounds i have continued to associate, and to attend the legal publick worship whether in Scotland or elsewhere and I have annually and regularly administered the Sacrament with my hands as an Elder or deacon of the Scotch Church, nor should i blush to be seen in the exârcise of this benevolent & beautiful function before an assembly of the most enlightened Philosophers."

Since this was written more than thirty years after the time he spoke of, it is obvious that his convictions were deeply rooted, and unlikely to be shaken by the cynicism of polite society at Bath or anywhere else.

Flouted publicly in his religious zeal, Buchan now turned his undeniable talents to politics. Here he was no more successful. Writing in a circular letter "to the Peers of Scotland" in 1780¹ Buchan recalled his early attempt:

"in the year 1768 when I offerd myself as a candidate in opposition to Lord Inwin who was not qualified by Law to reppresent the Scotch Peerage, I had not the suffrage of a Single Peer".

Buchan felt keeply the miserable circumstances connected with

1. G.U.L. MSS. Commonplace Book, p.74.

the election of Scots noblemen to the House of Lords, calling the situation an "unhappy Disgrace". What he objected to was the tame submission of Scots Noblemen to an electoral system which ensured that only Peers amenable to the wishes of the reigning administration in England were elected.

For many years Buchan tried to make the election of the sixteen peers a genuine expression of Scots wishes. In the end, he concluded that the corrupt world of party politics was not for him, although he claimed, with a measure of truth, that Chatham had thought well of his abilities. Of his relationship with Chatham he could say:

"I had had sufficient Honor which will follow me to the Grave in having been selected without Fortune or Patronage by the Earl of Chatham to enjoy his confidence & to be a sharer in his misfortunes. I am very confident I shall never know another Man who shall make me regret that I had not been born ten years sooner"¹.

That Buchan was sufficiently well-qualified to take an active part in politics is not to be doubted. That he should have been denied the opportunity to show his worth is quite disgraceful, but comprehensible in view of the eighteenth century's standards.

Buchan's Interest in Farming.

When Buchan returned to Scotland after his

1. G.U.L. MSS. Commonplace book, p.74.

father's death, he did not go to live at Uphall where his mother was staying, but took up residence at Middleton. Here he set himself to improving the system of farming. The methods then in use were outdated and wasteful, such practices as the run-rig system still existing. The "run-rig" system meant that a number of tenants held single ridges or "rigs" in the same field, the ridges being separated by "balks" which were narrow strips of land farmed by nobody. In the course of time the balks, made the repository of weeds and stones, grew so broad that as much as a third of the whole field could not be farmed. Paths had to be made to allow the different tenants access to their ridges, and this resulted in more waste of land. Although this was patently wasteful of good land, Buchan experienced resentment and opposition when he introduced enclosure of fields, the use of artificial grasses, summer fallow, and other improvements brought by the Agrarian Revolution. He persisted in his efforts, and, inevitably, profitable results were obtained. Not the least of his innovations was the granting to tenants of leases of 19 and 38 years¹.

Buchan's account book² reveals his dutiful

1. Fergusson, op. cit. pp. 191 - 2.

2. N.L.S. Ms. 343.

attention to his tenants' farms. By August, 1768, Buchan was staying at his estate of Kirkhill, and it is with the management of his affairs there that the account book is concerned.

It is a painstaking record of income and expenditure, from August 1768 until May 1788. In the years 1768 to 1772 much attention was paid to the careful maintenance of property. Repairs seem to have been carried out regularly, and much emphasis was laid on ditching. Such work is not unusual, but Buchan was a true farmer in recognising the virtue of keeping his property in first-class order.

Although the book was kept by a factor, Buchan supervised it carefully, and kept a close check on its entries, entering such marginalia as the date of his marriage, and that of his brother Henry. There is a very long entry in his hand, showing his extensive acquaintance with all the farms, live-stock, poultry, and gear on his property. He headed it: "Sketch and Summary of the enclosures proper to be executed on the Estate of Kirkhill, the nature of the Fences the number of Scotch chains to be fenced & the average expence of enclosing the different Farms, 1780."

There are 31 farms in this list, and for each there are 10 entries, as follows:

- "1. Names of the Farms & Farmers
2. Gross contents of the Farms at Present
3. Gross contents on the New Plan
4. The Number and Nature of the Enclosures on the Farm
5. Scotch chains of Fences to be made in the Farm
6. The Charge of Enclosing the Farm & the size of largest park
7. The present Rent of the farm at the usual (sic) conversions
8. Rent to be demanded at the end of the present Lease the Tenant to enclose
9. Rent to be demanded if Enclosed by the Proprietor
10. Poultry and carriages to be demanded on a New lease & the present reddend(?)"

Only three farms were enclosed when he drew up the list, so he obviously intended something in the nature of a private agrarian revolution.

Despite his many other interests and the enthusiasm he displayed for them, he remained a farmer at heart all his life. Much of the charm of living at Dryburgh Abbey must have come from the farming he did there. Buchan does not seem to have taken the lead in the development of any new farming techniques, but to have contented himself with following successful experiments. Although this seems conservative, perhaps cautious, at least it involved no risks and did result in increased prosperity for landlord and tenants.

An absence of self-satisfaction characterised his attitude to farming. On 25 January, 1800¹, he wrote

1. G.U.L. Mss.

to Dr. Robert Anderson:

"I should wish to see much attention paid to every kind of Labour-saving Machine applicable to the uses of the Farmer and every species of Economy capable of being adopted with advantage By which means and these only Great Britain may be enabled in spite of the most adverse circumstances with her Capital Skill and dexterity in the Arts to come on advantageous terms into competition with foreign Markets in the new condition of things that is fast approaching in Europe owing to a general Spirit of improvement and of Adventure".

Buchan found his estates impoverished when he succeeded his father, and so ordered matters that they prospered. His annual income rose from £200 a year to about £2,000.

Despite his success, it is obvious that he did not lapse into complacency, and the sensible note on competition in his letter to Anderson might have been written one hundred and fifty years later. As in many things, Buchan's assessment of futurity was shrewd.

The first withdrawal from public life.

After his experience of politics, Buchan seems to have withdrawn from the public scene. He was elected a member of the Aberdeen Literary Society¹ in 1769, and in the same year he made a gift to the University of that city².

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. Margaret Forbes: Beattie and his Friends, London, 1904, p.39.

Buchan was in Aberdeen in the autumn of 1769, and formed a friendship with James Beattie¹. In a letter² Buchan informed Beattie that he wished to make, through him, the gift of a silver pen to Marischal College. This was to be used as a prize, to be competed for annually by "the students in the junior Greek class". George Campbell³ acknowledged Buchan's gift by a letter⁴ from Marischal College, dated 22 February, 1770. He apologised for the delay in acknowledging the presentation, but gave no reason, although the letter was so overdue that Buchan had written to the College to ascertain whether it had received the gift.

Although he was withdrawn from public life, it is not surprising that he had heard about the "Wilkes Case". His sympathies were with Wilkes, an opponent of political corruption. He wrote to Wilkes⁵ who replied in a letter of 16 May, 1770, in such a way that it is obvious Buchan had praised his firm stand. Wilkes acknowledged him as a "real patron of liberty". This fact ought to have been

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1. (1735 - 1803); poet and essayist.
 2. A.U.L. Mss. C.27 (missing). Part of this letter is in Beattie and his Friends, p.39.
 3. (1719 - 1796); divine and eminent historical writer.
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.
 5. (1727 - 1792); Founder of the North Briton.

obvious to anyone in touch with the politics of the time, but Buchan must have been more accustomed to hearing charges of eccentricity levelled against his endeavours. Amid all the dust and confusion of the "Wilkes Case" Buchan probably saw more clearly than most where the real issue lay. Later he endorsed this letter of Wilkes, with the words: "Wilkes owed his existence to that foolish Fellow Bute". "Foolish" is perhaps an unsuitable, if kind, adjective to apply to conduct which led to Wilkes gaining a popularity he hardly merited and might never otherwise have enjoyed. Writing of a letter from Wilkes to Robert Foulis, dated 3 December, 1746, Buchan noted:

"no friend to truth can deny that he was basely persecuted by the first of those abominable administrations that have disgraced the present reign"¹.

Buchan's mind, however, must have found rest from painful contemplation of politics in 1771. On 15 October he married his cousin Margaret², daughter of William Fraser of Fraserfield. The marriage lasted for 48 years, and seems to have been very happy. Buchan's only child³ was born in this year, on 19 December, but he was illegitimate. There is a short account of the main

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1. Ralph Duncan: Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, Glasgow MDCCCXXI, p.54 (verbatim et literatim reprint, Glasgow, Thomas D. Morrison, 1886).
 2. Margaret Fraser of Fraserfield, Buchan's 2nd cousin (1754 - 1819).
 3. David Buchan (1771 - 1838).

incidents of his childhood in Buchan's own hand¹, and it appears that he was brought up in Buchan's household until 1775.

As early in this year as 27 April, when he wrote² to Beattie, Buchan could say of his life that it was "hermitical". Since so much of the rest of it was exactly like that, it is reasonable to assume that he found a great degree of seclusion congenial. But it must be remembered that he had tried to take a part in life that he had been fitted for, and that he had met with uncommon opposition. No matter what he turned his energies to, he seemed always to incur hostility or scorn from many of those who should have known better. It would be difficult to censure him for immersing himself at so early an age in family life, for there at least he must have found content.

Little is known about his life in the 1770's, but almost certainly he spent much of his time in study, a pursuit he followed until his last years. His choice of reading was very wide, and his taste was that of an intelligent, inquiring man, but it is doubtful if he ever

1. N.L.S. Ms. 806.

2. A.U.L. Ms. C.56.

attained a high degree of scholarship. This would appear to be borne out in a letter to him from George Stuart¹, dated 20 August, 1782². Buchan had sent Stuart a copy of his Latin Addresses, and Stuart remarked upon the number of grammatical errors in them. The criticism was probably just, for Buchan noted on this letter:

"My foreign correspondence being frequent and extensive, I could not submit to the drudgery of correct Latin composition and indeed who pretends now a days to write Latin fluently and correctly? But Professor Stuarts Zeal for my honour & that of our Country does him honour & credit".

Buchan's final comment shows that he did not object to criticism when it came from a competent authority, and when it was given in a friendly spirit.

Apart from study, he gave time to farming and to practising new techniques. When he took up residence at Dryburgh Abbey, years later, he certainly did a great deal of this sort of work, much of the actual labour apparently done with his own hands. Whatever he did, it is certain that he took care not to let either mind or body rust or deteriorate.

All his time was not spent in the narrow confines

1. (1714 - 1793); Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.
2. E.U.L. Mss. La D.C.1.24.

of his estate at Kirkhill. In the winter of 1775 he stayed at Meldrum in Aberdeenshire¹.

Thomas Shairp² wrote to Buchan on 30 June, 1777³, acknowledging a letter from him, dated 25 June⁴. Buchan had evinced an interest in the methods of calculating the heights of natural objects, it seems, for Shairp explained how he himself had estimated the height of Arthur's Seat. Shairp wrote again on 6 July⁵, thanking Buchan for his letter of 3 July⁴. Buchan had asked him for information, and Shairp suggested some sources of reference likely to prove fruitful.

Buchan set himself to another congenial task in the summer of 1777. He wrote:

"In the Summer of the year 1777 I amused myself with executing on my Estate of Strathbroke in West Lothian an Epitome of the Solar System on the scale hereunto annexed which has been given to the Publick in my Statistical account of the Parish of Uphall inserted in the 1 volume of the Antiquarian Transactions at Edinburgh."⁶

A letter from Alexander Wilson⁷, dated 21 July, 1777⁸,

1. Noted in N.L.S. Ms. 806.
2. Of the family of Shairp of Houston. Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland. (d. 1785).
3. N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.181.
4. n.f.
5. N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.187.
6. Printed in *Archaeologia Scotica*, Vol.I, pp. 139 - 155.
7. (1714 - 1786); Type founder, and Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow University from 1760 till 1784.
8. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14., f.173.

gave Buchan the mathematical advice he needed for this project. Buchan had written to him¹, and did so again on 24 July, 1777¹, although the answer to the second letter came from Wilson's son Patrick². Buchan's second letter had asked for astronomical information, and he was advised to consult a printed source³. The tone of this second letter was scarcely effusive or encouraging:

"I'm afraid the very liberal Plan conceived by your Lordship for demonstrating to future times the Interest you at present take in the Science of Astronomy might be liable (to) some objections".

One objection, at any rate, seems to have come, here, from Patrick Wilson, presumably because he disapproved of amateurs, whether of noble birth or not.

Buchan cherished a sincere affection and respect for his mother, and her death in Edinburgh, in 1778, must have been a severe blow to him. He would have agreed with the tribute which said that she died, "carrying as we cannot doubt, a pure and gentle face to heaven"⁴. Buchan

1. Letter n.f.

2. Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow University from 1784 till 1799.

3. Phil. Trans. Vol. LXXI.

4. Fergusson, op. cit., p.159.

paid many tributes to his mother, commenting upon her splendid qualities and marked common sense to such an extent that it is obvious he must almost have worshipped her.

Buchan had been inquiring in this year of William Fraser¹, whether he knew the whereabouts of certain pictures which he wished to have copied. Probably all of these portraits were of notable Scotsmen. Buchan devoted much time to procuring copies of such pictures², and Fraser was able to inform Buchan³ that he had located those Buchan was interested in. Buchan had already written on this subject to Sir John Dalrymple⁴, who replied by a letter of 10 December, 1778⁵, that he had approached Cooper⁶ about engraving "Heads of illustrious Scots", but that he had failed to "get Cooper the Engraver to enter into it". The plan to engrave from authentic portraits was not ruined, however, for Dalrymple had told Lord Mountstuart⁷ about it, and he had promised £100 towards

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1. Of Fraserfield (1725 - 1788); "A Man of learning and Taste" (Buchan's note).
 2. of. The "Temple of Caledonian Fame", vide p. 83.
 3. By a letter of 31 December, 1778 (N.L.S. Ms. 3813, p.15).
 4. Of Cranston, an eminent lawyer. (1726 - 1810).
 5. N.L.S. Ms. 3873.
 6. Painter and engraver. (1740(?) - 1814).
 7. John, 4th Earl and 1st Marquess of Bute (1744 - 1814).

its prosecution. He mentioned difficulties, such as bad workmanship, saying Runciman¹, had done "some heads from the pictures ill".

With the death of his mother in this year, Buchan must have felt even more the fact that he was the head of his family since his best link with the past was gone. Soon he was to emerge from the self-imposed obscurity which had enveloped him for over a decade, and engross himself in the foundation of the Antiquarian Society. His subsequent withdrawal to Dryburgh Abbey ten years later was never so complete a shutting out of the outside world as his first, disillusioned retreat from a world which had shown little sign of welcoming his unquestionable talents. Not until the closing years of his life was he so apart from his fellows.

A letter of 28 January, 1780², from the Rev. Thomas Mackay³, gives us some insight into the warm hospitality Buchan extended to guests, Mackay's son, John, had coached Buchan's son when the boy was on holiday at Kirkhill, and had obviously been treated far better than any employee could have expected. He had sent so favourable a report of Buchan's generous conduct

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1. Alexander Runciman; historical painter (1736 - 1785).
 2. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.41.
 3. Minister of Laing.

that his father felt impelled to write what was really a fulsome letter of thanks. Mackay referred variously to Buchan as the "Father of the Country", and as striving to assert "the independency, the honour & the dignity" of Scotland. No doubt Buchan was gratified by this small recognition of some of the good he had done.

On 18 May, 1780¹, he wrote to James Cummyng²:

"You will do me a very particular favour by sending me lists of the Scotch Peerage at the accession of King Robert the 2d. of Scotland³, and also that of 1597 which you kindly promised me. If to this you would add the favour of transcribing the designations and Substitution simply contained in the Record of Patents Charters &c of Scotch Peerages in your possession, the obligation would be very acceptable".

Such a list would have involved considerable effort, and the "obligation" would have been very real, but there was an additional request:

"Copies of any other material papers or evidents relating to the Scotch Peerage in your possession and not published or rarely to be met with in very Scarce Books would be chearfully paid for transcribing when I have considered the list & nature of such papers, Evidents or others relating to the scotch Peerage".

Such materials, if sent by Cummyng, would have helped to swell Buchan's already large collection. In

1. N.L.S. Ms. 3134, No. 31.
2. (d. 1793); subsequently secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
3. Buchan transmitted a similar list, at a later date, to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth.

an age when many Scotsmen of high rank did little to foster an awareness of Scottish tradition, Buchan's zeal in assembling a mass of little-known information which would provide a fuller picture of Scottish history is as refreshing as it must have been unusual.

On 28 June, 1780¹, Buchan wrote to George Paton² on behalf of his brother-in-law, William Fraser:

"Mr. Fraser who is a collector of Scotch Antiquities in the Coin line, observed sometime ago an advertisement concerning some repository being found containing a quantity of old Scotch Coins, which if not owned & for Sale & comatible he would gladly have a list of".

This was not the sole topic of the letter, for Buchan broached his plans for the formation of an Antiquarian Society. If the note sounded in the letter was over-optimistic, at least he had the good sense to seek the capable opinion of an able antiquarian before making his intentions public.

Buchan wrote to Thomas Cotter³ on 16 June 1780⁴, to tell him of his mother's death. Cotter's sister had obviously been in difficult circumstances, and Buchan

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1. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.
 2. (1721 - 1807); eminent antiquary.
 3. not identified.
 4. not found.

had behaved generously towards her, a fact which he appears to have concealed from Cotter who had found out his kindness from another source. As Cotter wrote, it showed Buchan "the great & good man".¹ There is no doubt that Buchan's kindness extended to many, but it seems also to have been much overlooked.

Apart from the letter to Paton, there seems to have been little indication that 1780 was to be as momentous for Buchan as it proved, yet he must have given a great deal of time and thought to making his final arrangements for the calling of the first meeting of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Now he forsook the life of a farmer and country gentleman to enter fully into the kind of prominent place in society for which he had been trained.

1. 11 July, 1780 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.199.)

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come to believe that if he took no action there would be no other to do so.

It is doubtful if he was filled with insane optimism, for at the age of thirty eight he was a mature and intelligent man who had experienced sufficient disappointment in life to have acquired a philosophical outlook. It was this balanced attitude that subsequently persuaded him emigration was not the panacea a younger man might have considered it. He remembered the lesson taught him in Bath, just after his father's death, when the cynics received his naive declaration of Christian faith with contumely, and proceeded to accomplish his schemes in the expectation of abuse and hostility. When he was attacked, he was quite ready, and if he was saddened by criticism founded mainly on ignorance of what he was trying to do, he took care to behave with dignity.

Any assessment of Buchan's character and achievement must be based, largely, on this stage of his life. He would have agreed himself with this claim, for his withdrawal to Dryburgh Abbey brought to an end his wholehearted participation in public affairs.

Buchan the Antiquarian.

From his childhood Buchan showed a marked interest in antiquities and Natural History:

"Oft did the brook my wandring steps beguile
to me a Ganges, or a sourceless Nile.
The naked minerals therei keenly view'd
Gatherd strange plants or butterfliæs pursued."¹

He was fortunate in having as his "praeceptor" James Buchanan² who encouraged Buchan's bent, being himself "a Botanist and attached to the study of Natural history in general". This careful and sensible fostering of the child's interests laid the foundation for much of the labour of Buchan's adult life.

He must have been in touch with Sir James Macdonald of Sleat³ about Natural History, for on 25 July, 1761, Macdonald wrote him¹, saying;

"The natural Column you mention in Skye is a very singular curiosity, it is at the bottom of a great number of Tarmachans; so that you will have a double advantage in going to see it".

Buchan's projected visit to Skye at this time did not take place, for his intended host, Sir James, sustained a serious accident soon after he had written Buchan the letter of 25 July. Since Buchan could not visit Skye, he

"roamed about the Glens of the West Highland
climbed Steepest mountains & penetrated into

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1. G.U.L. MSS. Extracts from Lord Buchan's Diaries & Letterbooks.
 2. (1732 - 1764); Professor of Oriental Languages in Glasgow University.
 3. (1741 - 1766).

the deepest recesses for the curiosities of Nature. I studied the language & the manner of the Gael examined the remains of their rude antiquity".

That Buchan had been busy for years before this time in the pursuit of knowledge with antiquarian interest is probable, but it was in 1761 that he began really to be very active and to form ordered notions of procedure in a field which so held his attention.

The year 1761 was very busy for Buchan. He spent some time in London, meeting

"several of the diletanti & occasionally men of real merit among these was the worthy & laborious George Edwards¹ the Naturalist whom i frequently visited at his appartments in the College of Physicians & procured for him some rare & curious birds for his collection. On my excursions through the highlands it was one of my amusements to collect insects & i was desirous of preserving such birds as i thought had not been sett down by ornithologists as natives of Scotland I wished also to excite some of my young acquaintance who were going to distant Countries to collect & preserve the objects of Natural history & with this view I wrote² to Old Edwards solliciting him for a simple recipe to preserve & cure Birds & animals, & when i received it I sent copys of it to my correspondents".³

Buchan's scholarly zeal is the more remarkable and commendable since he was only 19 years old at this time. That his enquiry of Edwards had not been in vain is seen

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1. Naturalist (1694 - 1773).
 2. G.U.L. Mss.
 3. G.U.L. Mss.

when he notes:

"Mr. Edwards simple mode of preserving the objects of Natural history was of much use to many of my young friends abroad & afterwards enriched our British Museums".¹

About this time Buchan also obtained

"a fine collection of birds taken from the French by Washington² Earl Ferrers then Capt. Shirley for Edwards, by using his influence with John Gideon Loten, formerly Gov: of the Dutch Settlement in Ceylon".¹

Buchan had already evinced an interest in Scots antiquarian study. When at Fort Augustus in the early summer of 1761 he had obtained drawings "of the ruins of the Church in Icolumbkill"¹. Buchan afterwards etched these, and when Volume I of The transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland³ was published, it contained one of them as well as Buchan's account of the island.

Now, however, for the first time Buchan began to dream of a project which became dear to him later:

"the promotion (if ever it should be in my power) to carrying this plan of general Parochial survey into execution & to print the Cartularies of the old Monastic houses with engravings of their remains".⁴

Buchan was to expend a great deal of time on the furtherance of this scheme, and he produced as a model of what he felt

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. 5th Earl Ferrers (1722 - 1778); Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

3. pp. 234 - 241.

4. G.U.L. Mss.

was necessary, a survey of the parish of Uphall. There were, nevertheless, other activities to absorb Buchan's attention in the year 1761.

In the autumn Buchan

"made a drawing of the old Priory of Pluscarden in the County of Moray, of Beaulieu Priory in Inverness-shire & of several old towers referred to the Age of the Picts",¹

and in October, Buchan

"returned with my Father to St. Andrews resolving to dedicate myself to my family & to domestic duties till I should be called to Edinburgh at the sittings of the University there"¹.

Knowing that practical antiquarian study would be curtailed by his studies at Edinburgh, he seized the opportunity, whilst in Aberdeen for a few days to examine "the Tombs of Bishop Elphinstone², Hector Boece³, & other antiquities that excited my attention"¹.

When Buchan visited London in 1764, he met Dr. Birch⁴, the Secretary of the Royal Society, and Emanuel Mendez Da Costa, its librarian, and "frequently attended the meetings of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies"¹.

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. William Elphinstone (1431 - 1514); Bishop of Aberdeen.

3. (c.1465 - 1536); Scottish historian.

4. Dr. Thomas Birch; Historian and Biographer. (1705 - 1766).

Buchan was beginning to demonstrate a keen interest in politics at this time, also, but

"Science dear Science & Philosophy continued to hold the mastery of my affections and to these I every day more & more attached myself".¹

That this was true is attested by his having spent much time with Dr. Birch, and in visits to the British Museum. The time he spent then must have stood him in good stead when he came to found the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780. He was enrolled a member of the Royal Society at this time, and made many visits to the Duke of Richmond's² Museum. His interest in antiquarian matters, and his desire to acquire more knowledge appear to have excluded any desire for more worldly entertainment in a very worldly city.

When he returned to Scotland, later in the year, he presented to the University of Edinburgh

"for the creation of a Class in Natural History a collection of Specimens of the lead & Copper ore of the Mendip hills and of figured fossils of the Silver ores of Kongsberg in Norway & other Natural rarities".³

The finds in the Mendips were made in learned company, that

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond (1701 - 1750). F.S.A. 1736 (President 1749 - 50).

3. G.U.L. Mss.

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mentioning his desire to "erect a little museum" of antiquities in Scotland, and in a letter of 14 June, 1766¹, he referred to this project as the "Museum Cardrossianum in Caledonia". When he wrote again to Da Costa, on 22 October, 1766¹, it was to ask him for "specimens" of his "collection of ores and fossils". In return Buchan offered items Da Costa lacked. In this letter he revealed that the excavations in Somerset had yielded, as well as fossils, "the bones of an immense elephant, found in a bed of ochre in Somersetshire at a great depth".

Buchan was aware of the difficulties that would attend the creation of a museum in Scotland. He wrote, at this time²:

"I often expressed my regrets to Dr. William Hunter³ on the difficulties that were to surmount in Scotland from the want of a Collection or Museum for advantageous Praelection & that I thought a Professorship of Natural History should be attached to the British Musaeum at London.

One day on my talking much in this Strain he said I will remedy that difficulty in Scotland - But it must be yet a great while".

Hunter himself amassed a large and very valuable collection of specimens of human and comparative anatomy, fossils, shells, corals, and other objects of natural history. He possessed also a splendid collection of

1. Nichols: Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol.6, p. 498.
2. G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries.
3. (1718 - 1783); eminent anatomist and obstetrician.

Greek and Latin books, and a cabinet of ancient coins and medals whose value was extremely high. He made good his promise to Buchan, for he bequeathed the entire Museum to the University of Glasgow, along with £8000 in cash for a building to house it, and a further sum of £500 per annum to pay for its upkeep.¹

Buchan interested himself considerably in antiquarian matters from this time. For example, he corresponded with William Guthrie², and in a letter of 12 September, 1767³, from him Buchan noted that he had sent him "some particulars relative to the Hist. of Scotland". His interest was virtually all-embracing, for a letter of 31 December, 1778⁴, from William Fraser, gave Buchan the names of those who owned historical portraits of which he wanted copies. His interest in this aspect of antiquities remained strong until almost the end of his life.

On 28 June, 1780⁵, he wrote to George Paton, to make enquiries about a recent discovery of "some repository being found containing a quantity of old Scotch coins".

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1. William Anderson: The Scottish Nation. Edinburgh, 1866. Vol. 2, p. 513.
 2. (1700 - 1770); a political, historical and miscellaneous writer.
 3. E.U.L. Mss. La II. 588.
 4. N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 281.
 5. N.L.S. Ms. 29.5.8.

It was not the subject of numismatics that made this letter interesting, but the reference to Paton of his

"Plan for the institution of a Society at Edⁿ. for the investigation of the Antiquities of Scotland which many ingenious Persons in different parts of the Country seem well disposed to promote".

His decision to found an antiquarian society came as the logical sequel to a love of antiquarian study in most of its aspects. There was nothing sudden about his enthusiasm: only his realisation that there were other scholars better equipped to do what was necessary had restrained him.

The Foreshadowing of the Antiquarian Society.

Although Buchan founded the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, he always wished to make it quite clear that he had not done so simply for his own glorification. For that reason he declined to accept the role of President. He undertook the task of instituting the Society because no one else was willing to devote the time and energy necessary, and he indicated on several occasions that he felt his own inadequacy.

It was obvious that he would do something of the kind, some day, for his love of antiquities was with him all his life. If the Society was not all it might have been, then that was not his fault, for he did his utmost for it.

Two years before he invited various antiquaries to meet at his house in Edinburgh to form a Society, he gave a "Discourse for the purpose of Promoting the Institution of a Society for the Investigation of the History of Scotland, and its Antiquities"¹. In it he explained why he felt such a Society was needed, although he stressed that he was by no means the most competent Scotsman to decide what such a Society should do, or even how it should conduct its business. The bulk of the "Discourse" comprised "thoughts" about what Scottish antiquaries had accomplished, and what ought to be undertaken "in the line of . . . Scottish History and Antiquities".

He anticipated possible criticism of an Antiquarian Society on the grounds that it might "seem useless or frivolous" to others, but answered such, as yet unspoken, carping views by claiming that love of one's country and its heritage was sufficient justification.

He disposed of the notion that Scotland had no famous men by referring to such as Sir James Balfour², Dalrymple of Stair³, Dr. Arthur Johnson⁴, and William Drummond of Hawthornden⁵. He felt that it was only right

1. Edinburgh, 1778.

2. of Kinnaird (c.1600 - 1657); eminent herald, annalist, and antiquary.

3. John, 2nd Earl of Stair (1679 - 1747); distinguished military commander and accomplished statesman.

4. (1587 - 1641); physician and humanist.

5. (1585 - 1649); poet.

that Scotland should attempt to hold up her achievement to the world.

His "Discourse" was not just a collection of brief tributes to Scotsmen, however, for he had some practical suggestions to put forward for the consideration of his fellow-enthusiasts. Remarking upon any attempt to keep interest in a Society alive, he stated that a house was necessary, so that regular meetings could be held in a place suited to the discussion of antiquities. By this he meant a museum where members could amass a library and collections. He saw, also, the desirability of a curator "to care for their books, museum, and other necessary appurtenances".

Having underlined the need for a suitable repository, he went on to indicate that a "Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland" could easily be formed at that time. There were sufficient men of ability to ensure that the subjects it discussed would be serious and profitable. He thought that the ancient manners and customs of Scotland deserved attention, and hoped that there would be a genuine study of old manuscripts relating to Kings, their prerogatives, and their parliaments.

Buchan claimed that the acquisition of a house suitable for conversion to a "museum" would be a simple matter. He envisaged buying one in Edinburgh for £750

or £850, and considered that it could be equipped for a further £200. Time was to show that his estimate was at fault, but even so, really enthusiastic members could have paid for a building adequate for their needs had they stirred themselves. Characteristically, Buchan suggested that St. Andrew's Day might be chosen by the Society as the most appropriate for the appointment of its office bearers.

This "Discourse" was really an adumbration of what Buchan was to say exactly two years later. The only difference was that in 1780 he addressed a group of men who expressed their willingness to join with him in founding the Society he had wanted to see for so long. Since he allowed two years to elapse after his public pronouncement, it can fairly be claimed that he had given the Scottish men of letters ample time to take the lead. Any charge that Buchan tried to aggrandise himself by founding the Society of Antiquaries is completely without foundation.

Buchan and the Society of Antiquaries.

When Buchan wrote on 25 October, 1780¹, to

1. Antiquarian Society Correspondence, Vol. I.

James Cummyng¹ that he proposed to call a meeting of "a chosen set of friends at my house in St. Andrews Square, on Tuesday evening, the 14 November", he was at last realising the dream of a Scottish Antiquarian Society, for, he continued,

"The first meeting is proposed to be dedicated to the consideration of rules & orders to be observed by the Society, & to meditate a proper plan for the establishment of it with effect, for the views that are had with respect to it, & I shall then beg leave to communicate the first lines, which have occurred to me as proper to be chalked out, in the general undertaking of a Society for exploring the Antiquities of Scotland, & connecting it with such enquiries as might tend to unfold the Antient State of our Country, Natural, Moral & Political".

It is greatly to Buchan's credit that he undertook a task which was to prove so thankless. If he did regard it, finally, in such light, he had ample justification. He was impelled to form the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland because:

"the labours of individual Antiquaries, unassisted by powerful patronage, and deprived of proper repositories, have hitherto produced no great emolument to the public".²

The need for a "proper repository" was pressing because

"some useful materials, which had been amassed by eminent Antiquaries, were now perishing in the possession of persons who knew not their

1. (d. 1793), Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
2. William Smellie; Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1782, p.2.

value; that others, still existing in public libraries, depended upon the fate of single copies, and were subject to obliteration, to fire, and other causes of destruction; and that it was an object of national importance to bring all these, either in their original form, or by accurate transcript, into one great repository, which should be rendered accessible to the republic of letters"¹.

And so, on 14 November 1780, fourteen gentlemen² met at Buchan's invitation. He read a "discourse"³ to them, one notable for its lack of self-esteem. Whilst disclaiming any superior qualifications for the task he had undertaken, he argued the worthwhile nature of a Society which would investigate Scottish history. He furnished a very broad outline of various periods of that history, paying tribute to the work of such as Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece in the past, and of such contemporaries as Lord Kames⁴, Dr. Gilbert Stuart⁵, and Dr. Blair⁶.

He concluded his "discourse" by outlining suggested "rules and orders" for the Society he contemplated⁷. These were sensible and not over-ambitious. He was anxious that no excessive expenditure should be entailed, particularly.

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1. Smellie, op. cit., pp.2 - 3.
 2. Ibid. part one, p.3.
 3. Ibid. pp.4 - 18.
 4. Henry Home (1696 - 1782); Eminent lawyer and metaphysician.
 5. (1742 - 1786); eminent historical essayist.
 6. (1718 - 1800); Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh University.
 7. Smellie, op. cit. pp.15. - 18.

in the purchase of a house. The house eventually bought cost £1,000, not really a very large sum since a fair number of substantial financial donations were made to the Society in its early days. Buchan's anxiety about avoiding excessive spending was justified, for the Society never did pay the full amount for the house, and had to sell it for less than they had undertaken to pay. Caution marked all Buchan's dealings with the Society.

A second meeting of "a considerable number of Gentlemen" at Buchan's house on 28 November, 1780, "unanimously resolved to meet, on the 18th day of December, in order to form themselves into a regular and permanent body, under the designation of 'The Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland'"¹.

James Forrest² wrote to Buchan in December, 1780³, that the S.P.C.K. would lend its hall for the eighteenth of December, when the assembled gentlemen appointed the Earl of Bute⁴ first President and Buchan first Vice-President. No one could have grudged Buchan the full Presidency, but he never assumed the rank,

1. Smellie, op. cit., p.18.

2. Clerk to the S.P.C.K. (the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. It should not be confused with another body known as the S.P.C.K., the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699, ten years before the foundation of the Scottish Society).

3. A.S. Mss.

4. John Stuart, 3rd Earl (1713 - 1792); P.M. of Great Britain
1769 1762

remaining instead Vice-President until his resignation from the Society, ten years to the day on which he held its very first meeting. As it was, he gave his reasons for remaining in a subsidiary capacity when he addressed the Society on 14 November, 1781¹. He felt that it would be indelicate for him to be President of the Society he had brought into being, and that he would be abler to make suggestions. Presumably he felt that suggestions from a President might savour of despotism.

Bute wrote to Buchan on 29 December, 1780¹, declining the Presidency because of his bad health and "lack of connections", and he suggested Buchan become President himself. Buchan mentioned this letter of Cummyng, on 5 January, 1781¹, and although he wrote: "(Bute) is well pleased with the mark we have done ourselves the Honour to give him", there is no mention of an alternative President.

When Bute again wrote to Buchan on 1 March, 1781¹, he generously sent £100 to the Society's funds. On 14 April, 1781¹, Bute sent another letter to Buchan:

"My Lord

When your Lordship first sent me an account of the improper choice you had made of a President, I recollect mentioning that as I was retir'd from all business your Lordship would of course, execute the trust you had devolv'd on me in whatever tended to the completion of your plan I am obliged to repeat this declaration on

receiving your Lops. Letter, sending me the scroll of the Charter proposed can be of no use as I am wholly unacquainted with these matters of which your Lop. is in truth the proper Judge".

In view of this letter it is surprising that Bute's name remained as the President of the Society of Antiquaries until his death in 1792. Presumably Buchan promised him that he would be called upon to take no active part in the affairs of the Society, feeling that Bute's influence was worth having even if he had no interest in antiquities. Bute does not appear to have attended any of the Society's meetings.

Smellie, in his "Account", goes on¹:

"Soon after the institution of the Society, the number and value of the donations daily received, rendered the purchase of a repository necessary at a more early period than was expected".

The Acquisition of the Antiquarian Society Museum.

On 13 February, 1781², Buchan announced to the Society that when he went, soon, to London, he would do all in his power to advertise the aims of the Society, and advertise for subscriptions. He expressed also his wish to have a house to be used as a museum purchased as quickly as possible. The Society had received a large number of

1. op. cit., p.19.

2. A.S. Mss.

donations to its funds¹, Buchan himself having given twenty pounds.

Buchan hoped that a house might be purchased for about £800, but that eventually purchased cost £1000. Although Buchan mentioned £800 as the sum probably wanted for premises they had decided were suitable when he addressed the Society on 13 February, he had already written to Cummyng, on 1 February², that "£700 is as little as the proprietor can take & as much as we can well afford".

On 3 March, 1781², Buchan again wrote to Cummyng:

"You will further the purchase of Col. Campbell's³ House which if the purchase Money is not required to be paid up fully till Whitsunday 1782, I can fully venture to purchase the House in Trust for the Society; & take my chance of my own support from the publick".

He was very anxious to complete the arrangements for purchasing Campbell's house:

"I suppose 850 or 900£ at most will be accepted by Col: Campbell, & I really think there is little chance of so proper a place appearing again in the market for Some time".

A further, telling point Buchan made was that prospective donors in London were "declining any considerable donations until the House is secured". This letter shows that Buchan

1. Smellie, op. cit., pp. 39 - 41.

2. A.S. Mss.

3. (d. 1796); distinguished soldier.

was the driving force behind the attempt to secure a building which could be adapted to provide a suitable museum as well as furnishing accommodation for regular meetings of the members of the Society. It showed also his practical side, for he did not rest content merely with negotiations. He advised Cummyng to set about engaging tradesmen to survey the house, to ascertain

"the probable charge of a Drain, new Casing the Outside of the House, lining the lower part of the lodging Story with washing boards -- filling up the board room and such fixtures & furniture as would be immediately needed".

Buchan showed himself here the man of action, and certainly no impractical dreamer. Despite his anxiety for a speedy purchase, the transaction appears to have taken rather a long time, for when we see from Cummyng's letter of 27 February, 1781¹, to Buchan that Colonel Campbell had agreed "reluctantly" to accept £1,000 for his house, it is surprising that after another fortnight he had heard nothing further.

By a letter of 12 March, 1781¹, Buchan empowered Cummyng to conclude the purchase

"of that House and area lately possessed by the General Post Office provided that the purchase do not exceed One Thousand pounds and that the price will be allowed to remain in my Hands for the Behalf of the Society untill Mart^s 1782 the Interest at 5 per centum being paid regularly untill the price is made up".

1. A.S. Mss.

Buchan had actually given "his bond in trust for the Society"¹ until it could afford to pay the entire £1,000.

Although the A.S. had received and was to receive handsome donations of money in its early stage, it was in constant financial difficulty during the ten years of Buchan's association with it. Despite his generous gesture in standing security for the Society, we find him writing to Cummyng on 1 September, 1781², that he was displeased with the form of the bond drawn up for the negotiation of the house. Since he stood to lose if any difficulty impeded the smooth transaction of the house purchase, he wrote:

"as I have had as yet no proofs of the generosity of the society in return for mine I am resolved not to submit to so improper, imprudent, & unequal a covenant".

Buchan's attitude to his fellow human beings was usually generous, but here he was sufficiently aware that all was not as it might have been. But for his characteristic unwillingness to think badly of mankind he would have realised the inevitable fate that would befall the museum.

Donations for the Museum flowed in, but by 18 October, 1781², we find Buchan writing to Colonel Campbell,

1. Smellie, op. cit., p.19.

2. A.S. MSS.

asking that he

"would instead of having Martinmass 1782 as the term of completing the payment suffer the Bond to lie over paying the interest thereof at five per Cent. half yearly and the principal at Martinmass 1784 by which time the Society will not only lie in a Chartered State but by your permission will have paid up the whole Price by Installments which in these times is much more decent for an Infant Society than borrowing money on the security of the House".

This certainly did not augur well for the future finances of the A.S., but the transaction went through.

The A.S. Minutes for 4 November, 1783 show that Buchan and Little¹ had undertaken, on behalf of the Society, to give the Royal Bank of Scotland their bond for the £600 needed to complete the house purchase.

On 15 November, 1784², Buchan delivered his Anniversary Address to the A.S.. He remarked gloomily upon the low state of the Society's funds. This he attributed to the Members' apathy, a condition he had mentioned to Cummyng in a letter of 9 July, 1781², when there was talk of arrears in "annual payments". Buchan warned the Members that the Museum might have to be sold, a foreboding repeated in the Anniversary Discourse of 14 November, 1785². The state of the A.S. by November 14, 1786², was no better.

On 19 January, 1787, the A.S. Museum was sold

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1. William Charles Little of Libberton;
 2. A.S. Mss.

for £765, and on 23 January, 1787, Cummyng reported this to the A.S.¹ On 30 January, 1787¹, Buchan told the A.S. that he had applied for the use of rooms in Holyroodhouse Palace for the A.S., and on 13 February, 1787¹, it was decided to rent for one year a house on the west side of Milne's Square. The request for rooms had obviously borne little fruit.

Buchan must have regarded the sale of the Museum as a betrayal of his efforts. He had shown commendable faith by standing security when the house was bought, and constantly striven to improve its amenities. On 28 March, 1781¹, he wrote:

"The Earl of Buchan with respectfull Compliments to the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland begs their acceptance of four Benches for their Hall which may be usefull untill more proper accomodations are provided".

On 10 September, 1781¹, he wrote to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh², asking

"for the Society of Antiquaries that through your Lops good offices they may be indulged with a couple of publick Lamps one in front towards the street and another towards the back entry of their Musaeum I beg you will use your interest with respect to the exemption from the duty on our water Pipe".

On 18 October, 1781¹, he wrote to Cummyng about repairs to the roof of the Museum, and on 20 December, 1781¹, about

1. A.S. Mss.

2. (d. 1824). David Steuart; merchant and banker in Edinburgh; Lord Provost of Edinburgh 1780 - 1782.

the installation of heating apparatus. This he wanted done economically, indicating where Cummyng might purchase a "Vase" cheaply.

In an attempt to improve the appearance of the inside of the building he wrote to Cummyng on 25 December, 1781¹, suggesting that the armorial bearings of the A.S. Members be painted on the ceiling of the A.S. hall.

He gave a great deal of thought to the provision of paintings and busts of famous Scotsmen, thereby giving a patriotic as well as artistic atmosphere.

1. A.S. Mss.

All went well for the Society in its first year, so that Buchan could say in his Anniversary Address of 14 November, 1781¹,

"Since the first formation of this Society, no meeting has been held without the donation of books, manuscripts, medals, coins, natural productions, copper-plates, prints, and other curious particulars; nor has any intervened without the reading of some new interesting dissertation on the objects of our institution".

He could also claim truthfully:

"I have dedicated the greatest part of my leisure time, for a year past, to establish this society on a well constructed and permanent basis"².

Even when he had gone to London in February "on Business of private concern to my domestick affairs"³, he had devoted as much time as he could to furthering the Society's concerns. He had had George Scott⁴ print five hundred advertisements about subscriptions and funds to purchase a museum for the Society. These also indicated the London Bankers "who would be ready to open Books of subscription for the reception of Donations"³. What was of importance as well was that Buchan had shown the "plan of our institution"³ to King George III who had been pleased with it. This augured well for the Society when it duly applied for a Royal Charter. Lord Stormont⁵ had aided Buchan in

1. Smellie, op. cit., part one, p.103.

2. ibid., p.100.

3. A.S. Ms.

4. Printer in Chancery Lane.

5. (1727 - 1796); David (Murray), Viscount Stormont.

this matter, for his letter of 14 March, 1781¹, to Buchan reports that he had placed Buchan's "Memorial" before the King.

Donations ranging from antique coins to such curiosities as "the work of an old watch dug up in a field near Prestonpans"² flowed into the Society's collection. Buchan was alert for anything promising value, so that when the confused state of James Anderson's papers became known³, he endeavoured to secure them for the Society.

As well as having transcripts made from old Scottish documents, Buchan had other ideas in mind. His patriotic instincts led him to the idea of "The Temple of Caledonian Fame". On 4 September, 1781¹, he told the Society members that it was his intention to collect "the best original Portraits of illustrious and learned Scots and place them in a Room or Gallery" in the Society's Museum. He advised limits in the choice of those who were to be commemorated in this way. He suggested that

1. A.S. Mss.
2. Smellie, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 50.
3. James Anderson; an eminent Scots antiquary (1662 - 1728), conceived a plan for engraving and publishing facsimiles of Scottish Royal Charters previous to the reign of James I. He never finished the work which was edited by Thomas Ruddiman (*Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*) and appeared in 1737.

no one should have his portrait hung there unless he had been dead for at least five years. In special cases, Buchan suggested, this rule could be dispensed with if for three successive years a "Ballot shall have been unanimous". Buchan wanted to keep the honour of "The Temple" for dead Scotsmen, but he suggested that a living man might have his portrait hung there provided that in six successive years a ballot to vote the inclusion should be unanimously in approval.

With all the zest of an enthusiast Buchan mentioned the Society's other intentions:

"A specimen of a collection of the Antient Chartularies of Scotland; a work much wanted, and which can only be reproduced by the gradual attention and labour of a society"¹.

A considerably ambitious suggestion then came from Buchan, that the Society promote "collections for a Topographical and Etymological Dictionary of the Celtic Language". Buchan himself lacked the scholarship for assisting in such labours, and it is doubtful whether he could have realised the immense work that would have been involved. Probably he regarded his suggestion hopefully rather than confidently.

Although Buchan reviewed the first year's progress

1. Smellie, op. cit., p.106.

of the Society with satisfaction, he referred to a discordant note as early as 2 October, 1781¹. Amongst other matters, Buchan spoke about William Smellie's² projected lectures on the "Philosophy of Nature", and seemed anxious to avoid ill feeling on the part of the University of Edinburgh and Dr. Walker. Evidence of the growth of an ungenerous opposition to the Society was furnished in a letter of 31 October, 1782¹, from John Spottiswoode³ to Buchan. He wrote to tell Buchan he had heard from the Lord Advocate⁴ that the Principal of Edinburgh University⁵ and several Professors had expressed the wish that the Society should not be "erected into a Body corporate". A petition was to be drawn up by the Senatus Academicus and sent to the Lord Advocate informing him of the University's attitude.

Buchan had not been unaware of this hostility, for when Dr. Walker had written to him on 14 September, 1781¹, to complain about the course of lectures Smellie intended to deliver, it was in answer to one Buchan had

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1. A.S. Mss.
 2. (1740 - 1795); printer and eminent naturalist.
 3. Advocate and Antiquarian.
 4. Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira (1742 - 1811).
 5. William Robertson, Historian (1721 - 1793).

written four days before¹.

Buchan must have told Smellie about Walker's complaint, for on 20 September, 1781², he wrote to Buchan. He bore Walker no animosity, but said that he had worked at lectures on the "Philosophy and general economy of nature" since 1774, adding that Lord Kames had suggested this work to him, and that Walker's predecessor³ had encouraged him.

As late as 25 March, 1783⁴, when John Knox wrote to Buchan, there was hostility to the Society in Scotland. Buchan, however, made early plans to offset it. From a letter of Lord Stormont, dated 14 March, 1781², it is clear that Buchan had sounded him about the procedure for obtaining a Royal Charter. The petition to George III, asking for a Royal Charter, was sent to him on 21 May, 1782⁵.

In the Society's Minutes of 5 November, 1782, Buchan spoke his mind about the University of Edinburgh's opposition to the Society. He felt that the opposition was directed against himself since he was the enemy of tyranny.

"Is there a vacancy in the representative Body of the Peerage to be filled up, venal men

1. n.f.

2. A.S. Mss.

3. Dr. Ramsay.

4. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.48.

5. Smellie, op. cit., part two, pp.3-5.

under the influence of the Minister of the day do me the honour to prefer even the blind the deaf, the maimed and the illiterate to a Man who dares to talk and to write as I do I suppose I am feared and hated because I have the glory to be beloved by the friends of liberty and of my Country".

In his Second Anniversary Discourse Buchan enlarged upon the opposition to the Antiquarian Society¹:

"On the 6th of January 1783, the Lord Advocate transmitted to the Secretary of the Society a copy of the caveat entered by the university against the passing of their charter, together with a memorial from the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, and a letter from four of the Curators of the Advocate's Library, addressed to the Lord Advocate, with the same intention".

The University feared

"that the establishment of another public Musaeum would not only intercept the communication of many specimens and objects which would otherwise have been deposited in the Musaeum of the University; but may induce and enable the Society of Antiquaries to institute a lectureship of natural history, in opposition to the professorship in the University"².

Smellie had applied in 1775 for the post which Walker held, but "The patronage being in the gift of the Crown from the superior political influence of his opponent, Dr. Walker, these exertions were unsuccessful"³. Walker "had not given even a single lecture for nearly seven years after his appointment"³.

1. Smellie, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

2. *ibid.* pp. 14-15.

3. John Kay: A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings. Edinburgh, 1877. vol. 1, p.208.

Buchan was to remark subsequently on Walker's deficiency in eloquence¹, but it is difficult to excuse the conduct of a man who did not give lectures and apparently wished to prevent anyone else doing so.

Robertson had suggested the setting up of a Royal Society in Edinburgh instead of granting a charter to the Antiquarian Society². The kind of Society he wanted would have been a pretty one, indeed! Any acquisitions this Society might make would be stored either in the library of the Faculty of Advocates or in the Edinburgh University Museum. The Philosophical Society indicated its willingness to Dundas to be absorbed by this projected Royal Society. The whole story suggests a carefully-planned attack on Buchan's Society.

Dundas sent copies of the communications addressed him by the University, the Faculty of Advocates, and the philosophical Society, to the Society of Antiquaries, and it replied on 18 February, 1783³, with so reasonable and correct a justification of its aims, and so damaging a criticism of the "caveats" that "the Lord Advocate, on the 28th of March, transmitted to his Majesty a very favourable

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1. G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries.
 2. Smellie, op, cit., part two, p.15.
 3. ibid, pp. 18-28.

report, concerning the nature and view of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries"¹. The Royal Warrant, "on the 29th of March, 1783, passed the Privy Seal; and as soon as it was received at Edinburgh, the charter was extended under the great seal"². George III "voluntarily declared himself Patron of the Society"³.

Buchan's part in the events leading to the granting of a Royal Charter was calculated to prevent ill-feeling. Others might have shown undignified behaviour towards the hostile camp and its short-sighted and narrow-minded attitude. That he was willing to abide by the Lord Advocate's decision, swayed by the calm, reasoned justification of the Society's aims, showed his common-sense. Buchan did write to Dundas⁴ on the matter, on 8 October, 1782, saying:

"With respect to Caveats there are none, on the contrary the Society after having subsisted near Two years has met with universal approbation of other Chartered literary Societies in Great Britain & Ireland".

When Buchan delivered his Anniversary Address on 12 November, 1783⁵, he did so with much satisfaction.

The Society had a President; a very considerable property", and a Royal Charter. Buchan was responsible for this

1. Smellie, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

2. *ibid.*, p.29.

3. Kay, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p.286, note.

4. N.L.S. Ms. 2617, f.52.

happy state of affairs. He reviewed the condition of the Society: there were five Vice-Presidents, twenty office-bearing members, 87 ordinary and constituent members "who contribute annually one guinea". Besides these there were sixty honorary members and one hundred and seventeen correspondent members who had no obligation to pay annual contributions or admission fees. Nineteen artists were "associated" with the Society; two hundred and twelve people had made five hundred and ninety three donations. The Museum library held two hundred and ninety two books, many "rare and valuable", and forty ms. volumes. The Society's coin collection was already substantial, and there were already over two thousand foreign coins alone in it.

In the early years, Buchan proposed for membership of the Society such well-known men as Lord Gardenston¹, Sir John Pringle², Sir William Hamilton³, and Sir William Chambers⁴. He appears always to have recommended men whose interests fitted them as proper members of an Antiquarian Society.

Buchan's efforts on behalf of the Society seem prodigious. Apart from all else, he took the chair

1. Francis Garden (1721 - 1793); distinguished Scots-Judge.
2. (1707 - 1782); Distinguished Physician.
3. (1730)- 1803); Antiquarian, British Ambassador to Naples.
4. (1726 - 1796); Architect.

seventy six times at the ninety three meetings held between 1781 and 1783. In view of his efforts, it is surprising that the opposition to the Society's acquisition of a Royal Charter did not sour him. Sir David Dalrymple had warned him, in a letter of 31 October, 1780¹, that the apathy of Scottish minds might prove a hindrance to the successful formation of an Antiquarian Society, and as subsequent events bore out Dalrymple's fears, it is the more to Buchan's credit that he persisted as long as he did.

A general disgust with politics in Britain led Buchan to contemplate emigration to America. John Knox² wrote him on 25 March, 1783³, anathematising Scotsmen in general, yet endeavouring to dissuade him from his "intention to cross the Atlantic". Buchan never did go to America, but had he done so it is interesting to contemplate what might have become of the Society he founded and propped up for so long. He may have derived so much comfort and justification from the granting of the Royal Charter that he forgave and forgot a great deal. When he wrote on 18 April, 1783⁴, to Gilbert Stuart⁵, it was to

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1. E.U.L. Mss. La II, 588.
 2. Political Economist, Bookseller in the Strand.
 3. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.48.
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La D.C.I. 24, p.19.
 5. (1742 - 1786); Eminent Historical Essayist.

sympathise with him over the harsh reception his work on Mary, Queen of Scots had received¹. Buchan was always unwilling to criticise lightly any human being, and he shows here his moderation when referring to Dr. Robertson, Stuart's adversary² as well as the Society's:

"Perhaps you might expect that I should take some notice of the neglect shown by Doctor Robertson of your literary challenge, but I am not disposed in answering your Letter, to mention any circumstances of a local and fugitive nature which must of course fall into oblivion whilst the good that has been done in spite of them will be remembered Stunned by the sudden accounts of the insidious and unfriendly opposition made by a Historian to the legal requests of a Society instituted for the purposes of exploring the materials of history, I uttered more in publick than my heart now suffers to approve".

To John Nichols Buchan mentioned in a letter of 8 June, 1783³, "local histories". He himself had written one of these, dealing with the Parish of Uphall, "as an encouragement some years ago". He said that want of funds had prevented him from undertaking the advancement of this scheme on a grander scale. About this time, also, he wrote to Paton about listing "Saxon money in the

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1. The History of Scotland, from the establishment of the Reformation to the Death of Queen Mary, 2 Vol. 1782.
 2. His attempts, previously, to obtain a Law Professorship in Edinburgh University were disappointed principally through the influence of Dr. Robertson. He championed Queen Mary's character, and attempted to discredit the proofs of her guilt brought forward by Robertson, whose writings he constantly attacked with unrelenting animosity (Scottish Nation).
 3. Nichols, op. cit., Vol. 6, p.501.

Societies cabinet"¹.

On a letter from David Allen², dated 9 August, 1783³, Buchan appended:

"I caused casts to be made from the Bas reliefs of Severus & Julia Emnes which were on the Roman wall in Scotland The plate & proofs are in the possession of the S.A. at Edn."

The satisfaction expressed by Buchan in his Anniversary Discourse of 12 November, 1783⁴, was well-merited. He had laboured hard that year in a variety of projects, and the positive achievements for which he was responsible would have led a lesser man than Buchan to exalt his share. Buchan was reticent about his efforts, showing, if that were necessary, that the Society was not designed for his aggrandisement, but for Scotland's benefit.

Buchan had been very sanguine at the close of 1783, but a year later his Anniversary Address of 15 November⁴ was tinged with foreboding. Too many members were failing to support the Society financially, and Buchan indicated that the Museum might have to be sold for lack of adequate funds. His speech was in characteristic vein, however, for he showed his patriotic pride. He saw the Society fostering a glorious Scots tradition by its

1. N.L.S. Adv. Mss. 29.5.8.

2. (1744 - 1796); Eminent Historical Painter.

3. N.L.S. Ms. 590, No. 1728.

4. A.S. Mss.

inquiring spirit. His speech was not without humour, for he says the:

"gay and dissipated would consider (him) a beater up for Recruits to collect old rusty remains of the Romans, Swords, Shields, and Helmets of our Ancestors, Beetles, Butterflies, and Gnats, which had the honour to breathe our native Air".

Buchan took the chair at only twelve of the thirty meetings held this year, for he had been out of Scotland for some months. His anxiety for the Society's well-being in his absence is shown by suggestions he left for its smooth running. When he wrote on 18 June, 1783¹, to Nichols, he mentioned that the Society would soon be publishing the first volume of its Transactions, but on 3 August, 1784², he wrote to Nichols, saying that these "Transactions" would not appear for some time. They did not appear in the first decade of the Society's existence. George Paton wrote³ to Richard Gough, saying that disagreement amongst the Society's officials might have delayed the publication but he could not be sure.

In his letter of 3 August Buchan had said the Society wished to avoid hurried publication. The reason he gave for delay seemed reasonable:

1. Nichols, op. cit., Vol. 6, p.501.
2. Nichols, op. cit., Vol. 6, pp. 505-508.
3. 1 June, 1789. (N.L.S. Adv. Mss. 29.5.7.)

"They propose to publish in quarto numbers, selecting only the most choice and interesting communications, and printing at the same time such state papers and letters as shall be judged sufficiently valuable, and keeping them in retentis until they shall become sufficiently numerous to form a separate volume; by this means they will avoid that farrago which too often appears in Antiquarian Transactions, and which renders them less useful to the public".

Laudable though the desire for deliberation was, it hardly explains the length of time that elapsed before the "Transactions" did appear.

This same letter to Nichols indicated other ideas in Buchan's mind. He was anxious to have printed biographies of eminent Scots and "the Chartularies of our religious foundations, with a copious index and glossary to each". He intended also to publish "extracts" from the transcripts of Papal Bulls he had received from Rome¹.

A rather more ambitious notion mentioned in this letter, as well, was the setting up of a room in the Society's Museum where a survey of each parish in Scotland was to be placed, accompanied by "specimens of mines, minerals, and everything that is politically useful to the community". The usefulness of such projects would be difficult to question, but they were hardly likely to be realised by the Society.

There was another serious matter requiring Buchan's

1. vide p. 119.

attention, however. This he imparted to the Rev. Mr. Johnson¹ in a letter of 29 November, 1784².

"I have long perceived with concern the inattention and ignorance of our secretary of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh and I have been resolved to give him an intelligent assistant who might keep up with propriety the honourable and useful correspondence of the community but in this little provincial town, I find everybody so occupied in professional pursuits for bare existence, are so contaminated by that dissipation which I fear will ruin us all in this country that I have not yet been able to find a proper person for the office.

I shall endeavour to remedy the defect en attendant by operating myself with the occasional aid of an acquaintance and have just now made up a little Parcel of a couple of books for the acceptance of the Royal Society at Copenhagen which as a mark of respect will I hope be agreeable".

Buchan's faith ought to have been sorely tried by the unhappy events in the Society crowding in on him, but on 26 July, 1785³, we find him presenting to it his "Diploma of Admission to the Royal genealogico & heraldick Society of Copenhagen". At the same time he gave the "Burgess ticket", dated 8 July, 1785, presented to him by the Provost and Magistrates of Perth when he visited that city on 11 July 1785.

When he delivered his Anniversary Discourse on 14 November, 1785³, he again remarked upon the unsatisfactory

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1. Minister of the Scots Church at Copenhagen.
 2. E.U.L. Mss. La.III. 379, f.113.
 3. A.S. Mss.

financial condition of the Society. He had a more cheerful matter to discuss, however, at this time. He suggested that the Society consider the production of a "Biographica Scotica", complete with plates where possible. Remarking upon a plan for a public library for the use of the West Highlands and the Western Isles which he had sent to the Synod of Glenelg two years previously, he said that it was being acted upon, and he expressed a desire to see similar work being carried out at Inverness to benefit the Orkneys and Northern counties. He had sat to Tassie¹ for the medal the Society wanted struck to commemorate the granting of a Royal Charter, but he suggested a seal made in Rome would be much more economical.

Despite his optimistic suggestions, it could have given him little satisfaction when Gough wrote to him²:

"Give me leave to address you, as Founder and President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, my concern how ill your animated exertions have been imitated, and how faint a flame has been kindled at the altar erected by Genio Caledoniae".

Buchan's own feelings are amply recorded in his letter of 10 January, 1786³, to Gough:

"I now begin with you to be convinced that it is fruitless to cultivate any thing in this country that is not attended with profit to the undertakers".

1. (1735 - 1799); Portrait Painter.

2. Nichols, op. cit., Vol. 6, pp. 512-513. (n.d.).

3. Ibid., vol. 6., p. 514.

Buchan was thoroughly disillusioned with most of his countrymen. Only his "sanguine disposition" and patriotic zeal had rendered him unwilling to "let so proper an undertaking drop without the fairest trial".

By now, however, Buchan was obviously beginning to weary of the Society's attitude. On 3 May, 1786¹, he wrote to Cummyng:

"You will please to call a meeting special for the consideration of the following question to the Society of Antiquaries. Viz. Whether the Society would prefer relieving me from the Bank credit obtained for the purpose of making good the purchase of the House, or incline that I should proceed without any expectation of that event".

If the members had had any doubt about Buchan's feelings, they must now have realised what they were.

When Buchan gave the Anniversary Discourse on 14 November, 1786¹, however, he had not abandoned hope completely:

"let us endeavour to render this the Augustan age of Scotland, and call forth every latent Spark of Genius to illuminate a Scene that may do us honour with posterity".

There can be no doubt that Buchan was earnest, that he thought even now the Society could prove itself, but as usual his words were falling on deaf ears. He suggested research for a "Monasticon Scoticanum"; the engraving for the first time of tombs and monuments, and the painting of

1. A.S. Mss.

beautiful Scottish landscapes. He felt that various members of the Society could make transcripts from the records in the British Museum of material relating to Scotland's History. He had also the sadly inevitable report to make that attendance at the Society's meetings for the year had not been good.

Sir David Dalrymple wrote to Buchan on 1 January, 1787¹, suggesting that the Society acquire the "copies of all the Books published by Scottish Authors down to ye beginning of this century". The suggestion was good, but most of the Society's members had shown such scant zeal in anything to benefit the Society that it was to litte purpose. Indeed, at the next meeting of the Society, on 30 January, 1787², it was announced that the Museum had been sold. From this time Buchan's appearances in the chair were few. His health was not always good, and he had much private business, but it is safe to conclude that he had lost heart with the sale of the Museum. On 3rd February, 1787³, he wrote to Paton:

"I have been very active for these 21 years past and having compleated the years of majority I mean to serve heir to Philosophy and leave the field to others who are better suited to the times".

Buchan's energy was not gone, but now it was to be directed away from the Society. It is very likely he felt his

1. E.U.L. Mss. La.II, 588.

2. A.S. Mss.

3. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.

disappointment so much he did not care to dwell on it overmuch. He certainly did not allow himself to remain idle after he took up residence at Dryburgh.

The Anniversary Discourse he delivered on 14 November, 1787¹, contained only one cheerful note, that the Society was finally out of debt. The reason for its solvency must have rankled in Buchan's mind.

In 1788 Buchan acted as Chairman only four times, out of seventeen meetings. In his Anniversary Discourse of 14 November 1788¹, he referred to his ill-health. He need not have worried about his non-attendance, for Members' attendances had also been poor. His discourse ranged over various topics such as the institution of a Chair of Gaelic in a Scots University, and the fact that he had been assisting Pinkerton² with transcripts of Barbour's³ and Henry the Minstrel's⁴ works. He still hoped to see work done on Scottish Chartularies, and "The History of the thirteen Scottish Bishopricks", with views of the Churches and prints of tombs. Significantly, he suggested few projects for the attention of the members.

In 1789 Buchan took the chair at only five of the

1. A.S. Mss.
2. (1758 - 1826); Eminent Antiquary.
3. John Barbour. "The Father of Scottish poetry and history"; (ca. 1316 - 1395).
4. Scottish Minstrel who wrote (?) a metrical "life" of William Wallace, existing in a Ms. of 1488,

nineteen meetings, and for the first time did not deliver an Anniversary Discourse. There is no record of his having been ill at this time, and it is probable that he saw no purpose in addressing a Society he must have considered moribund.

The Minutes for 1790 show that Buchan wrote several times to the Society¹, and that he took the chair four times. But when the Society wrote to him because it was in financial difficulties, he replied on 28 September, 1790², that it ought to take measures against members whose subscriptions were in arrears.

On 14 November, 1790, instead of delivering the familiar Anniversary Discourse, Buchan wrote to the Society "resigning his connection" with it. The members must have misjudged the reasons for his action, for the Minutes show that they thought it might have resulted from a "momentary fit of disgust". They decided, properly, that a letter to dissuade him should be sent. The Minutes for 30 November, 1790, show that Buchan's decision had been taken after careful thought.

The acceptance of his resignation is a sad affair. A letter asking Buchan to withdraw his resignation had been drawn up but never sent, and when this was discovered eight

1. Letters not found.

2. A.S. Mss.

days later, it was felt that it would be impertinent to send it after so long an interval. On 14 December, 1790, it was decided that

"the Council had done all that was incumbent on them, and that it was now too late to write to the Earl of Buchan, it being a Month after the date of his resignation".

Only eleven members were present on this sorry occasion, when balloting took place. Five members voted to accept the resignation, three voted against it, and three abstained. A second ballot resulted in six votes for the acceptance of the resignation, and two against it.

That Buchan's ten years of effort and encouragement should thus have been rewarded is sufficient evidence of the lack of interest which he had encountered and striven against. What his thoughts were we can guess.

Buchan and the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society.

On 16 December, 1784, the Rev. James Scott¹ addressed in Perth a meeting of local gentlemen who were interested in the formation of a "Society for investigating the History and preserving the Antiquities and Records of Scotland generally, and more particularly of that portion of it which the City of Perth may still be considered as

1. Scott (1733 - 1818) was Minister of Middle Church in Perth, and the city's senior minister.

the capital"¹. In the course of his address he paid tribute to Buchan, thanks to whose "patriotic zeal" the Society at Edinburgh had been founded, and whose "labours are indefatigable".

It was logical, then, that early in 1785 Scott should have written² to Buchan that:

"A Literary Society bearing the name of the Antiquarian Society at Perth has been lately established here, consisting chiefly of some Gentlemen and Clergymen in the Town and Neighbourhood.

At their desire I have the Honour to inform you of your having been Elected one of their Presidents".

The Perth Society did well to ask Buchan to be its first Honorary President, for he had experienced all the problems arising from the founding of an antiquarian society, although the pretensions of that at Perth were much less ambitious. It could confidently be expected that his patronage would enable them to seek favours from those who could assist with advice or benefactions. For example, from Thorkelin, a friend of Buchan, they received:

"some very curious books relating to Danish and Icelandic antiquities, and expect the great publication of the Edda in August next"³.

But probably the intentions of the Perth Society

1. Transactions of The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, Vol. 1, p.9 Perth (R. Morison) 1827.
2. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.
3. Buchan to John Nichols, 15 June, 1784; printed in vol. 6, p.503, of Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century.

were not wholly mercenary. Buchan himself seems to have had nothing but pleasure from the invitation extended to him, for on 10 February, 1785, Buchan answered¹ Scott's communication, expressing his delight in and acceptance of the honour done him by the Perth Society. It was characteristic that he should offer to aid the Society:

"I shall not fail to give such a direction to the Course of Communications within the sphere of any influence as may enrich your repositories without affecting others more locally connected with particular Subjects, and where this may be the case to furnish you with transcripts of such papers as you might wish to place in your Library".

Buchan promised a portrait² of himself and a "Bust of (the Admirable) Crichton"³. These donations were acknowledged by Scott in a letter of 31 March, 1785⁴.

Buchan, incidentally, did a kindness to the Artist who painted the portrait, for in a note added by Buchan to Scott's letter he wrote:

"My portrait by Alexander Runciman⁵ was painted with a view to a kindness to that deserving Artist".

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1. P.L.A.S., Letterbook.
 2. This portrait still exists, but it has suffered from inept cleaning.
 3. Buchan wrote a "life" of Crichton (vide. Biographia Britannica 2nd Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 441 - 456).
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La. II, 588.
 5. (1736 - 1785); Historical Painter.

These were not the only donations from Buchan to the Society. After he had delivered his discourse on 14 June, 1785, he gave five pounds" to be applied to the purposes of the Society"¹, and to the library of the Society he donated four books¹.

On 5 April, 1785, Buchan took the chair at a meeting of the Society when "A Dissertation on certain Memorable Occurrences in the History of Scotland"² was read. The author is not specified, but the style and sentiments suggest that Buchan was responsible for it. He was a confirmed patriot, never neglecting any opportunity to glorify Scotland, and there can be no doubt that the "Dissertation" was the work of such a man. It deals, not at great length, with the inability of successive invaders to subdue Scotland, and contains fulsome expressions of a patriotism bordering on chauvinism such as:

"Wallace was unequalled in the field - the greatest hero and patriot that ever distinguished any nation".

Towards the end, the author becomes light hearted and makes merry over the boat Edward II used to escape from Dunbar after the battle of Bannockburn:

1. Transactions pp. 7 and 10.

2. Printed at Glasgow, 1785, by Andrew Foulis.

"he never restord it to Scotland" and "for certain reasons of state, no stranger is permitted to see the boat".

The author was, of course, making a direct reference to that other piece of Scottish property stolen by an English King, the coronation chair. It is when the "Dissertation" comes to its conclusion that the author seems to be impassioned, attempting to attain some lofty strain:

"Display the triumphal banner (i.e. in the stern of the boat stolen by Edward II) where the LION OF SCOTLAND tramples on the proud insignia of the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Plantagenets - wreaths of thistles and laurel adorn this trophy, and above is seen the sceptre, the 'unconquered sword', and the imperial diadem of Scotland:- with this significant inscription, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT".

In untutored circles such declamation would have an inspiring effect.

On Monday, 13 June, 1785, Buchan addressed the Society on the occasion of its first anniversary. He chose to deliver a "Discourse on the Antiquity of Man"¹. It is, as he said, "a subject so immense and so interesting that it is impossible to exhaust it".

In his introduction he said he had sent Lord Kames "a great part of this discourse's substance" in 1781, and even earlier he had asked Dr. John Hunter² such questions

1. Signet Library, Ms., 106:55.

2. (1728 - 1793) John Hunter, F.R.S.,; surgeon and physiologist.

as: "Is the use of the right hand prevalent in and over the whole world?" and "Do animals of any kind discover a disposition to use or advance a particular limb in action?" In the text Buchan supplied part of Hunter's answer to his queries:

"I had some notion that cattle were more disposed to begin their movements with the right foot than the left, but there I stop".

Hunter was wise to say no more on the matter, for the questions cannot be answered.

The "Discourse" deals with many topics, and Buchan had obviously devoted much time to reading related material¹. Since parts at least of the subject had interested him for so long a time, the reading was done, probably, over a period of years, perhaps with an initial view to publication. He never did publish it, however. Years later he was to write² to the Earl of Kinnoull³:

"I did myself the pleasure soon after the Institution of the Society to read my letter to Lord Kames on the Antiquity of Man & his present habitable globe which has since been

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1. Amongst other works, Buchan referred to Buffon (1707-1788, scientist), Histoire Naturelle, in fifteen volumes (published between 1749 and 1767); Lord Monboddo (1714 - 1799), Origin and Progress of Language, (published in six volumes, between 1773 and 1792).
 2. By a letter of 1 November, 1813. (P.L.A.S. Letterbook).
 3. Thomas Robert, eleventh earl (1785 - 1866).

unfolded in detail by Hutton¹, Williams², Cuvier³ of Paris, and others to the great advancement of Geological knowledge".

It was ever Buchan's way to endeavour to stimulate others to fresh researches, rather than to attempt a great undertaking single-handed, particularly when he realised that he could not do justice to the subject.

Buchan was invited to the anniversary meeting of 1786⁴, but on 12 June⁵ he excused himself in a letter where he gave Scott his views about the materials suitable for inclusion in the Transactions that the Society projected⁶.

He suggested that:

"it would be better to separate your subjects into volumes as they arrange themselves in the three departments of human knowledge, History, Philosophy, and the fine Arts".

He informed Scott that he was anxious to see "the establishment of a literary Press, under the direction of the most eminent Men in this Country of Great Britain and Ireland". He added that he had informed George III of this plan which entailed the publishing "without commentary" -

1. (1757 - 1823) Charles Hutton, LL.D., mathematician.
2. John Williams, Mineral surveyor (d.1795).
3. Leopold Chrétien Frederic Dagobert, known as George Cuvier, a comparative anatomist (1769 - 1832).
4. By a letter of 5 June, 1786 (n.f.) from Scott.
5. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.
6. The society was to produce only one volume of Transactions, in 1827.

- for the first time - "the most valuable M.S.S. which may be found in the various repositories both at home and abroad for the use of Historians, Philosophers & artists". The scheme was, of course, like many others of Buchan, laudable and good, but the temper of the nation was hardly right for the successful undertaking of it¹.

Scott appears to have suggested Buchan prepare his "Discourse on the Antiquity of Man" for publication, enlarged with the addition of "proof of many of the observations". Buchan declined to do this, saying that in its existing state it would probably excite others to deal with the same subject. As he was to write subsequently, other men, better fitted to pursue the task, did employ themselves on the work. Even if Buchan had intended originally to publish, it is not surprising that he never did, for it seems to have been characteristic of him to work up considerable enthusiasm for something until he had done all he could for it, after which he ceased to devote his time to further consideration of it.

1. Buchan contributed to The Bee, for 21 September, 1793, an essay on this subject. Reprinted in his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays, (pp. 239 - 243), it suggested that "250 wealthy subscribers should each donate five guineas a year "to support a press at Edinburgh". Through time, he said, a fund would grow and be used for buying mss. which could be printed at this press.

At this particular time Buchan could hardly have expected to be able to spare the time necessary for preparing anything else for the press. A little earlier, on 29 May, 1786¹, Buchan had sent the Society a very long letter containing a description of Dryburgh Abbey which he had just purchased as a retreat from public life. Since he confessed himself unable to attend the meeting of 12 June, he felt it incumbent on him:

"to lay on your table for that day somewhat expressive of my gratitude for the Honour you have been pleased to confer upon me and of the desire I have to promote the views of your respectable and usefull Society".

As well as giving a detailed history of the Abbey, he dealt at some length with the improvements he meant to carry out once he had taken up residence there.

When Buchan wrote to the Society on 11 September, 1786², he mentioned again that he was under some pressure:

"In the midst of a thousand difficulties & interruptions from the care of my family and the cultivation of my mind and with no advantages in point of fortune to be a patron I have ardently endeavoured to promote these honourable views for the credit of my Native Country and I hope others may arise as zealous and more powerfull to forward so noble a work".

At this time also, Buchan had another pressing piece of business on hand:

1. P.L.A.S. Ms. No.41.

2. P.L.A.S. Ms. No.43.

"I have written to Dr. Playfair¹ concerning the printing of my tract concerning Napier² & hope it may be found convenient to get it forth in the beginning of Winter before which time a considerable space it ought to be advertised".

But the chief object of this letter was not really personal revelation. Buchan entitled it: "Scheme of Communication between the Learned Societies in Europe". Buchan felt it would be beneficial for all societies similar in character to those at Edinburgh and Perth to establish some kind of literary link with each other:

"I reccomended to the Royal Irish Academy a communication quarterly with the British Societies of the same scope and an annual communication with all foreign academies wherein they ought to set down the new laws that have been made the heads or subjects of the papers that have been redde at their meetings or remarkable information received by any of their committees or secretaries. That therein they should also mention their particular & most urgent wants and state what duplicates they have to barter in books antiquities or other objects of their institution.

That I thought by such means the promotion of usefull learning in Europe might be remarkably accelerated & without all doubt it might and I hope to see a general correspondence of this sort instituted or at least happily begun in the great Republick of letters."

Buchan himself was not slow to act on this advice that he tendered to others. He was in close touch for a

1. Dr. James Playfair (d. 1793); Minister of Meigle parish.
2. John Napier, the discoverer of logarithms (1550 - 1617).
Buchan's book appeared in 1787: An Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier of Merchiston.

long time with the Vatican Library, the Scots College at Paris, and he maintained for many years a friendly correspondence with Thorkelin. But such a scheme called for vastly more energy than sufficient scholars seemed willing to expend, and within a few years Europe was to be plunged into armed conflict that did not abate until Buchan himself was a very old man. He forecast accurately the coming state of affairs in Europe, and sounded a gloomy note when he said:

"all past experience evinces that every thing upon earth is mutable. 'Tis therefore a consequence that we should trust as little as possible to posterity for the illustration of our Country and of those Men who have done it honour in former times".

He mentioned also that it pleased him to see that Tytler¹ was assisting the Morisons in their editions of the Scottish Poets². He suggested that the Perth Society lend aid to the Morisons in their "selection & publication". This would, Buchan was sure, have brought necessary - and free - publicity to the infant Society. His suggestion may sound cynical, but by now he had sampled some of the problems that beset an antiquarian society, and he felt too

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1. Henry William Tytler (1752 - 1808); Physician and Translator.
 2. See R.H. Carnie, Publishing in Perth Before 1807, Abertay Historical Society Publication No. 6, Dundee, 1960, pp. 16 - 18.

much affection for that at Perth to wish to see it afflicted by money difficulties.

On 22 June, 1788¹, Buchan wrote to Scott, thanking him for his gift of "Morrison's third vol;² containing your very interesting and accurate life of Gavin Douglas"³. He was apparently so transported with the work that he ended a sociable and gossiping letter by adjuring Scott to

"give us a life of Bellenden⁴, Drummond of Hawthornden⁵ & such of the other Scottish Poets as your leisure may permit".

Buchan kept in touch with the Society at Perth, and from time to time appears to have sent additions to its collections. On 16 October, 1794,¹ for example, Scott wrote to Buchan, thanking him in the name of the Perth Society for his gift of a "very large Parcel of curious & valuable Papers". Buchan was certainly almost indefatigable in the matter of copying from original mss., and when we examine the "Nobility of Scotland from the Record of Charters transcribed by D.S. Earl of Buchan"⁶ which comprises nineteen

1. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.
2. Scott edited a volume of poems by Gavin Douglas: The Select Works of Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, publ. R. Morison and Son, 1787.
3. (ca. 1474 - 1522); Bishop of Dunkeld.
4. John Bellenden (b. nr. end of 15 Century, d. 1550/1587). Translator of Boece and Livy.
5. William Drummond (1585 - 1649); Poet.
6. P.L.A.S. Ms. No.106.

foolscap pages, we must assume that the labour involved was welcome.

Scott also communicated the fact that McOmie¹, the Society's original secretary had left Perth for Inverness Academy where he had been appointed Rector. McOmie did not return to Perth until 1805, and when he did, he was re-elected secretary to the Society. In his absence, the Society seems to have held no meetings, for the minute book has no entries for a period of ten years, from 24 April, 1792, till 20 July, 1802. Whatever was happening, Buchan appended to this letter from Scott that the "Institution at Perth continues to prosper".

When Buchan wrote to Scott on 3 September, 1805², he referred to it as "our Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth", and he also sent some unidentified papers of antiquarian interest. There was certainly no indication here that Buchan regarded himself as the moving force behind its inception, and had he wished to give any such impression he would have encountered some difficulty. Rather did he look on the Society as a literary grandchild. When he wrote to the Earl of Kinnoull, the Society's President, on 1 November, 1813³, that was how he referred

1. John McOmie (? - 1819).
2. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.
3. *ibid.*

to it. He began:

"It gives me pleasure to observe the attention & nurture you are bestowing on my grand-child Litterary & antiquarian society at Perth and I have been looking with anxiety for some time past for a volume of your Transactions".

It is to be feared that Buchan looked in vain for these "Transactions", for when they did appear in 1827, it seems that he was hardly capable of appreciating very much, his advanced age having taken toll of his once acute mental faculties.

He did give advice, however, on this occasion, with the emphasis on the need to conserve the Society's funds. By now fifteen years had passed since he severed his connection with his Society in Edinburgh, but the bitterness of its failure had obviously not been forgotten.

Buchan's main anxiety to see a copy of the Society's first volume of Transactions was explained by the fact that nobody had kept in touch with him:

"I have not had the pleasure for some years to see the statement of progress made by the Society either in their papers read at the meetings, nor of their Library. Your lordship would therefore do me a pleasure by sending me such statements whereby I should know how I might occasionally contribute to the stock".

Had Buchan been at fault and neglected to interest himself in the Society's affairs, it seems unlikely that the Earl would have written as he did in November, 1813¹.

1. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.

He promised to send Buchan some details about the Society's recent progress, and observed:

"I beg to assure your lordship that the Society in Perth view with sentiments of admiration & respect, the attention which your lordship has uniformly given towards the Promotion & encouragement of literature & Antiquity - And that they will further feel themselves highly honoured by receiving any information which your lordship may be pleased to communicate to them".

The praise here is generous, but perhaps it was all Kinnoull's. In a way we are reminded of Buchan's unhappy parting with the Society in Edinburgh. At any rate, we hear no more about Buchan and the Society at Perth.

The Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Army.

In 1786 Buchan published a pamphlet of twenty six pages, entitled Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Army in Scotland, During the Sixth Campaign of Agricola¹. It represents his only published work on antiquities, and was the outcome of a short correspondence with Robert Barclay² on the subject.

On 6 December, 1784³, Buchan wrote a lengthy letter to Barclay, discussing Agricola's invasion of Scotland. He was anxious, he said, to show "that the termination of the War was accomplished by a great Victory obtained near

1. London, 1786.

2. Robert Barclay of Ury.

3. A.S. Mss.

Stonehaven". He stated, for obvious reasons, that the discovery of Roman remains at the place he chose for the site of the battle would be necessary to prove his contention, but although such evidence was not forthcoming he was quite sanguine. He asked Barclay to send him information about the Roman camp at Raedykes, and on 15 December, 1784¹, Barclay sent him a detailed discussion of the known facts and a sketch of the camp.

The "Remarks" might easily have been printed at much shorter length, for most of the pamphlet was taken up with Buchan's comment on the state of Scotland in his own day. He stated that he had turned to a study of antiquities because of "the filthy picture" that was everyday life. At this time, of course, he was preparing to leave public life. The reason he gave for studying antiquities is not so easily found, but probably he wrote what he did to emphasise his conviction that there was little right with Scotland.

Buchan must have given a fair amount of thought to establishing a theory about the site of the battle of Mons Graupius, for he showed a close acquaintance with the relevant part of Tacitus' historical account, but he spoiled the effect of his argument by a total lack of

1. A.S. Mss.

caution. Instead of putting forward a theory, he insisted that he was absolutely correct. He even broke out in a grandiloquent manner when he referred to "the hill where the brave Galgacus fought":

"I shall be apt to throw off my shoes, and say the ground on which I stand is consecrated to the fervour of our patriotism I shall exclaim, My ancestors were defeated, but not subdued".

Whilst Buchan's patriotism was admirable, it is undeniable that this theory might have received greater sympathy than it did if he had abstained from such rhetorical flights.

As a kind of postscript Buchan had a letter from Dr. Jamieson¹ printed along with his own work. Since it substantiated Buchan's conclusion, that the battle of Mons Graupius took place near Stonehaven, he appended a note to say that he had refrained from affecting Jamieson's judgment by telling him what his own ideas were on the matter. He felt that this was the most satisfactory way "of expiscating the antiquities of any country".

On the evidence of this pamphlet it seems that Buchan, for all his extensive acquaintance with history and antiquities, was hardly competent to deal with a problem that has baffled better scholars than himself. The conclusion is that he formed his theory before he examined

1. (1759 - 1838); eminent antiquarian, philologist, and lexicographer.

the facts, always a questionable and dangerous method in research of any kind.

Antiquarian Researches Abroad.

In 1782 Buchan had the happy thought that in the archives of the Vatican Library there might be papers and manuscripts relating to little-known periods of Scottish History. Through the good offices of his cousin, Charles Erskine¹, who became a Cardinal in 1803, he was "enabled to add to the Library of the Society of Antiquaries documents of considerable value - namely, authenticated copies of MS. of 'Nine Bulls of Pope Honorius III relating to Scotch affairs in the archives of the Vatican'. These, it is understood, were the only papers of the kind in this country for many years"².

Of his dealings with the Vatican Buchan wrote³:

"My Object was to penetrate into the Secret archives of the Vatican & of the Castle of St. Angelo that I might satisfy my own curiosity ... relating to the dark periods of our Scottish history and also that I might accidentally be serviceable to the Historians & Antiquarians of other Countrys, and in this research notwithstanding the great difficulty & labour I was in some degree successful relating to Scotland".

Buchan's idea, if not brilliant, was extremely shrewd,

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1. (1753 - 1811); grandson of Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo.
 2. Fergusson, op. cit., p.461.
 3. G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries.

although he did not have the success he had hoped for:

"there being no arrangement amid the vast Mass of papers the progress to be made was too tedious & discouraging to (be) prosecuted.

Of ancient Unpublished Bulls many were sent me thro' the interposition of the reigning Pope Pius VI and also a fac-simile of the Award of Rome touching the right of Baliol to the Throne".

About this time, too, Buchan wrote to the Scots College in Paris, to the Principal, Alexander Gordon. Founded in 1313, in what is now known as the "Latin Quarter", it contained a large mass of priceless mss. relating to Scottish affairs. Buchan was not the first Scotsman in the eighteenth century to apply to it for copies of such mss., for in 1732 the University of Glasgow had requested and been given free copies of some of the material stored there. Thirty years later it received more copies, which are now divided between the University Library and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Buchan had little luck, however, for, as in the Vatican, the archives were in a state of great confusion. The Scots College suffered from the unwelcome attentions of the Revolutionaries, and many of the mss. found their way to Scotland after 1798. Some of these are now lodged in Columba House, Edinburgh. It is interesting to note that today the Scots College is theoretically a British possession although it serves as a

student hostel¹. Although Buchan had Gordon admitted to membership of the Society of Antiquaries, he could hardly have been a diligent antiquarian, for he appears to have done little to catalogue those mss. relating to his country's history.

Buchan also wrote to Sir William Hamilton² when he heard about his archaeological work at Herculaneum, but the prolonged wars with France and the death of Sir William put an end to further investigation there. Buchan noted on the back of a letter from Dr. Robert Mackinlay³, dated 24 December, 1787⁴:

"Ancient Mss. in Herculaneum few of them evolved.

I proposed to the King of Naples thro Sir W. Hamilton that subscriptions ought to be collected from the different powers of Europe and to employ a groupe of poor learned priests to evolve these valuable remains of antiquity but the troubles soon intervined to render this plan abortive".

Having heard of the existence of a Froissart ms. at Breslau, Buchan decided to have a copy made of it if he could have permission granted. He had discussed this possibility with Cummyng, for on 31 May, 1783⁵, Cummyng wrote to say that he had made preliminary enquiries. He

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1. This information was derived from a B.B.C. broadcast of 23.8.62
 2. (1730 - 1803); British ambassador at Naples from 1764 - 1800.
 3. Army surgeon.
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.
 5. N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.217.

indicated that if Buchan himself wrote for licence to copy the part relating to Scottish history in the ms., in the "publick Library at Breslaw" Dr. Geddes¹ would "convey it to Prior McKenzie² at Wurtzburg who has undertaken to get it done". Buchan did write, for on 24 November, 1784³, the British charge d'affaires⁴ at the Court of Frederick the Great wrote to inform that the necessary permission had been granted. As so often happened, Buchan's plan was "disappointed"⁵, as he said when addressing the Society of Antiquaries on 14 November, 1785, for Prior McKenzie had died suddenly with the work unfinished. Although he announced that he would make fresh efforts, there is no evidence that he did.

Undeterred by the partial success of his enquiries abroad, he began, in 1792, to unearth all he could about the whereabouts of mss. belonging to Peiresc⁶. His correspondence abroad became so detailed on this subject that he eventually had the fruits of his discoveries published in a pamphlet⁷.

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1. "Bishop Titular in partibus Dunkeld" (Buchan's note).
 2. Librarian at Wurzburg. (d. 1784/85).
 3. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.52.
 4. Joseph Ewart.
 5. A.S. Mss.
 6. Nicholas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580 - 1637).
 7. An inquiry into the existing letters of, and documents relating to N.C. fabri de Peiresc. Kelso, 1792.

Peiresc must have attracted Buchan, initially, by his obvious similarity to him. His chief interests were those of an antiquarian, but in addition he was a scholar, an archaeologist, and a promoter of learning. A further point of similarity is that he conducted a voluminous correspondence. For the rest, he made his name in a public career which far outshone Buchan's.

Buchan explained in his pamphlet how he first made up his mind in 1791 to make enquiries about Peiresc:

"During the summer of last year, being retired at this villa, I entertained myself with a perusal of the life of Peirescius by Gassendi¹; and having set myself to enquire concerning the existence of that noble library of MSS. recorded by his biographer, I turned over the letters on different subjects by my learned and excellent friend, John Bernouilli of Berlin²".

"Warmed and excited" by remarks such as Peiresc's "manuscripts doivent etre curieux", Buchan wrote to Colbert, Bishop of Rodez³, "and entreated of his goodness and attachment to the cause of literature, that he would enquire concerning every remain of Mons. de Peyresc".

Colbert sent him as much information as he could glean, by a letter of 7 May, 1792, and Buchan printed this

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1. Pierre Gassendi: N.C. Fabricii de Peiresc vita. Paris, 1641.
 2. (1744 - 1807); astronomer.
 3. (1736 - ca. 1808); Bishop and Deputy to the States General.

as well as a list of some of Peiresc's correspondents.

Fauris de Saint-Vincens¹ wrote to him on 5 October, 1792:

"Je fus instruit il y à quelque temps par un memoire que me fit adresser M. l'Eveque de Rhodéz, que vous voulez donner au public la correspondance literaire des scavans de dixseptieme siecle, l'entreprize estoit grande & digne de vous.

Les lettres de Peiresc devoient necessairement occuper une place distinguée dans cet ouvrage".

In the rest of this very long letter, which Buchan printed

for that very reason, Saint-Vincens dealt with the

whereabouts of all the Peiresc materials he knew about.

He had obviously a genuinely high opinion of Buchan's merits,

for the research occupied much time:

"Je n'ai cessé de m'occuper de votre projet, & quoique je n'eusse aucune mission de vous, j'ai pensé que vous ne me desapprouveriez pas, si par mes recherches je pouvois parvenir à decouvrir les recueil MSS. qui sont l'objet de votre sollicitude".

The letter closed with a compliment, not undeserved, of the

kind that Buchan rarely met with:

"J'ai cru, Milord, devoir mettre sous vos yeux ces indications, pour le partie, à prendre on doit bien s'en reporter à votre jugement, à votre gout, & l'étendue de vos connoissances, toute l'Europe à été aportée de les connoitre, non seulement par vos ouvrages, mais encore par ceux de la Societé Literaire à laquelle vous avez donné l'etre & la vie".

Earlier in 1792, on 7 March, Buchan had written²

1. Abbé de St. Vincent of Aix in Provence.

2. N.L.S. Ms. 3391, ff. 13 - 14.

to Coutts to say that the mss. of Peiresc were for sale, at a price of "three M. Livres":

"The glory to any Country of a Scot being the Accoucheur of Peiresc siezes upon my ambition, but my Purse will not allow me to put to my hand".

Since Coutts was Buchan's banker, and in the best position to know the state of his finances, it is obvious that Buchan was not pretending to be poverty-stricken although the charge of miserliness was frequently lodged against him.

His anxiety to secure the mss. showed in another letter to Coutts, written on 10 March, 1792¹:

"Considering the state of France the pis alle in this business of the MS. will be to agree to pay the deposit by installments, during which course time can be had to get the aids from a groupe of Amatori to save this invaluable mass. In my circumstances and retired situation I can only depend upon men like myself who are not Literati like me in poverty, but can clubb without inconvenience for this Treasure".

By the end of the year Buchan seemed to hope, at best, that an edition of Peiresc's mss. could be published at London, for on 5 January, 1793², he wrote to Nichols:

"Lord Bute will probably communicate to you the particulars of a valuable discovery I have made of a choice collection of the chef-d'oeuvres of Peiresc's correspondence in Italy, prepared for the press, the publication of which at London

1. N.L.S. Ms. 3391, ff. 15 - 16.

2. Nichols, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 519.

would do honour to Britain and to the republic of letters".

Buchan's hopes, like others previously, were dashed. This time he had failed when success had seemed assured, simply because he lacked sufficient private means to acquire the mss. for publication. His effort towards an edition of Peiresc's correspondence was to be his last venture in antiquarian research abroad, and it is ironic that it should have borne no fruit for the reason it did. He had been frustrated in Rome and Paris by incompetence of the librarians concerned, by the death of McKenzie at Wurzburg, and by the outbreak of war when he countenanced a scheme for investigating mss. at Herculaneum.

Buchan's Share in the Preparations for a Monasticon Scotiae.

Buchan's interest in assisting scholars in the task of compiling a Monasticon Scotiae does not seem to have quickened until he purchased Dryburgh Abbey. His efforts to find out all he could about the history of that Abbey made him long to see a complete list of all available information on all the religious foundations in Scotland.

It is not clear how enthusiastically he flung himself into the prosecution of such a theme, for letters may have gone astray. He did, however, conduct a

correspondence with Hutton¹, Cadell², and Cardonell³ on the subject. He noted on a letter of 3 December, 1789⁴, to Hutton what his feelings were:

"General Hutton has made large Collections in preparation for a Monasticon Scoticanum - which added to Spottiswoods Collections⁵ might form a large and usefull work.

this if edited ought to be accompanied with exact reppresentations of all the ruins of the Cathedrals & Conventical buildings in Scotland & with the Habits of the Orders the Seals of the Communities &c &c".

Buchan seems to have realised the magnitude of the task by his use of "if".

He had become acquainted with Spottiswoode by 1786, for on 21 April⁶, he had written to Buchan to talk enthusiastically about Abbey charters he had recently been examining.

Perhaps Buchan's interest in the whole subject was aroused by this letter, for it contained: "(a) Copie of your Lordships favourite Abbay". The "Abbay" was, of course, Dryburgh. Buchan subsequently noted, after

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1. George Henry Hutton (d.1827); archeologist, antiquary & eminent military officer.
 2. William Archibald Cadell (1775 - 1855); Member of the Scottish Bar; Antiquarian.
 3. Adam Mansfeldt de Cardonell (1747 - 1820); took name of Lawson in 1790.
 4. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.61.
 5. John Spottiswoode (Advocate).
 6. N.L.S. Ms. 2106, f.101, (a copy in Buchan's hand).

Spottiswoode's death, on this letter that he had "assisted" Spottiswoode "in preparing the Cartularies of the Antient Monasterys & other religious Communities in Scotland".

The help, undoubtedly, consisted mainly of letters of introduction to those in possession of helpful manuscripts, or likely to be able to make suggestions. Spottiswoode's letter of 16 September, 1788¹, asked Buchan to send on the account of Icolmkill which the Duke of Argyll had promised to give Buchan. In a letter of 22 February, 1787², Buchan promised to obtain, on loan, "a view of New Abbey" and "a view of Dundrenan Abbey".

In the rest of the letter he recommended Spottiswoode's choice of engraver³ to undertake "prints of the Religious houses in Scotland".

Spottiswoode died without completing the work Buchan wanted, but Buchan had other men in view. He sent Cardonell on 16 February, 1787⁴, "A list of the Religious Foundations in Scotland". There were 83 entries of which the following are examples:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>ORDER</u>	<u>FOUNDER</u>
SCONE	PERTHSHIRE.	AUGUSTINES	ALEXANDER I.

1. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.135.

2. N.L.S. Ms. 2933, f.184.

3. Richard Cooper (1740? - 1814?); painter and engraver.

4. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, ff. 1 - 4.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>ORDER</u>	<u>FOUNDER</u>
CROSSRAGUEL	CARRICK	CLUNY	DUNCAN, EARL OF CARRICK.
DRYBURGHE	BERWICKSHIRE	PREMONSTRE	DAVID I & H. DE MORVILLE.
COUPER	ANGUS	CISTERTIANS	MALCOLM IV.

The labour of compiling this list was considerable, and helps to show how interested Buchan was at this time in the subjects.

His most extensive correspondence, however, was probably that with Hutton. There are 15 letters from Hutton, between 26 September, 1788, and 25 February, 1790¹, mostly a record of thanks for what Buchan had done for him. On 21 November, 1788², he thanked Buchan for having sent him information about St. Modan, the sixth century Abbot of Dryburgh Abbey, and discussed the etymology of "Dryburgh", a topic undoubtedly congenial to Buchan. The letter also sought further information on religious houses. Buchan obviously supplied it willingly, for in a letter of 1 December, 1788³, Hutton acknowledged his answer, and asked further questions on the same subject.

Throughout 1789 Hutton sought and received all the assistance Buchan could give him about Monasteries, and in

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1. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, ff. 5 - 71.
 2. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f. 13.
 3. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.17.

addition was supplied with introductory letters, to antiquarians such as the Rev. James Scott at Perth. A letter from Sir David Dalrymple, dated 5 December, 1788¹, shows that Buchan had tried to enlist his aid, also, for Dalrymple referred to Buchan's request for help in "tracing out the series of Scottish Abbots". Although he indicated that he could furnish no assistance, he suggested sources that were likely to be of use.

Hutton seems to have been the only man who could have produced a *Monasticon Scotiae*. The Dictionary of National Biography notes that he "made valuable collections of antiquarian drawings (since dispersed) and of early ecclesiastical documents". Probably he found himself with too little time to devote to the subject, for he had a distinguished military career, and his duties must have made sustained researches and studies difficult. In 1794, for example, he was on active service in the West Indies, and from 1803 to 1811 he held commands in Ireland.

By 1795, at any rate, Buchan had obviously given up hope of Hutton's being able to finish the work. A letter, dated 26 January, 1795¹, from Spottiswoode's son shows that Buchan had written to him about his late father's collection for a *Monasticon Scotiae*. Buchan had suggested

1. E.U.L. Mss. La.II 588.

he allow Cardonell to examine and edit them, and Spottiswoode promised to write further on the subject. Whatever the result, Buchan does not appear to have done anything further, probably because by 1795 he considered other matters of greater importance.

The Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier.

The "Account" of Napier was the first of the books Buchan was to have published, and, alone of them, is without reference to the current state of British affairs. The "Advertisement" he composed for it was really an apology for his undertaking a study which was more suited to a mathematician.

Buchan began by mentioning that for about twenty years he had looked in vain for "lives" of "illustrious" Scotsmen, written by the foremost men of letters in his country. Since it seemed to him that he would be disappointed in his expectations, he had made the beginning himself:

"I have presumed to offer the following Biographical Tract to the public, as my mite to a Treasury, which I hope to see enriched by many, who have the ability and generosity of my respectable coadjutor".

The "coadjutor" was Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, to whom Buchan had addressed some remarks on the desirability of a series of Scottish biographies. Buchan's footnote to

a letter¹ from Dalrymple shows that he had originally suggested he undertake the task:

"My wish was as I have mentioned in my preface to the Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston was to appoint a group of Biographers for Scotland in which Lord Hailes should take the lead".

Hailes approved of Buchan's plan, but his own literary labours prevented his agreeing to Buchan's wishes.

Having pointed out the useful lessons that could be learnt from a study of history, Buchan drew his preface to a close:

"I flatter myself, that this article of Napier, in the Biographia Scotica, will be considered in some respects, as a specimen of the plan I have described, for it certainly has been written con amore. In the scientific part I have received the assistance of a gentleman, who deserves to be better known, on account of his mathematical learning, and the accuracy with which he treats the subjects of his inquiry".

Buchan promised that if this work was well-received he would undertake, in a similar fashion, the lives of Fletcher of Saltoun, and John Law of Laurieston². He hoped, also, that subsequently other men would follow his example, even so closely as to have their books printed and bound like his own, so that there could be a uniform edition of books about famous Scotsmen.

1. Dated 16 January, 1783, (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, ff. 91-95).

2. (1671- 1729); he originated a joint-stock company for reclaiming and settling lands in the Mississippi valley, called the "Mississippi Scheme".

The biographical section is short, and contains some inaccuracies. He wrote that there was no record of Napier's having matriculated at the University of St. Andrews, claiming that the Register books did not have a record from the sixteenth century. The University Register was actually available for 1484, and for 1563 is the entry: "Johannes Neaper, in Collegio Salvatoriano". The place of his burial was given as "the Cathedral Church of St. Giles", but it was "outside the west port of Edinburgh in the church of St. Cuthbert, the parish in which Merchiston is situated"¹. Apart from a few dates, and the names of his parents and children, there is little information about Napier in the eleven pages devoted to biography. Buchan seems to have done what he could to find out from Napier's descendants whether they had any private sources of information, but he had no success.

Buchan seems to have had misgivings early on about his ability to deal satisfactorily with the "scientific part". It can fairly be claimed that he had been an assiduous student, and that his instincts were scholarly, but there is no doubt that he was not fitted to deal with the mathematical part of the book. In his "Sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. Walter Minto"², intended for

1. D.N.B.

2. E.U.L. Mss. La D.K.2.12.

publication in his projected second volume of Anonymous
and Fugitive Essays, he dealt with his problem:

"Struck with the pointed and beautiful compliment paid by Hume to the inventor of the logarithms, I had rashly chosen this, as the subject of my contribution, and finding myself unable to execute the mathematical disquisition connected with this undertaking with sufficient ability, I invited Mr. Minto to co-operate with me, in raising this Scientific monument to the memory of our illustrious countryman".

Minto was an unknown in the literary and scholastic world, but Buchan entertained a high regard for his knowledge and abilities. He was certainly satisfied with Minto's collaboration, for he added:

"This task he performed, notwithstanding many difficultys, in a manner greatly satisfactory to me, and usefully to the learned World".

It is probable that Buchan's share in the "scientific part" consisted of reading a selection of books in mathematics, published before Napier made known his discovery of logarithms, and giving a digest of their contents where desirable. If this was the case, he would have been responsible for part, at least, of the first section which dealt briefly with Arithmetic. In the second section, entitled "Napier's Bones", he was probably responsible for the discussion of other mathematical "engines" apart from Napier's. There is a lengthy list

of printed sources used in the preparation of the text, sixty seven authorities being quoted.

In the "Sketch" Buchan stated that he and Minto worked together for most of the spring and summer of 1785, adding:

"I addressed myself to the most eminent of my scientific correspondents, both at home and abroad, informing them what we meant to attempt for the glory of our countrymen, and inviting them to advance their objections against the arguments we intended to use, for proving the Scientific, and not accidental discovery of the logarithmic canons to belong exclusively to the Laird of Merchiston".

When the work had advanced some way, Buchan decided to discuss it personally with those better-qualified than himself:

"Towards the close of the year 1785, I went to London for the purpose of conversing with Horsley¹, Hutton², and other eminent mathematicians; and to show them our M.S."

He also took the opportunity to examine the mss. in the British Museum, to ascertain whether there was any of Napier's correspondence that would assist his design, "but without success". A similar expedition to Oxford, to the Bodleian Library, met with the same result.

Having an interest in printing and publishing of high quality, he selected the Morisons at Perth to produce

1. Samuel Horsley (1733 - 1806); afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

2. Charles Hutton (1737 - 1823); Professor of Mathematics Woolwich Academy.

the book. Since he was unable personally to supervise the work whilst it was printing, he entrusted the task of "superintending the progress of the work at the press" to Dr. James Playfair¹ and the Rev. James Scott². The book appeared in 1787, so that Buchan had been concerned with it for almost five years. Walpole commented on it in a letter of 26 July, 1788³, to Lort⁴:

"Have you seen, Sir, Lord Buchan's life, as he calls it, of Napier of Merchiston, in which all he can tell of the author is, that he was an author? a great discovery!"

Walpole was deliberately ignoring the rest of the book's title, but even so, the comment was hardly worthy of an intelligent and scholarly man who knew a great deal at first hand of Buchan's intentions. What he probably objected to, most of all, was the book's purely scientific interest, for it is evident that it could hardly have had a wide appeal. Whether Buchan could have furnished a better biography if he had had access to more materials is questionable, in view of the use to which he put his work on Fletcher and Thomson five years later. He would have found the temptation to comment on Pitt and party politics so strong that he would almost certainly have robbed his

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1. (d. 1793); minister at Meigle; afterwards Principal of St. Andrews University.
 2. (1733 - 1818); minister of the Middle Church of Perth.
 3. Correspondence, vol. 16.
 4. Rev. Michael Lort (1725 - 1790); antiquary.

"Napier" of one merit it undoubtedly possessed - impartiality.

Buchan's gratitude for Minto's collaboration was expressed, firstly, in having his name printed on the title page along with his own. Playfair had objected to Buchan's sharing the honour of scholarship, in a letter of 18 January, 1787¹, but Buchan insisted that Minto's part be recognised. He had already furnished Minto with letters of introduction to American scholars, and persuaded him to emigrate to America, where he was to find his abilities better rewarded than they had been in Scotland². Perhaps the best token of gratitude was described by Buchan³:

"Having prepared my Life of Napier for the press I obtained for Mr. Minto my associate in the work an Honorary degree in Laws from the Marischal College of Aberdeen which degree was handsomely sent to Lady Buchan at Edinburgh during my absence at London to be by her presented to Mr. Minto".

There is good reason to feel that both Buchan and Minto derived much satisfaction from their work on Napier, although perhaps from different points of view.

1. E.U.L. Mss. La II. 588.

2. vide p. 160.

3. G.U.L. Mss.

The Retreat to Dryburgh.

Buchan's decision to retire finally from public life may seem odd since it was taken so soon after he had emerged from private life. His closest friends, however, could not have been surprised, for a growing discontent with most aspects of his life had shown itself in his letters over the space of several years.

His principal reason for taking a prominent role in society in 1780 was the desire to found the Society of Antiquaries, and once he had emerged from obscurity he had no inclination to return to it. He met with such ungenerous opposition that he swiftly lost much of his enthusiasm for the Society. Disillusioned by the apathy of cultured men in Scotland, he turned his thoughts to emigration, to living in England, and, finally, to settling in the country at Dryburgh Abbey.

There was, of course, another cogent reason for his dissatisfaction with his life. The War of American Independence ended in 1782, at a time when Buchan was more in the public's eye than he had ever been. He was vastly interested in politics, and if his voice had not been heard denouncing the sad bungling of the War, it was probably because he put loyalty to his country above all else, realising that a weak government is unlikely to do better if it is assailed at a time of national crisis.

Of his patriotic instincts it was written¹:

"He did not enter the political arena; but when invasion threatened common ruin, he not only with his pen endeavoured to create union among his countrymen, but, buckling on his sword, essayed to rouse them by example".

Once the War was over, Buchan watched the course of political events with a shrewd eye. In common with many others, he saw the urgent need for political reform, and it was for this reason that he responded to the overtures of the Yorkshire Committee. It had come into being in 1779, with the object of pressing for such innovations as shorter parliaments and a representation that was equal. It was not a negligible force, for among its members were many men of high repute and standing. Unfortunately for its organiser, The Rev. Charles Wyvill², it virtually disintegrated in 1782 when North³ resigned his office as Prime Minister. By the time then, that Buchan was approached for his support, the movement's usefulness was almost at an end.

In a letter of 2 December, 1782⁴, Buchan wrote

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1. Kay, op. cit., vol. 2, p.287.
 2. (1740 - 1822); a rector in Essex; after organising the Yorkshire movement, he published many works advocating toleration and parliamentary reform.
 3. (1732 - 1792); Frederick, 8th Lord North; Prime Minister from 1770 - 1782.
 4. Wyvill: Political Papers, Chiefly respecting the Attempt of the County of York to effect a Reformation of the Parliament of Great Britain. York. Vol. 4, p.523.

enthusiastically to Wyvill, promising his "most strenuous efforts to meet the virtuous wishes of the Constitutional Friends of Liberty". At the same time he showed his awareness of his own limitations:

"I am one of those wretched anomalous beings called Peers of Scotland, and can do nothing in a Senate where the people have few friends".

If he could "do nothing", it was not his fault, for only a little earlier he had striven to effect a reform of the method of electing Scottish representative Peers.

Buchan's opposition to the Election of Scottish Peers.

For many years Buchan had objected privately to the corrupt method by which the sixteen Scottish peers to serve in Parliament were selected. In 1780, he decided that he would have to take public action since no other champion of the dignity of the Scottish peerage was forthcoming. He had expressed his dissatisfaction before¹, but his long withdrawal from public life after his father's death had forced him to keep silence.

In 1707 the peers had been selected by the Queen's Commissioner from those in favour of the Treaty of Union. It became the custom of the Minister in power to send to his Scottish adherents the "King's List" or "Treasury List",

1. vide p. 40.

the names of the peers he wished to have elected. In this way the result of the election was always "a foregone conclusion"¹.

By 1775 Henry Dundas² was the "manager", and he was to remain in control of Scottish affairs until 1805. He displayed great skill in all his dealings, and by supporting Pitt in 1783 ensured his continuance at the head of Scottish affairs. In 1783 he was given the treasurership of the navy, and by 1791 he became Home Secretary. This last appointment made him "virtually undisputed master of Scotland. The landed families felt obliged to him for past favours, in the shape of posts, pensions and promotions. He was popular despite his blustering ways and his reputation as an intriguer"³.

Buchan, then, was pitting himself against a well-organised political machine. He fired his first shot when he published the following invitation in

The Caledonian Mercury, 24 May, 1780:

"The Earl of Buchan earnestly entreats the Peers of Scotland to meet at Fortune's tavern at Edinburgh, on Wednesday the 19th of July to consider the most effectual means of settling the choice of their representatives in

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1. Henry W. Meikle: Scotland and the French Revolution. Glasgow, 1912, p.12.
 2. of Arniston, (1742 - 1811).
 3. George S. Pryde: Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day. London, 1962, p.122.

Parliament on a respectable and equitable basis, and of preventing for the future, the intrusion of any persons into their order, and the participation of their rights and dignity, without their titles and pretences being legally, and formally, ascertained by the House of Lords. To these effects a plan has been proposed, and approved of by a considerable number of the Peers of Scotland".

He gave his plan in this place, making seven points or conditions to be considered when a Scots peerage election was imminent. He was most concerned to claim that the best method would be election of peers in rotation, the order in which peers were to be placed to be settled by the decision of Parliament and the consent of the Peers themselves. He wanted, also, Scots Peers to "enter natural copies of their patents of honour, charters of lands conveying their honours in the public records of the Court of Session, the House of Lords, and the office of the Lyon King at Arms in Scotland". Such a precaution was necessary, he thought, to establish the dignity of the Scottish Peers.

Buchan might have been discouraged by the failure of his brother Peers to respond to his suggestion, but he was not. He published his "Speech intended to have been delivered at the meeting of the peers of Scotland, for the general election of their representatives, October 17, 1780¹."

1. Edinburgh, 1780.

He explained his motive in drawing public attention to the Peerage elections as an attempt to

"incite the Peers of Scotland, to move in the promotion of such measures as might have an effect to alleviate, if not to remove the inconveniences which have arisen from long inattention to the advantages which were permitted to remain to the Peers of Scotland at the Union of the Kingdoms"¹.

He referred to his previous attempts to achieve some reform, and of his letter of 24 May, 1780, he said:

"(it brought) returns from several Peers ... but no regular meeting did take place"².

He resented strongly the manner whereby a Peer could enter Parliament: "he speaks to a Minister of State", and if the Minister likes him, he "recommends him warmly to the Scotch Peers resident at London and to the Scotch Great Officers of the Crown, who hand about the recommendation in their extensive circles"³. He had never received any "circular letter" himself, for, he said, he had publicly threatened to "endeavour to chastise" any Secretary of State who might dare to send him one:

"I will always be prepared to punish those who dare treat me like a slave"⁴.

He suggested again the plan he had published on 24 May for

1. p. 5.
2. p. 9.
3. p. 22.
4. p. 23.

election of Peers, adding a few points. The most sensible addition suggested that any Scottish Peer in a responsible office should be exempt from the system of rotation, "to prevent the inconveniences".

The situation did not change in practice, at least, despite Buchan's campaign. An election was held on 24 July 1782¹, in Holyroodhouse, and although Buchan had eleven votes, Lauderdale was elected by a majority of two. Before the election Buchan had protested that Lauderdale had had the interest of the late Marquis of Rockingham, and had shown a letter from him to his fellow Peers. Buchan added that if he himself were not elected, he would never again attend an election of Scottish Peers or solicit votes.

In The Caledonian Mercury of 29 July, 1782², he published a letter "To the Peers of Scotland" to reiterate his avowed intention of never again attending an election at Holyroodhouse. This he did for the benefit of the Peers who had not been present on 24 July. He referred to the election of Lauderdale as a triumph for influence, although he said "more caution" had been shown than had been

1. vide The Caledonian Mercury, 27 July 1782.

The Scots Magazine, vol. 44, pp.441 - 443.

2. The Scots Magazine, vol. 44, pp.443 - 444.

customary. He said Lauderdale knew he had Rockingham's interest, but he himself had written to Shelburne¹ to "beg of him" not to support his "pretensions", preferring to lose the election honestly than win by underhand methods. He explained Lauderdale's narrow majority by saying that the death of Rockingham had resulted in poor support for him. Of himself he wrote:

"My fortune is small, but I am independent.
My independence is inexterminable.

I can live on the food, the simple fare of my ancestors. I can prepare it, if it is necessary, in a helmet; and I can stir it about with my sword, the name, the origin, the emblem, and the charter of my family there is enough of the old Roman in me, and what is much better, of a Christian hero, to teach me how to die, when I cannot preserve my life with honour".

Despite the extravagant terms, there was a real fire in this conclusion.

He broke his vow about not taking a further part in a future election, for he did attend one in 1787².

Buchan did not succeed in his attempt to bring about a fair election of Scottish Peers, although he was sure he had:

"There is no evidence that the Treasury List was abolished. But, instead of being openly circulated as before, it was handed over in a more secretive fashion to the Lord Advocate and some trusty henchman on the spot"²

1. (b.1737 d.1805); Eminent politician.

2. Meikle, op. cit., p.13.

To him, however, must go much credit for attempting to remove an abuse disgraceful to his brother Peers and country. Fergusson quoted¹ at some length an account of the 1784 election, mentioning its "informality and illegality", but the matter was smoothed over by the duplicity of the government.

Despite the unhappy attempt at reforming the peerage elections, he thought something might be achieved. He wrote again to Wyvill on 12 December, 1782², to report that he had tried to gauge the likely amount of support Wyvill's association could look for in Scotland, and expressed a fervent desire to see its objects attained. The zeal which had characterised his behaviour at Holyroodhouse earlier in the year showed itself in the following, from this letter:

"May my little name be remembered as a Scottish Peer who dared to be singular, and to be unswayed by number or example in the prosecution of a conduct dictated to him by reason, and fostered by an enthusiastic attachment to the principles of lawful Liberty, and the franchises of Britons".

The unsettled political climate of the time, however, resulted in failure of anything that Buchan may have attempted, for between 12 December, 1782, and 19 December, 1783, there were three separate administrations.

1. op. cit., pp. 195 - 199.

2. Wyvill, op. cit., p. 525.

Such a state of affairs was scarcely conducive to political reform.

Buchan began to feel that Britain was hastening to destruction, but he was quite powerless. With the advent of Pitt the Younger, however, he felt that at last his advice would be sought and acted upon. He undoubtedly expected great things from the son of his political idol, and was certain that Pitt would turn to him as a man whom his father had respected and endeavoured to serve. This explains the attitude Buchan adopted in a letter of 3 February, 1784¹, to Lord Camelford². It began:

"The present political dilemma of the Son of my illustrious Friend has given me more uneasiness that I am able to express".

Buchan was referring here to the fact that Pitt continued in office as Prime Minister although he lacked a majority in the Commons. He foresaw danger for Pitt if he did not resign:

"If Mr. Pitt shall not adopt this line of conduct I will venture to foretell that if according to his hopes things should return to the position necessary for giving him the Victory, he will soon feel what his great Father felt and what he often did me the Honour to say that he did feel, that his discomfiture was sought for in proportion to the Strength with which he grew in Parlt by the confidence of the Country & that there was

1. N.L.S. MS. 1707, ff.12 - 13.

2. (1736/37 - 1793); Thomas Pitt; Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

something allways at hand to diminish his strength in Parlt when it threatnd the firm establishment of such an Administration as immortalised the memory of the late Earl of Chatham and of the King who supported him".

So convinced was he of the accuracy of his assessment of the situation that he added:

"My Lord, I am persuaded that some attention ought to be paid by Mr. Pitt to what I have done myself the Honour to lay before you. I am not Rich, but I am honest I am anxious to see this country governed neither by Combinations formed for office & emolument nor by those who wish for their own advantage to increase the powers of any part of the legislative body".

Buchan's judgment was sadly out, for only weeks after he wrote to Camelford there was an election that gave Pitt the majority he needed for the successful application of his policies. Even today, however, opinion is still divided over the exact reason for Pitt's success in this election, so Buchan's error is understandable, particularly since he was far away from the centre of events and was obliged to guess at the state of popular feeling¹.

Buchan must have waited until he judged Pitt was firmly established in power before sending him some advice, for he referred to his suggestions in a letter of 7 March, 1786², to Pitt. This letter was written soon after he

1. Watson, op. cit., p.272, note 1.

2. Hyde Collection.

had visited London whither he had gone to further his book on Napier of Merchiston.

"I think politeness requires me to give a reason for my residing in Town two months this Winter and having taken leave of it without waiting on you you had not formerly shown any desire to resemble your Father in your attachment to me or to my family and I did not chuse to visit you as first Lord of the Treasury but as the Son of my Friend the late Lord Chatham your having omitted also to answer a very kind letter which I sent you under the impression of your being disposed to receive as your Father used to do such marks of confidence with attention confirmed me in the resolution not to meet you more than half way when I had nothing to ask of you but what I could ask from the King without your intervention. Moreover I must be free enough to tell you that in these soaring negligences you do not imitate the example of your Master for that good natured excellent Prince who has had the misfortune too often like other Princes to be imposed upon by Mountebanks & Knaves of State, when I did myself the Honour to write to him did not allow four and Twenty hours to pass without writing to me in the handsomest manner, & I do assure you that if you can make that Illustrious Person happy by restoring the Happiness of his People, and the Lustre of his Crown I shall heartily forgive you for what I am very certain your Father never could have forgiven himself; disrespect to his old Friend and the Friend of his Family & of his Country".

There was no attempt on Buchan's part to conceal the fact that he held Pitt in very low esteem. Pitt may have sneered at Buchan's "very kind letter", but he could not have denied that extremely good relations existed between Buchan and the royal family. Having delivered himself of this blast, Buchan presumably felt that his pride and honour had been vindicated. It must be admitted that this extraordinary

letter showed a remarkable degree of self esteem and confidence, and could have been written only by a man possessed of considerable force of character.

Buchan never completely forgave Pitt for his off-hand reception of his well-meaning advice. He always regarded him as a charlatan, and compared him unfavourably with his great father. The following remark summed up his attitude to him:

"(Lord Chatham's) eloquence was not that of his son William's, smooth, long-winded, and self-sufficient; but noble, fiery, and energetical"¹.

In that he was less than fair towards Pitt he departed from his characteristic love of justice, but this serves to show the depth of disappointment he experienced. From now on he could hardly have expected to take any official share as a politician whilst Pitt was in office, and by the time Pitt resigned in 1801 he was too old and lacking in inclination to be capable.

His disgust with politicians was not, in itself, sufficient reason for his determination to withdraw to Dryburgh Abbey. In 1783 he had been almost stunned by the hostility directed against the Society of Antiquaries, and though he kept his temper well and ultimately outwitted his opponents, the controversy left a deep impression. In a

1. The Bee, vol. 5, p.81.

letter of 15 March, 1783¹, to Nichols, he revealed his ever-growing disgust with Scotland and its people. What he found incomprehensible was the widespread disinclination on the part of learned Scotsmen to do anything for the honour of their country. In the same letter he wrote that he would have preferred life in England, but that he had chosen to stay in Scotland, to work for its "improvement". Sadly for Buchan, most of the good he did do was unacknowledged until it was too late for him to have much satisfaction or pleasure.

When he wrote to Dr. Gilbert Stuart on 18 April, 1783², he expressed his disgust with the state of contemporary literature:

"Authors may enrich themselves, and may become the literary Caesars of the day, by courting the prejudices of Mankind, and disentangling their consciences from the Laws of the Republick of Letters; for my part I would not wish to see my literary Tercel rise from the hands of Apollo as such vulgar game.

I would adopt the memorable motto of the Prince of Painters, and rather consent to live in obscurity than to die without the hopes of immortality".

Stuart was not a man of the highest moral character, and apparently hastened his death by his intemperate habits, but, like Buchan, he had suffered much hostile criticism in his work. In particular, he and Buchan had little

1. Nichols: Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 6., pp. 500-501.
2. E.U.L. Mss. La D.C.1. 24, p.19.

cause to like William Robertson. Buchan's criticism of contemporary literature was actuated by his wish to see many more serious works relating to Scottish literature, history, and antiquities being published. It was this wish that was entirely responsible for his long and ungrudging help to the ungrateful Pinkerton. It also explains why he expressed such gratitude to Walter Minto for assisting him in the preparation of the "Life" of Napier¹.

In 1785 he developed more fully his views on what ought to be done in literature, in "A New Plan for the Advancement of Learning"². This was a discourse which he delivered to a meeting of the "Royal and Antiquary Society" in London, whilst he was there to show his book on Napier to eminent mathematicians. In it he referred to the general disinclination on the part of the authors to apply themselves to what he thought was important:

"Satisfied with marble of Carrera they seek not for the quarries of Paros and writing to establish a favourite supposition a faction in the state or perhaps their own shattered fortunes by the munificence of a bookseller who is to avail himself of their talents with the Publick. They form Libraries upon Libraries which call for some powerful hand to whip the Buyers and sellers forth from the Temple of literary Fame. The present moment seems

1. vide p. 137.

2. E.U.L. Mss. La II, 588.

favourable all over the enlightened world for doing something that may lead to teach mankind to be wise at last".

He mentioned the "materials for History", "scattered over the world, and pointed out that

"Good government can alone preserve and improve the happiness of Mankind and from the History of Nations Legislation can alone draw that information which is necessary to render it more perfect and permanent".

At some later date he noted on his manuscript that "but few of the members" attended to hear him talk. Whilst there was more than a grain of truth in what he said, he was being rather idealistic.

Buchan's retreat to Dryburgh Abbey, then, was occasioned by his refusal to live in a society that cared little for what he held dear. He might have said that almost the only reaction he experienced was one of hostility. After over five years' striving to promote antiquarian study, literature, and political reform he gave up a struggle which he found unequal. He went to Dryburgh to find a compensation for all the disappointments he had sustained, and there he discovered a contentment so sufficient that he made no further attempt to seek a prominent role in society.

Buchan's interest in America was very real, and when he contemplated emigration there it was for sound reasons. Although he did not go, his connection with Washington and several other prominent Americans was

important to him, if only because they recognised his ability and listened to his advice.

Buchan and America.

Buchan first became interested in America and Americans in 1764 when he saw a great deal of Benjamin Franklin in London. Undoubtedly he followed closely the course of events which led up to the outbreak of the American War of Independence, for in his "Extracts"¹ he mentioned having written several letters to the press, protesting against the short-sighted actions taken by successive Prime Ministers to pacify the Colonies. It is questionable if he took the side of the colonists simply because of bias, although it is true that he had scant respect for most of the men who were, one after another, Prime Minister. When he wrote about the quarrel with America years later, it was from the viewpoint that Britain had been completely at fault, and that the Americans had been entirely misunderstood. This is the same kind of over-simplification as that which made him think that from 1765 onwards matters between the two countries deteriorated steadily. He seems to have been unaware that in 1770 there were indications that "the American question

1. G.U.L. Mss.

(was) going quietly to sleep unsolved, insoluble, but no longer serious"¹.

With the passing of time he came to identify himself, in spirit at least, more and more with the Americans. For him, the struggle was simply the attempt to enslave a brave and industrious people fighting for the preservation of a simple and dignified way of life. Seeing nothing but corruption in the British government, he was convinced that his country had little to anticipate, and he subsequently began to contemplate emigration.

He had, by his own reckoning, a personal interest in America's future, as well as a respect for a nation trying to maintain its freedom. He claimed kinship with George Washington, whom he was in the habit of referring to as "cousin", although, as Fergusson noted², the term was one "of some elasticity". A reference in Notes and Queries³ indicates that Buchan had little right to his claim. Buchan and Bryan, eighth Lord Fairfax⁴, had a common ancestor in Richard Fairfax of Walton, who died in 1452.

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1. J. Steven Watson: The Reign of George III, Oxford, 1960, p.194.
 2. op. cit., p.487.
 3. 6th Series, vol. 8, p.52.
 4. (1737 - 1802).

"As for the relationship between General Washington and the Earl of Buchan, the connexion is about as tangible as the shadow of a shade. Bryan eighth Lord Fairfax's grandmother, Anne Harrison, had a sister Eleanor, who married in 1689 a certain Henry Washington, whose relationship to General Washington's ancestor, John, the emigrant of 1657 - 9, is the merest conjecture, being based on nothing but similarity of name".

Whatever the truth of the matter, Fergusson wrote¹ that Buchan "claimed kindred there, and had the claim allowed" by Washington himself. Fergusson was right to say that Buchan used the expression "cousin" loosely, for in a similar manner he referred to his great-great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Browne², as his "grandfather"³.

His thoughts on the subject of emigration took a positive turn in 1782, with the end of the War of Independence. Franklin wrote to him on 17 March, 1783⁴, answering his query about land purchase in America. A letter of 25 March, 1783⁵, from John Knox⁶ referred to Buchan's "intention to cross the Atlantic", and attempted to dissuade him by saying that his going would be a great loss to Scotland, and that he would probably find it

1. op. cit., p.487.

2. (1605 - 1682); author of Religio Medici.

3. Fergusson, op. cit., "French and Italian Pedigree of the Erskines", facing p.535.

4. The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 64, p.587.

5. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.48.

6. Bookseller in the Strand.

difficult to settle in a new country. Whether Buchan was influenced by these arguments or not, he toyed with the idea of emigration until 1794, at least, for Pinkerton¹ wrote to him on 30 July, 1794², in an endeavour to persuade him that his scheme was unwise. Pinkerton's argument was sensible, for he pointed out the existence in America of faction and rival political parties, saying that Buchan's title would probably lead to resentment and even open hostility. Buchan rather naively ignored the fact that there might exist in America the same sort of evils that he wished to leave behind in Britain, and Pinkerton's letter may have helped to persuade him that emigration at the age of fifty two years was not likely to have very happy results for him. By then, of course, he was beginning to experience the full pleasure of a retirement spent at Dryburgh Abbey, and emigration could hardly have been more than just an idea for idle contemplation.

Although there is no doubt that Buchan was attracted to America because he felt it had a bright future, it is also very likely that he expected to be asked to take

1. (1758 - 1826); eminent antiquary and author.

2. ed. Dawson Turner: The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, London, 1830, vol. 1, pp. 353 - 355.

a leading role in its government should he go there.

He never doubted that he could have played an important role in the government of his country, had circumstances permitted him.

There is more than just a suspicion that he had such a notion, for his letter of 19 September, 1786¹, to Dr. Nisbet², casts him in the role of an expert on American affairs:

"Be persuaded my worthy principal that North America with all her failings is a much more proper protectress for you than this degraded island of ours on religion liberty and good manners are much on the decline, and it is a great Honour that God has been pleased to allow you to lend your aid to the improvement of a People who having emigrated from this country at a time when we were by no means an honest simple people must have a great deal of corruption to purge off by that bearing of the yoke of affliction which God has appointed as the most effectual means of purification, both to individuals and to the State which is fond of them. Dr. Franklins address to you is very sensible, but without piety to God a careful institution of youth for that end and an agricultural system of wealth & happiness in yr state you never can become a great or respectable people."

When this well-meant advice is examined, it is seen that Buchan was merely stating the obvious, without giving much practical advice about the carrying out of his suggested

1. H.S. Penn. Mss.

2. (1736 - 1804); first President of Dickinson College, Pennsylvania.

plan for American happiness and greatness.

On 4 December, 1788¹, Buchan wrote at much greater length to Nisbet about America:

"Permit me to assure you that the disagreeable circumstances you mention with respect to North America are of a temporary nature and that a few years will remove them or at least will greatly lessen them and I think it next to a miracle that things have been so well established as they appear to be at present in spite of the bickering and heart-burnings that have given such uneasiness and threatened at one time a dangerous disunion. It would require a volume to give you my sentiments fully on what relates to the United States and I will here in as few words as possible concentrate my opinion relating to their situation and true interest.

The moral world must evolve like the natural, and it is necessary that government should abstain from all attempts to precipitate the progress of improvement in any country beyond the rate at which it proceeds the evolution of the circumstances arising from the situation of the country and of the people. Hitherto we have known no instance of a great people having been founded by Colonies from a nation in a high state of civilisation, but it is possible that it may be so hereafter that the Americans may lose in the inland parts of the country the habits of Europe and may go through all the periods of improvement again after having lost their connection with the mother country and with Europe in which case six or seven centuries would go far to make them an interesting people, but as it is they must not pretend to mingle in the contest of other nations or aim at a commerce of luxury.

Much will depend on the education of youth for the maritime states, as for those that are now rising to the westward I can say nothing because I suppose that for a long time it will be impossible to have any daylight with respect

to their governments and that when they are informed it is very uncertain whether they may accede to the Federal union or no, and whether it would be beneficial to the general interest that so immense a continent could be subject to the same power".

There is no mistaking the common-sense attitude of this letter, particularly in his remark that America's wisest policy in foreign affairs for some time to come ought to be isolationist. He showed much shrewdness in this, for that was to be American policy until almost the middle of the twentieth century. Those who scoffed at him would have been surprised by the accuracy of many of his observations about America, had they taken the trouble to ascertain what his views were.

Buchan had felt so sure that his judgment was right that in 1786 he persuaded Walter Minto to emigrate to America where his scholarship would have the outlet denied him in his own country. He used his influence with his American friends to obtain for Minto the chair of Mathematics in the College of New Jersey. That this was an action beneficial to both Minto and the College is shown by a letter to Buchan of 24 May, 1788¹, from Dr. Witherspoon²:

1. H.S. Penn. Mss.

2. (1722 - 1792); divine and theological writer. John Witherspoon left Scotland in 1768 to earn fame as president of the College of New Jersey which subsequently became Princeton University.

"I have now the additional pleasure of informing your lordship that he has in all respects answered the character you gave of him & has since his election given great & general satisfaction to the students and other officers of the College & even to the Night-watchman. He applies diligently to his business & from 2 Geometry examinations we have had since his election his method of teaching seems to be very good When Minto first came to Princeton & to New York he was low in spirits from an illness contracted in Maryland but now all are sensible he is as amicable in his manners as accomplished in his profession so that we look upon him as a great acquisition to our Seminary & to America. As your Lordship knows already our young & feeble state in respect of friends I may the more freely mention that if we could have any assistance from the learned & liberal it would be very acceptable".

This makes quite clear that Buchan's friendship and judgment were valued in America, and that he did more than talk about being sympathetic to that country.

Buchan almost certainly began the correspondence with Washington, for it would have been quite in character for him to address a letter of good wishes and advice to someone in so eminent a position. Washington was genuinely gratified to have Buchan as a correspondent, particularly, at a time when his young nation was in need of the kind of assistance that Buchan could give, the sending to America of Scholars such as Minto.

Buchan presented him with a portrait of Napier of Merchiston, and in a letter of 28 April, 1788¹,

1. John C. Fitzpatrick: The Writings of George Washington, Washington, 1940, vol. 29, p. 481.

Washington asked Dr. Rush¹, who had forwarded it to him, to "make his most grateful acknowledgements to that patriotic Nobleman, for so flattering a token of his esteem, and friendship".

With an eye to instructing the American public, Buchan had mentioned to Washington the desirability of having The Bee made known in America. On 30 June, 1790², Washington wrote to Buchan:

"some account of this literary undertaking will be published in the Gazette of the United States: a paper which is read extensively in America. I shall be glad to give all the encouragement in my power to the work in question, as well on account of its own merits, as to demonstrate the real respect and esteem with which I have the honor etc."

Since Buchan must have mentioned, among other matters, that he himself was a regular contributor to The Bee, Washington was actually paying him a compliment by promising to publicise the merits of that magazine. Washington himself subscribed five guineas to The Bee³.

Buchan referred to Washington's fulfilment of his promise in his letter of 28 June, 1791³:

"I had the honour to receive your Excellencie's letter relating to the advertisement of

1. (1745 - 1813); Benjamin Rush: Professor of Chemistry, Philadelphia.
2. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol. 31, p.63.
3. H.S. Penn. Mss. Buchan subsequently noted on this letter that Washington had sent a subscription of five guineas to The Bee.

Dr. Andersons periodical publication in the Gazette of the United States which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly and return you my grateful acknowledgment".

Buchan mentioned also in this letter that he had "inserted a monitory paper respecting America" in The Bee, on 25 May, 1791¹.

This "paper" eulogised Washington and his principles, but showed a common-sense attitude. He talked, for example, about the lack of satisfactory educational facilities. He suggested the setting up of "Sunday Schools" for the "instruction of servants, and of the labouring poor". He wanted, also, to see women receiving education: "the fatal error avoided, that a woman's chief excellence consists of being able to make a pudding". This was in accord with the views he had long held on the subject of female education. He concluded by advising Americans to devote themselves to a life of "industry, frugality, temperance, moderation, obedience to the law".

With his letter of 28 June Buchan sent Washington a present of a box made from the wood of the oak tree in which Wallace had "sheltered" after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, saying:

"I have entrusted this to Mr. Robertson² of Aberdeen a painter with the hope of his having the honour of delivering it into yr. hands,

1. The Bee, vol. 3, pp. 96 - 101.

2. (1765-1835).

recommending him as an honest artist seeking for bread & for fame in the new world. This Box was presented to me by the Goldsmiths Company at Edinburgh, to whom feeling my own unworthiness to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested & obtained leave to make it over to the Man in the World to whom I thought it was most justly due. Into your hands I commit it requesting of you to pass it on the event of your decease to the Man in your own Country who shall appear to yr. judgment merit it best upon the same considerations that have induced me to send it to your Excellency".

Although the box must have had little intrinsic value, it was enough for Buchan that it was in some way connected with a man who represented, for him, the ideal of patriotism. Washington understood Buchan's motive in sending it to him, for he wrote, on 1 May, 1792¹:

"I accept with sensibility and satisfaction the significant present of the box which accompanied your Lordship's letter I estimate the additional value which it derives from the hand that sent it, and my obligation for the sentiments that induced the transfer".

Washington bequeathed the box to Buchan "with grateful thanks for the distinguished honour" Buchan had conferred upon him in giving it².

When he sent the Box, Buchan asked Washington for a portrait, suggesting that Robertson undertake the commission. He wanted it, he said, so that he could hang it amongst the portraits of those whom he most honoured.

1. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol. 32.

2. Ibid. vol. 37, p. 285 (Washington's Will).

Many years later an American called Andrew Bigelow visited Dryburgh Abbey and remarked upon "a highly painted portrait of General Washington, in the uniform of his regiment", hanging in the dining room¹. He was referring to the portrait which Washington permitted Robertson to paint for Buchan.

This painting is now in Sulgrave Manor, the "ancient Northamptonshire home of Washington's ancestors, which is maintained as a museum and place of pilgrimage"². Robertson, who reached America late in 1791, finished the portrait by May of 1792, and it was delivered to Buchan at the end of 1793. Its identity seems to have been lost some time after Buchan's death, for it was catalogued as the portrait of "A Naval Officer" at Ammondell. It was not until 1939 that it was recognised for what it was.

Washington's letter to Buchan, dated 22 April, 1793³, showed how much he valued his opinion. He dwelt at length on what he believed America's aims for the future ought to be. In particular he emphasised the wisdom of the isolationist policy that Buchan had recommended to Nisbet in his letter of 4 December, 1788. He sent Buchan a plan of the city of Washington. It was through his influence that the site of this city was selected, in

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1. Rev. D.G. Manuel, B.D.,: Dryburgh Abbey, p.338, London, 1922.
 2. The Times, 8 August, 1951.
 3. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol. 32.

1790, on the borders of Maryland and Virginia. The letter was brimful of enthusiastic discussion of what was being done for the improvement of transport.

Washington evidently regarded Buchan with much respect since he took the trouble to keep him well informed about American policy. When his former private secretary, Tobias Lear¹, embarked upon a business tour of Europe, he gave him a letter of introduction to Buchan². He was well received, for on 6 May, 1794³, Washington wrote to Lear to express "sincere pleasure" that Buchan had treated him so well. A letter of 25 May, 1794⁴, from Lear to Buchan expressed thanks for the hospitality Buchan had afforded at Dryburgh Abbey. Washington himself wrote to Buchan on 26 May, 1794⁵, to thank him for helping Lear, who, he reported, had spoken of Buchan in the "highest terms of respect and gratitude". He added that he approved entirely of Buchan's "sentiments", saying:

"(they) do honor to the goodness of your heart, and ought to be engraved on every man's heart".

Buchan had advocated American neutrality, and the

1. (1762 - 1816).
2. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol.33, p.152, (8 November, 1793).
3. Ibid, vol. 33, p.354.
4. .E.U.L. Mss. La II, 588.
5. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol.33, p.152.

encouragement of "philanthropy, industry and oeconomy". One feels that Buchan derived a vicarious satisfaction from his correspondence with Washington, particularly when he found his own ideas echoed in this fashion. Washington, however, was to experience the kind of disappointment Buchan felt, for party faction grew to such an extent in America that he ultimately lost faith in his country's institutions, and gave his whole-hearted support to the Federalist party. In 1796 John Adams¹ became the second President of America, and Washington retired from public life.

When he wrote to Buchan on 4 July, 1797², he spoke of himself simply as a farmer. He explained the gap in his correspondence with Buchan by saying that his estate at Mount Vernon had been so neglected during his Presidency that he had had to spend the previous three months "repairing the ravages which an eight years absence" had produced. He referred, rather sadly, to his continual efforts to ensure peace for his country.

It is obvious from the correspondence with Buchan that Washington entertained a high regard for him. When it is remembered that he made more enemies than friends,

1. (1735 - 1826).

2. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., vol.35.

and that his manner was generally cold and haughty, it becomes apparent that he considered Buchan as a man of unusual abilities. It is impossible to estimate what effect Buchan's friendship had on relations between Britain and America, but it must have been a useful, if small, factor in maintaining amity between the two nations. Certainly, American resentment towards Britain became increasingly marked after 1805.

Buchan always liked to remember his dealings with Washington, and he did what he could to foster good relations between Americans and his fellow countrymen. For this reason he invited American citizens then resident in Edinburgh to hear him deliver an "Address" in 1811¹.

This "Address" consisted mainly of a eulogy of Washington and the American constitution. Setting aside the artificiality of much of the language, it must be admitted that Buchan showed some shrewd insight. For example, his conviction that the salvation of Europe lay in America's future seems rather prophetic in light of twentieth century history. It was his fervent wish, he said, that God would make the Americans "the instruments of promoting the peace of the world and the progressive increase of human happiness!"²

1. The Earl of Buchan's Address to the Americans at Edinburgh, on Washington's Birth-Day, February, 22d, 1811. Edinburgh, 1811.

2. p.14.

For the rest, Buchan was content, largely, to quote from his correspondence with Washington and Thomas Jefferson¹, and to give a few "Biographical Remarks on Lord Chatham", who had, of course, objected to the Stamp Act, and shown sympathy towards America when it was still a British colony.

Of Washington Buchan said:

"I glory most of all in the uniform friendship and interchange of religions, moral, and political opinion with Washington".

Since his aim in giving the "Address" was, at least partly, to promote better relations between Americans and Britons, it was unfortunate that only eleven days before he spoke at Edinburgh President Madison² had demanded a relaxation of British restrictions on American trade. The British government did agree to his demand, but took so long to reach its decision that America's declaration of war preceded it. Buchan must have felt sick at heart that so unnecessary a war should have broken out.

He gave at least one more "Address" to Americans resident in Edinburgh, on 22 February, 1817³. It stated, once more, his deep respect for Washington, but refrained

1. (1743 - 1826); third President of America.

2. (1751 - 1836); fourth President of America.

3. Thomas Constable; Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents. Edinburgh 1873, vol.1, pp. 523 - 526.

from the confident forecast of the 1811 speech.

Relations with America after Washington's Death.

Buchan must have found correspondence with others than Washington rather an anti-climax, but he was as anxious as ever to maintain good relations with the young nation. To show his approval of Jefferson he sent him a copy of his "Life" of Fletcher. In his 1811 "Address to the Americans" he referred to this gift, explaining:

"my intention was to defeat, as far as my opinion could the prejudices conceived against Mr. Jefferson on both sides of the Atlantic".

Whatever Jefferson's feelings, he duly thanked Buchan for his well-meant gift, in a letter of 10 July, 1803¹.

He also complimented Buchan on his firm adherence to the principles that had characterised Fletcher, saying that such an attitude was necessary in view of the "weakened condition of English whigism".

Jefferson's letter lacked the warmth of those Washington had been in the habit of writing, and probably Buchan had little desire to prolong a correspondence with him. He had other American friends, however, with whom he maintained cordial relations. When the family of James Palmer, a printer at Kelso, was left poorly - provided

1. ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb: The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Washington, 1905, vol.10, p.400.

for by his death, Buchan advised the sons and daughters to go to America, arming them with a letter of introduction to Benjamin Rush.

Rush wrote to Buchan on 30 September, 1801¹, to say that he had met the Palmers on their arrival from Scotland. His letter of 22 October, 1806², to Buchan showed that the Palmers had done well for themselves:

"I am happy in being able to inform your Lordship that the family of Palmers so affectionately protected, and so, warmly recommended to me by your Advice and friendship. The two young ladies are well married - one of them to a respectable watchmaker, - the other to a worthy Clergyman. The young men possess a printing office, and are doing a great deal of business with fine characters".

Rush having proved so willing a friend, Buchan wrote to ask him for information, which he desired. Rush answered this request in a most sensible fashion, as is apparent from the following letter, dated 6 October 1801³:

"Permit me to introduce your Lordship to Dr. Nathl. Chapman a former pupil of mine, and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. He is a native of Virginia & has been from his childhood, a near neighbour of the late general Washington. His talents have commanded the respect of all his teachers, and his manners have procured him as many friends as he has acquaintances. He is well acquainted with the details of the public affairs of our country, and can answer all such questions relative to

1. N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.259.

2. N.Y.P.L. Mss.

3. N.Y.P.L. Mss.

public men, & measures as are usually asked by Strangers & persons interested in the Welfare of the only representative & elective government (imall its parts) upon the face of the earth".

The best recommendation Chapman could have had was the fact that he had once lived near Washington, but in any event Buchan would have extended to him the kindness he showed to all whom his friends sponsored. Chapman obviously appreciated Buchan's kindness to him, for in a letter of 2 March, 1802¹, he wrote to Buchan that he was "the most distinguished Friend of America".

Satisfied with Chapman, Buchan determined to send to Rush, by him, the box which formerly he had gifted to Washington and had inherited by his will. In his personal copy of his 1811 "Address to the Americans" Buchan noted:

"Ld. B. returned it to the U.S. to contain prize medals of the General to be distributed annually to the most virtuous & learned Student in the University founded by Washington in America & it was put into the hands of Dr. Chapman of Philadelphia in the Assembly rooms at Edn. with much ceremony to be taken by him across the Atlantic. It was stolen from the Dr. on his way to Philadelphia & is now perhaps in the hands of some Traitor to his Country".

Rush had informed him of the theft in his letter of 22 October, 1806. He wrote:

"The Virtues & exploits of the illustrious hero who conferred dignity upon the tree that sheltered

him, the Antiquity of the box, and the rank and Character of the noble Donor, all concur to render its loss peculiarly distressing to me".

Buchan's feelings when he received this news are easily imagined, for if the box had little intrinsic worth, its symbolic value was high.

Buchan's Activities at Dryburgh Abbey.

Once Buchan had taken up residence at Dryburgh Abbey, he determined to pass the larger part of each year there. Only in wintertime did he leave it for his town house in Edinburgh.

Although his main reason for buying this estate was his desire to live in the country, he had had particular reasons for choosing Dryburgh Abbey. At one time the estate had belonged to his family, but in 1682 Henry Erskine¹ had sold it before emigrating to South Carolina. Apart from this, it had romantic associations for Buchan. According to oral tradition², Chaucer had stayed at Dryburgh for a short time, as had Strode³, and,

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1. (1650 - 1693); third Lord Cardross. In 1604 King James VI erected Dryburgh and other temporalities into the Barony of Cardross, in favour of the Earl of Mar and his sons.
 2. vide: Dryburgh Abbey, Its Monks and Its Lords. Galashiels, 1909 ninth edition, p.45.
 3. Ralph Strode, a Dominican friar at Jedburgh; poet laureate of Oxford. Chaucer dedicated his "Troilus and Criseyde" to Strode and Gower.

most attractive of all the famous literary figures who had known the spot, James Thomson had frequented it in his boyhood.

Having bought the estate, Buchan had to renovate the manor house which stood near the ruins of the Abbey. It had been built in 1572, and he had it "considerably enlarged and modernised"¹. The present mansion house is merely a restoration of the one Buchan inhabited, for his house was destroyed by fire in 1892.

Whilst he waited for the completion of the necessary work on the estate and house, he turned his mind to plans for occupying his leisure time there.

Printing at Dryburgh Abbey.

Writing to the King on 19 May, 1786², Buchan mentioned his intention of taking up residence at Dryburgh Abbey. He continued:

"My estate is inadequate to my making a Strawberryhill of this retreat".

It is obvious why he should have referred to Horace Walpole's famed "Gothic Castle", for Dryburgh and Strawberry Hill had much in common. They were both sufficiently remote from the capital city of each country, to ensure privacy, and

1. Dryburgh Abbey, p.46.

2. E.U.L. Mss. La II, 588.

yet a comparatively short journey from each was all that was necessary to take the proprietors into town. W.S. Lewis says that Walpole cast around for a quiet retreat because he liked "reading, collecting, writing, and being alone"¹. This is almost completely true of Buchan, who, if he did not want to be alone, was certainly in search of a secluded life when he purchased Dryburgh Abbey.

Apart from other considerations, Buchan was tempted to emulate Walpole's feat in setting up a private printing press. Walpole opened it in 1757, for "his own pleasure and convenience; he would bring out only books and trifles by his friends and himself and unpublished manuscripts of antiquarian interest"². In all, thirty four books were printed, and "several dozen 'detached pieces'"³. The standard of printing was quite high typographically. Walpole did not set the type himself, for his means were so ample that he could afford to pay for a resident printer.

Buchan realised, of course, that his lack of money would prevent his ever equalling Walpole's success, but he thought that something might be done. In his "Description of Dryburgh", sent to the Literary and Antiquarian Society at Perth, on 29 May, 1786⁴, he wrote:

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1. Wilmarth S. Lewis: Horace Walpole, London, 1961, p.97.
 2. Lewis op. cit., p.141
 3. Lewis, op. cit., p.142.
 4. P.L.A.S. Mss.

"the Pastoral & Sylvan Amoenity of the place (Dryburgh) so seldom united invite me most of all to make it a Philosophical retreat and if I can conveniently manage it I propose to have a little printing press there for the publication of books which are out of the line of our modern booksellers such as the lives of our learned Countrymen which if scientifically written would be suffocated in the birth by new Novels".

Buchan was also interested in printing of good quality, and so he would naturally have hoped to produce artistic editions once he had the essential leisure time at Dryburgh Abbey. As it proved, he was to be very actively employed in so many ways there that he had little spare time when he was still young enough to be sanguine. Such efforts as he did make towards the printing of fine books were restricted to helping the Morison press at Perth.

He probably realised very soon how unrealistic his ambition was, and that at most he would be able to produce only pamphlets. When he wished to see in print the fruits of his enquiries regarding the whereabouts of Peiresc's manuscripts he resorted to hiring a printer in nearby Kelso. This is a very modest production in point of size, but it serves to indicate that Buchan could not undertake the task himself.

He did acquire a printing press, however, for it is referred to in a series of reminiscences about Buchan¹.

1. Fraser's Magazine, vol.15, pp. 355-361.

It is called the "Ruthven Press". John Ruthven¹ produced a number of inventions, such as "An ingenious method of affixing letters on the fronts of shops, in place of painting", as described in volume 71 of the Scots Magazine². The press Buchan owned was portable, and very compact. On one occasion Ruthven happened to be aboard a packet boat at Leith when adverse circumstances resulted in the loss of the tide. Lord Erskine was also on board, and he recited an extempore and witty verse on the incident. It so delighted the passengers that they prevailed on Ruthven to print it off on one of his portable presses which he had with him³. According to the article in Fraser's Magazine the "Ruthven Press" was "about half the size of a common writing desk". It was, then, hardly likely to be capable of serving Buchan in any large-scale undertaking.

He seems to have done little other than amuse himself with it, printing mere trifles. In a letter of 18 December, 1795⁴, Tytler⁵ referred to Buchan's press:

"It gives me the highest satisfaction that a letter of mine is judged worthy of being printed at Dryburgh Abbey; and a copy sent to me will make me extremely proud".

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1. Printer in Edinburgh.
 2. p.198.
 3. James Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1883, vol.3, p.271.
 4. N.L.S. Ms. 1003, f.177.
 5. Dr. Henry William Tytler (1752 - 1808).

Fergusson mentions¹ that Buchan had printed a letter he had received from Washington, and the complete text of one from Buchan to Sir Brooke Boothby² is given in Fraser's Magazine:

"The Earl of B. to Sir Brooke Boothby, on his Gallery of Portraits. - The bodies of men, my dear Sir Brooke, are frail and perishing. So are their portraits. But upheld by the power of the Creator, the souls of the just are eternal. May our lives, my friend, correspond to the example of the divine Founder of our Faith, and our paths be like unto the morning light, which advances ever more and more to the pure splendour of the perfect day. Farewell!
Printed by the Earl of B. with the Ruthven Press".

Part of this letter was a quotation from Buchan's Life of Fletcher³.

None of these samples of Buchan's handiwork appear to have survived. They were genuinely his own productions, for he would have regarded a private printer as an unjustifiable luxury. One item, however, remains. It is entitled: "On a Favourite Dog interred in the grounds of Dryburgh Abbey MDCCLXIV"⁴. It was composed by Sir Brooke Boothby, and on it is printed the fact that it was done by the "BUCHAN Portable Press". There are only twelve lines of verse, but it was obviously set carefully.

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1. op. cit., p.487.
 2. Dilettante (1744 - 1824).
 3. p.62.
 4. N.L.S. Ms. 1676, p.117.

To have devoted himself in sufficient earnest to printing would have forced Buchan to abandon many of his favourite, indeed necessary, leisure-time pursuits. Since variety was apparently indispensable to him he produced nothing of note. His essay into printing really shows the readiness with which he was willing to attempt anything new.

Like Walpole, Buchan decided that his country retreat should not be allowed to separate him from the companionship of his closest acquaintances. He wrote to Paton on 3 February, 1787¹, that he proposed taking

"possession of my house on the 12th of June the anniversary of my birth when if life remains I shall have attained my forty fifth year after which I shall be no more seen in this circle and but little in any other".

In this letter he invited Paton to visit him at Dryburgh Abbey, and he mentioned also that he had received a legacy from Miss Eleonora Swinburne of Capheaton Hall². He had been given it "towards the preservation of the venerable remains", and he announced his determination to spend it on an urn (fashioned from local stone) to her memory.

On 16 September, 1788³, John Spottiswoode wrote

1. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.
2. (d.1787); youngest daughter of Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton (1698 - 1744/5).
3. N.L.S. Ms. 29.3.14. f.135.

to him. Buchan had asked him¹ for information about the Charters of Dryburgh Abbey. Being a devotee of antiquarian research, Buchan set himself to unearth, literally and figuratively, what he could about Dryburgh. He enlisted also the help of Hutton who expressed his readiness² to help in making a "Monastical History of Scotland". John Geddes³ was asked for information⁴, and he wrote to Buchan on 13 November, 1788⁵, sending particulars relating to Dryburgh and St. Modan⁶, to whom there was a chapel there. A letter of 21 November, 1788⁷, shows that Buchan had communicated these particulars to Hutton who discussed the derivation of the name "Dryburgh". Another letter from John Geddes, of 4 December, 1788⁸, shows that Buchan had sought from him information relating to "John Lord d'Aubigny of the House of Lenox"⁹.

But all Buchan's interest in Dryburgh did not lie in amassing known facts. On 15 October, 1789¹⁰, we find

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1. By a letter of 11 September, 1788 (n.f.).
 2. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14. (a letter of 26 September, 1788).
 3. Bishop of Dunkeld (1735 - 1799).
 4. By a letter from Buchan (n.f.).
 5. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14. f.123.
 6. One of St. Columba's followers.
 7. From Hutton. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14. f.13.
 8. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14. f.127.
 9. John Stuart, 5th Lord d'Aubigny.
 10. E.U.L. Mss. La.II. 588.

him writing to Robert Adam¹, saying,

"I am much obliged to you for the receipt to make Venetian floors which I shall adopt next summer when I shall have completed the reparation of that part of the Abbey where the room is situated".

His letter of 11 August, 1791², to Lord Gardenston³ gave a very accurate account of Dryburgh's situation and appearance. He mentioned also some of the work he had accomplished there. He had taken to planting orchards and digging for antiquarian remains. In the chapter house he had found the remains of Hugo de Moreville⁴ and his wife Beatrix⁵. Reverently he had left their remains, but removed the remnants of de Moreville's staff, and "a few of the beads" of his wife, and "chalices that were of base metal, and mouldered by time, (that) were upon their breasts". When he drained a nearby quarry he found "numerous interments of human bodies"⁶. In 1812 he found one of the old Abbey keys, which he placed in his library, and a stone hatchet⁷.

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1. The architect.
 2. Albanicus to Hortus, Anon. & Fug. Essays, Vol.I.
 3. Francis Garden (1721 - 1793); a distinguished Scots Judge.
 4. Constable of Scotland; designated Founder of the Abbey of Dryburgh by the Chronicle of Melrose.
 5. Beatrix de Beauchamp.
 6. "Dryburgh and the Earl of Buchan", by Robert Murray, vide p. 480.
 7. Sir David Erskine; Annals of Dryburgh, 2nd ed. Kelso, 1836.

In the course of time Buchan planted personally a new orchard of 12 acres which yielded excellent fruit. In his letter to Lord Gardenston he said that one tree alone had produced in one year a crop "that sold for seven guineas", so fertile was the soil. Above an old archway leading to an orchard can still be seen an inscription in which Buchan paid tribute to his parents ("parentibus suis optimis"). The work of planting the orchard he regarded as a memorial to them. He was not too proud either to sell the produce himself¹.

Another harmless pursuit involved ornithology. In a letter of 25 August, 1795², he says,

"I have had occasion this summer to furnish a little subject for the Muse in having brought the Nightingale to indigenate on the banks of my Tweed at Dryburgh Abbey by bringing down Eggs & placing them under insectivorous birds of the same Genus. They were placed on the 27 or 28 of May & were hatched on the 10 June.

on the 25 of that month they flew.

Next year I propose to bring Eggs on a large scale nor can any doubt be entertained that by this method the Nightingale will become indigenous wherever they can have as at Dryburgh their proper food

In the same manner next year I intend to indigenate the Turtle Dove, nor do I entertain the least doubt in this manner extensive colonisation of birds may be effected where due care & regard to food is administered".

Whether Buchan pursued his scheme is not known, but there

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1. "Dryburgh and the Earl of Buchan", by Robert Murray.
 2. H.H.L. Mss. The recipient is unknown.

is no reason to assume that he did not.

His favourite pursuit, however, remained agricultural, for on 24 June, 1797¹, he writes to Dr. Tytler²:

"I become every year more & more attached to the occupations of Farmer Gardener & Orchardist".

Buchan also tried his hand at restoration.

Some recumbent grave slabs he caused to be built into the ruined walls in an upright position. In other respects he appears now and then to have made less happy "improvements"³. Having once begun such activities at Dryburgh, he began to innovate.

Lockhart⁴ has left us one picture⁵ of Dryburgh Abbey as he saw it years after Buchan had taken possession of the place. It is virtually impossible not to be amused by the ludicrous scene he depicts, for he aimed at incongruity. We must admit that the numerous plaster busts of famous men, the "chalky congregation", were hardly in keeping with the atmosphere of the place, but the further criticism of the Wallace statue erected by Buchan

1. H.H.L. Mss.

2. Henry William Tytler (1752 - 1808); Translator and Physician.

3. "He was responsible for introducing certain misleading features ... the carved memorial pillar standing in the grounds to the south of the gate-house, and probably the 'Hic jacet Archibaldus' inscription cut on the wall beside the entrance to the chapter-house" ... H.M.S.O. Official Guide to the Abbey of Dryburgh, 1948, p.10.

4. John Gibson Lockhart, biographer of Sir Walter Scott.

5. Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk, Vol.II, pp.328 - 332, (3d edition, Edinburgh, 1819).

shows us he had determined to heap ridicule on Buchan with whose Whig political views he was not in sympathy.

Besides furnishing the Abbey with a large number of busts, Buchan built a "Temple of the Muses", surmounted by a bust of James Thomson. The "Temple" contained "a fine statue of Apollo, in Code's stone, from the Apollo di Belvidere at Florence, at the time the heroic god had discharged the arrow at and destroyed the Stentor. On the pedestal are the nine Muses"¹. The "Temple" still stands, but the statue has gone. A visitor to Dryburgh, near the end of the nineteenth century, was informed by the toll-keeper that with respect to this edifice, Buchan "had mair siller than sense"². Probably this homely observation was made by the country folk of Buchan's day. To-day, at any rate, there is nothing to indicate what it is or why it was built.

Another building project at Dryburgh has suffered a similar fate. On 15 July, 1814³, Buchan wrote to William Kerr⁴ that

"On the 22d of September the birth day of the Poet Thomson I am to dedicate a colossal statue of Sir William Wallace to the memory of that

1. Annals of Dryburgh.
2. Border Abbeys and Abbotsford, by Donald MacLeod, Edinburgh, n.d.
3. N.L.S. Ms. 2245, f.6A.
4. Secretary of the Edinburgh G.P.O.

Here on the top of the rocking stone hill at Dryburgh Which looks over the Monument of the Bard of Ednam (i.e. Thomson) on the Bass hill below on the plain¹.

Wallace had probably always been one of Buchan's heroes².

The planned unveiling took place as arranged³.

There appears to have been some unexpected "preparations" for the unveiling of the statue⁴. According to one source⁵, when the curtain was removed a "huge German tobacco pipe" was seen in its mouth. This story is reminiscent of another which claimed that the unveiling of the "Temple of the Muses" had been marred. It seems that when the curtain was removed then, an old hat was seen on the head of Thomson's likeness⁶. These stories may well be apocryphal, for they appear to be based on hearsay. Buchan subsequently placed at the back of the Wallace statue a box, inscribed, "Remember the poor of Mertoun Parish", but removed it when

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1. The site chosen by Buchan was not only commanding, but faced Ancrum Moor.
 2. Buchan's aid to the Morisons at Perth in the preparation of their edition of Blind Harry's Wallace is acknowledged freely in their preface.
 3. A copy of Buchan's speech of dedication is in a letter signed "Scotus", almost certainly Buchan's work, of 1 October, 1814, in The Gentleman's Magazine, Vo.84, ii (1814) p.361.
 4. A full description of the statue is given in The Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.87, i, p.621.
 5. Blackwood's Magazine, April, 1900; an article titled: "A Comic Chesterfield," by John Buchan.
 6. The Border Magazine, Vol.I, p.186, Glasgow, 1896.

he found it excited facetious comment.

All connected with the statue was not farce. A local labourer, George Noble, wrote the verse employed in the speech of dedication, and Buchan afterwards found for him a job in Gateshead better suited to his delicate health¹. Such a gesture was characteristic of Buchan. Once the statue was completed, it furnished an unfortunate with a means of livelihood. This was "Jamie" Barrie, a local poet whose verse is characterised by its badness². He was given the post of warden and caretaker to the statue, and in a small hut built for him by Buchan he kept a register of visitors. In one season they numbered only sixteen, but in another they totalled eighteen hundred. Lockhart sneers at Barrie, "one of the noble Lord's many protegees"³, but only kindness could have actuated Buchan's choice of the poor simpleton. That not everyone laughed at Buchan can be seen from the action of a "committee of gentlemen"⁴. These gentlemen sent Buchan, as a mark of approbation, a staff made out of Wallace's oak in the Tor Wood, near Stirling, where Wallace sheltered after the disastrous battle of Stirling Bridge.

Just as the plaster busts have gone and the "Temple"

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1. Annals of Dryburgh.
 2. vide The Border Magazine, Vol.I, pp.187-188. Glasgow, 1896.
 3. Peter's Letters Vol.II, p.329.

has been forgotten, so has the Wallace Statue ceased to arouse interest. Buchan chose a splendid site for it, on the brow of Bemersyde Hill facing the Eildons and the valley of the Tweed, but at the present time it is almost completely obscured by tall trees on every side, and there is no sign to indicate its whereabouts.

On 15 October, 1814, Buchan held a ceremony at Dryburgh in which he "crowned the Bust of the Ayrshire Poet Burns at the feet of Wallace's Colossal Statue on the Hill of Dryburgh". This he communicated on 17 October, 1814¹, to Robert Anderson.

"The Feast (was) held in the Chapter house² of the Abbey where the crown'd Bust of Burns brought down from the pedestal of the Statue of the Hero was placed with ceremony in his niche".

Buchan's last major work at Dryburgh was probably his most successful, and certainly most useful. On 1 August, 1817, Buchan opened a chain bridge, furnishing "an easy communication with the post and market town of St. Boswell³". It was called the Drygrange Bridge, and was built for Buchan by the local firm of J. & T. Smith, Darnick, who had already erected the Wallace Statue for him in 1814.

1. N.L.S./^{Adv.}Mss. 22.4.13. p.64.

2. In his "Letter to Hortus" Buchan had mentioned his intention of converting the Chapter House to "The Temple of Caledonian Fame", wherein he meant to place likeness of famous Scots. This he had obviously done.

3. Annals of Dryburgh.

Designed for pedestrians, and horses led by their owners, it was four feet wide and one hundred and seventy feet long. A large number of people had been drowned in the past fording the Tweed near where the bridge was built, and it says much for Buchan that, as "sole proprietor of the ferry"¹, he spent £720 sterling to have it made. When it was destroyed on 15 January, 1818, in a gale, Buchan spent a further £220 to have it reconstructed on a different and surer principle. Eighteen years after its re-opening Sir David Erskine could write¹ that since it had been built no one had been drowned in crossing that stretch of the Tweed.

The bridge, unfortunately, stood little longer, for it was destroyed in 1838 by a violent storm². Despite the usefulness of the structure, it was not restored until 1872.

After Buchan's death, Dryburgh Abbey was inherited by his son. It subsequently was purchased by Lord Glenconner who presented it as a gift to the Scottish nation. Since Buchan had done so much work, there, it is unfortunate that the official "guide" to the Abbey should conclude with the words:

1. Annals of Dryburgh.
2. Dryburgh Abbey, p.46.

"So Dryburgh, though never a place of pilgrimage in its most glorious days, now, as a ruin, is the spot to which come pilgrims from the British Empire and the whole English-speaking world, to do homage at the graves of the Wizard of the North and of a great British soldier"¹.

After Buchan purchased Dryburgh Abbey he had to wait for a fairly lengthy time before he took up residence there, but he continued to interest himself to some extent in his customary pursuits until he retired to the country. His health was not very good about this time, so his comparative inactivity can be explained by a need for relaxation after almost six years of sustained endeavour.

He wrote to Gough on 5 January, 1787², to say that he had acquired for him drawings of "the monuments of the Maitlands at Haddington" and those "at St. Andrew's of Archbishops Kennedy and Sharp". On 10 June, 1787³, he again wrote to Gough with a description of three tombs at Corstorphine church, and the promise of drawings of them. This promise he fulfilled, for in a letter of 20 October, 1787⁴, he informed Gough that the drawings were already on their way to him.

He did not confine his attention to monuments,

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1. Earl Haig, whose ancestor, Petrus de Haga, gave gifts to the Abbey.
 2. Nichols, op. cit., vol.6, p. 515.
 3. Ibid., pp. 517-518.
 4. Ibid., p. 518.

however, for he borrowed from Paton¹ "the 4to copy of Bruce & Wallace" and a transcript of Barbour's Brus. The second item he had borrowed on Pinkerton's behalf, and he had checked it himself.

Far from becoming misanthropical, he wrote to Walter Ross² on behalf of John Donaldson³, a painter. This plea for assistance was mentioned by Ross who wrote in answer on 25 October, 1787⁴, declining to give any further assistance to Scottish artists, particularly since he had had dealings with Donaldson himself and had no cause to remember him with affection. Buchan appended a note⁵ on the life of Donaldson, saying that he had assisted him, whilst he was still Lord Cardross, in "drawing after his own manner", and that he had "contracted a regard for the eccentric artist which continued for life". He noted further:

"His Hero and Leaderis preserved in the lid of the Gold Box presented by the Earl of Buchan to the University of Aberdeen for the establishment of an annual prize for the students in Marischall College"⁵.

Buchan's attempts at helping unfortunates at this time was the more commendable since he was in financial difficulties

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1. Returned to Paton with a letter of 18 August, 1787 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.).
 2. (d.1789); writer to the Signet.
 3. (1737 - 1801).
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La.IV,26.
 5. vide. p. 46.

himself, To the King he wrote on 10 November, 1787¹:

"When I had the honour to lay before your Majesty the employment of my leisure, I flattered myself that I should not be under the necessity of soliciting any aid to continue the Plan I had adopted, but finding that my very limited fortune will force me to relinquish it except your Majesty is graciously pleased to grant me a Pension for that end, I desire humbly to request it to such an extent as may be just sufficient to prevent me from desisting from the occupations which your Majesty was pleased by your gracious Message to approve and encourage although four hundred pounds per annum is the expence I have found would be necessary to enable me to proceed yet whatever your Majesty shall be pleased to appoint will proportionally strengthen me in that way of Life which the King has been pleased to cherish".

It is obvious from this that Buchan's purchase of Dryburgh Abbey² had involved him in a greater outlay than he had anticipated. Although there is no record that the King granted his request, it is likely that he gave him some assistance at least.

His financial difficulties must have caused him enormous worry, for his heart was entirely set on retiring to Dryburgh Abbey. He made this plain to Paton in a letter of 3 February, 1787³:

"I returned on Tuesday from an excursion to Dryburgh Abbey where I passed ten days and have made considerable progress in my operations at

1. Royal Library, Windsor.

2. It cost £7000.

3. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.

that place, I propose taking possession of my house on the 12th of June the anniversary of my birth when if life remains I shall have attained my forty fifth year after which I shall no more be seen in this circle and but little in any other I have been very active for these 21 years past and having compleated the years of majority I mean to serve heir to Philosophy and leave the field to others who are better suited to the times If ever you should find yourself disposed to retire from the smok and bustle of Edinburgh come to Dryburgh Abbey and I will give you a cloyster in my Garden".

There is an echo of Candide in his reference to his "Garden", but he was quite sincere in his conviction that only by withdrawing from society could he hope to find any happiness.

He did not, of course, take up residence at Dryburgh Abbey until the summer of 1788, so presumably his finances were not put on a sure footing until then. Ill health seems largely to have been his portion in this year, for Pinkerton wrote to him on 20 May, 1788¹, sympathising with his "bad state of health", and on 28 October, 1788², Buchan wrote to Paton:

"My health has continued very brittle in the course of this Summer & Autumn but I begin now to recruit a little and hope to be present on the 14th. of next month to deliver as usual the Anniversary discourse to our Society when & where I hope to meet you".

He was not exaggerating the state of his health; perhaps

1. N.L.S. Ms. 1036, f.110.

2. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.

he was even minimising the serious condition of it, for on 22 June, 1788¹, he had written to James Scott to say:

"We have been here since the 20th. of May to reside and I have found my health much improved by the air and exercise of the Country".

If he was still "very brittle" after improvement, then he must have been a semi-invalid before he took up residence in the country. Since he lived to a very advanced age, it seems that withdrawal to the country had the most beneficial effect, but it is more probable that once he had left behind him the scenes of so many disappointments he gave up the worries that induced his illness.

Although his withdrawal from society meant that he could no longer employ his vast energies as he had done with the Society of Antiquaries, it did not result in quiescence for Buchan. He was amply occupied with his various projects on the Dryburgh Abbey estate, it is true, but mere physical labour could not fill the vacuum which he had created. He came to appreciate that a total abstention from his literary pursuits was impossible, and by 1791 he was making a steady flow of contributions to The Bee². Until that year, however, his literary labours were confined almost entirely to correspondence with

1. P.L.A.S. Mss.

2. vide. p.198.

Pinkerton¹, Thorkelin², and these interested in a
Monasticon Scotiae.

There were definite signs in 1790 that he had
recovered some of zest for philanthropic actions. One
of the ideas he had in mind when he purchased Dryburgh
Abbey was the setting up of the woollen trade there, where
once it had flourished:

"I am not without hope of seeing the Woollen
Manufacture return to Dryburgh since it has
flourished at Galashiels which is not so
favourably situated".

Buchan was justified in claiming that Galashiels was not
"so favourably situated", for Dryburgh Abbey was very near
St. Boswells which was on the main road to the south.

For the rest, he was being idealistic in imagining that
he could ever attract any worthwhile volume of trade to
Dryburgh Abbey. He did try to do what he could, however,
and a letter of 4 February, 1790⁴, from John Knox⁵, shows
that he had publicised widely his interest in this matter.
Knox was a keen student of Political Economy, and so was
an authoritative man for Buchan to consult. He wrote that
he had mentioned Buchan's intentions to a manufacturer from

1. vide. p. 258.

2. vide. p. 324.

3. P.L.A.S. Mss. No.41.

4. E.U.L. Mss. LA.II, 588.

5. Bookseller in the Strand (Buchan's note).

Halifax, a Mr. Radcliffe, and that he had been so impressed with the possibilities of expansion of the woollen industry in the Border country that he had promised to write to Buchan to seek further information.

On 24 June, 1791¹, Buchan wrote to Coutts, mentioning his interest:

"We are very keen in Scotland just now about the improvement of our woollen Manufacture".

He discussed the emphasis which was being placed increasingly on the breeding of sheep which gave large quantities of wool, showing a real awareness of up-to-date developments in farming.

It is doubtful if any attempt to set up Dryburgh as a serious rival to Galashiels could have succeeded, for that town was growing so much in size and prosperity that it had little to fear from any competitor nearby. Soon after he wrote²:

"Galashiels (is) rising rapidly to be a Scottish Huddersfield, with a monthly cloth market already established, and affording great sales".

Henry Cockburn, writing in Memorials of His Time³, recollected the Galashiels of his youth as "a rural hamlet", and compared it with the time of writing, 1840, when he

1. N.L.S. Ms. 3391, ff.5 - 6.

2. The Bee, vol. 12, p.175.

3. Edinburgh, 1872, p.14.

said it was "the Glasgow of Selkirkshire". Writing in 1802, Dorothy Wordsworth described Galashiels thus:

"the village of Galashiels ... a pretty place it once has been, but a manufactory is established there; and a townish bustle and ugly stone houses are fast taking place of the brown-roofed thatched cottages of which a great number yet remain, partly overshadowed by trees"¹.

Buchan really came too late to the Borders to effect anything substantial.

Further proof, if any were needed, of the diversity of Buchan's interests was forthcoming when John Williams² wrote twice to him early in the year. On 18 February, 1790³, Williams sent him volume one of his Natural History of the mineral kingdom, relative to the strata of coal, mineral veins, and the prevailing strata of the globe⁴. It accompanied a letter in which Williams paid a tribute to Buchan's knowledge of his subject, mineralogy. Since Buchan had examined the "first draught" of the book, it seems that the compliment was not altogether idle. He wrote again, on 19 March, 1790³, sending the second volume of his work. As well as asking Buchan's assistance for promoting "the success of this work", according to the

1. Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, London, 1925.
2. (d.1795); mineral surveyor. Buchan left two ms. notes about Williams in N.L.S. Ms. 996, f.8, and Ms. 1810, ff. 148 - 149.
3. N.L.S. Ms. 996.
4. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1789.

"promise long ago", he wanted Buchan to send him a note of any "corrections" he deemed necessary. Buchan probably helped as far as he could by his customary method of writing to his friends and acquaintances, for he obviously liked Williams and appreciated the kind of work he did. He certainly obtained for him the post of manager at Gilmerton Colliery.

Walter Scott left a picture of Buchan as he saw him on 3 September, 1790¹:

"I dined two days ago tête à tête with Lord Buchan. Heard a history of all his ancestors whom he has hung round his chimney-piece. From counting of pedigrees, good Lord deliver us!"

Scott was then nineteen, at an age when he was likely to adopt an irreverent attitude to Buchan and his enthusiasms, but even if he was suppressing some of the truth about his host's topics of conversation, this remark shows how many men reacted to Buchan when he was in full flow about one of his favourite subjects. It illustrates the fact that one either sympathised entirely with Buchan's outlook or not at all. There could, apparently, be no half measures in an estimate of his character, for he was a very forth-right man.

1. J.G. Lockhart: Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., Edinburgh, 1882, vol. 1, p.232.

Buchan's Contributions to The Bee.

The opportunity to write regularly for The Bee must have given Buchan a great deal of pleasure, particularly since he had been rather out of touch with literary undertakings after his withdrawal to Dryburgh Abbey. He had reached the stage when he considered that some kind of literary valediction was called for, and now a splendid chance to make his final utterances presented itself in 1790.

Dr. James Anderson¹, a writer on political economy and agriculture, and the inventor of the "Scotch plough", issued the first number of The Bee on 22 December, 1790. Its full and ponderous title was:

"The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer, consisting of Original Pieces, and Selections from Performances of Merit, Foreign and Domestic, A Work calculated to disseminate useful Knowledge among all ranks of people at a small expence".

It would be no exaggeration to claim that Buchan hailed the appearance of this periodical with something approaching joy. By 1790 he must have been regretting to some extent his break with the literary world, otherwise he would hardly have made so many contributions to Anderson's magazine.

There was nothing profound about The Bee. The

1. (1739 - 1808).

first volume contained such articles as, "Description of Abyssinian thorn", "Account of the Alhambra", "Reprimanding cruelty to animals", "Character of Becket", "Making Parmesan cheeses", "Observations on earthworms", and "Critical remarks on Othello". Nevertheless, the work set out to achieve what it claimed, in that it purveyed instructive and useful information. In some respects it was an anticipation of such Victorian publications as Cassell's New Penny Magazine.

In a letter of 14 December, 1799¹, to Dr. Robert Anderson², Buchan mentioned his contributions to The Bee:

"Many of these were written to serve the worthy Doctors undertaking and many of them very rapidly some carelessly but all of them are honest and characteristic of the writer".

Buchan made over a hundred and thirty contributions in the course of the magazine's short life³, and there were undoubtedly many more. He had sixty three of his articles reprinted in his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays, and he drew up a list of seventy more for a second volume which was never published⁴. Even at that he had not exhausted the total, for he contemplated several volumes of these

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1. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 22.4.17. ff. 35 - 38.
 2. (1751 - 1830); editor and biographer of The British Poets.
 3. The last issue appeared on 1 January, 1794.
 4. E.U.L. Mss. La D.K. 2.12.

reprinted articles. . . .

Although his volume of essays extracted from The Bee was not published until 1812, it belongs to this stage of his life, when he had been resident at Dryburgh Abbey for only a few years, and was still keenly aware of the factors which had brought about his retirement. It may fairly be assumed that he regarded the contents of his volume as the most representative of what Anderson accepted.

Altogether, the Anonymous and Fugitive Essays reflect the character and interests of Buchan. We find lengthy discussion of education for girls and boys, a subject much on his mind at this time, and for several years past. Wishing to avoid the appearance of preaching to the public, he adopted the conventional device of making fictitious characters speak for him, as in the letters "On Female Education" by "Sophia". When he wanted to reopen the question of the aims of education and to show what he considered the best method of instruction, he reported imaginary conversations among Walpole, West, and Gray. Whilst the names might have had an initial attraction for the public, it is noticeable that Gray did most of the talking, and that he sounded very like Buchan.

The same charge can be lodged against the "Fragments of Lord Bacon". Buchan wanted to impart to the world his recipe for leading a long and happy life, and so he presented a portion of an unpublished essay by Francis

Bacon which he had "found". Called "The Art of Life", it advocated temperance and moderation in all things, giving historical examples of men who had led their lives in the manner he suggested, and thereby attained extreme old age. He himself practised what he recommended, and he lived to the age of eighty seven. The imitation of Bacon's style was rather facile, for most of the attempts at lending an air of authenticity consisted of using such forms as "hee" for "he", and "soe" for "so". Like Bacon, however, his purpose was purely didactic.

Since he had never hidden his contempt for the contemporary political scene, it was inevitable that he should have delivered strictures on the state of the country. He chose to write six short essays, each entitled "A letter in Imitation of the Ancients". Five of them depicted society as idle and dissipated, and steeped in depravity. In melodramatic vein the corruption of the government was exposed. His final conclusion was that life in the country was eminently superior to that in the town. In letter five he wrote:

"Few are the objects in this savage island, that can contribute to the amusement of a polite scholar, but many to excite the attention and contemplation of a philosopher".

In another essay, "On Spring", he explained why he had withdrawn from society:

"that I might remove myself from public and general insanity, from the close and immediate view of the return of these miserable times, when it was dangerous to be virtuous, dangerous to express the noblest emotions of the soul, dangerous to seem happy, criminal to be sad".

Unquestionably the best of these "Imitations" was the letter from "Albanicus to Hortus"¹. Since he had commended the retired life of a country gentleman, he was bound to describe in great detail his own surroundings. It is an excellent description of Dryburgh Abbey.

A substantial portion of the book was devoted to biographical "sketches" of men like George Heriot, and an ancestor of Buchan, John, Earl of Mar. These articles were written more with a view to interest than to instruct. Most of the volume set out to do that, for the varied contents aimed at appealing to a wide audience.

The style of many of the contributions bore out what Buchan wrote subsequently to Anderson. The following, from an essay "On Spring", needs little critical remark:

"I am now preparing for my fete on the birth-day of Aurelia, which is on the 21st. It shall be in the hall of ancient virtue, and there shall be a concert. I will then in secret pour out libations to Jupiter, the deliverer and avenger of wrongs".

When Buchan strove to achieve a heightened effect he

1. Francis Garden (1721 - 1793); Lord Gardenston; distinguished Scottish judge.

produced only turgid prose.

All of Buchan's contributions to The Bee had one thing in common in that none of them bore his name. He used a large number of pseudonyms, such as "Ascanius", "Philogunos", "Biographicus", "B.A.", "A.L.", and "A---s", although his favourite was "Albanicus". His style was really so easy to imitate that it would be impossible to state with certainty which essays other than those he indicated were his work.

The items he wished to have printed in a second volume of "Anonymous and Fugitive Essays" were very similar in scope and variety. He showed again all his interests in literature and contemporary events, such as the course of events in America. There was similar moralising, as in a "Eulogy of Early Rising", and "On Command of Temper". There were occasional flashes of humour from Buchan, as in the "Anecdote of Magliabechi"¹, showing that he realised the value of leavening serious work with something light-hearted.

Taken as a whole, Buchan's offerings to the public were the product of an intelligent man who showed a wide acquaintance with many different subjects. They were the outcome of many years of careful reading and a great deal

1. Antonio Magliabechi (1633 - 1714); bibliophile; court librarian to the Grand-duke of Tuscany.

of careful thought. Part of his comments on education, for example, had already been published in his "Letter on Education"¹, and "The Varieties of Man" was extracted from his discourse, "The Antiquity of Man", delivered to the Literary and Antiquarian Society at Perth². If they possessed the blemishes he mentioned to Dr. Anderson, it must be remembered that sometimes he made more than one contribution a week, and at a time when he was busy on his book about Fletcher and Thomson. Since he devoted so much time to farming and other pursuits, the wonder is that he produced so much that was genuinely useful and interesting.

Buchan's "Essay" on Fletcher of Saltoun.

Introduction.

Buchan gave a "Historical Sketch of Liberty in Scotland", dividing it into three sections: "The Gothic, Puritanical, and Philosophical ages". Buchan furnished a brief outline of the "principles, manners and temper, of the times and countries" in which Fletcher and Thomson lived. This is really indispensable for a complete understanding of Fletcher at least.

The first and second sections are, by reason of

1. vide. p. 226.

2. vide. p. 106.

their brevity, very general. They deal with Scottish history from the time of the Romans to the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. The third section deals with the eighteenth century, and is almost entirely an expression of Buchan's political opinions. He criticised the system of electing Scottish peers, for long an abuse he had tried to eradicate. He spoke of the "baneful aristocracy" (p. xxxiii) which had usurped constitutional freedom, of the corrupt system of government which benefitted only those who ruled. He saw the game licence act as a "dangerous disarming of the commons" (p. xxxvi.). He attacked Pitt, using "detestation" and "abhorrence" to describe his feelings towards his conduct. He forecast, rather vaguely, imminent doom for Britain. Vagueness, of course, can make a threat seem more terrible.

This third section is carefully drawn, with an eye to the maximum effect. Buchan tried an obvious trick, borrowed from the orator's repertoire, by referring to Britain's glorious triumph in the Seven Years' War. He wrote:

"The enemy prostrate and breathless, empire extended, honour maintained, peace established, and, like the sun rising after a storm, a young and native monarch holding the sceptre, and ascending the throne, amidst the acclamations of the freest and happiest people on the globe".

This climax was then followed by enumeration of the evils attendant upon George III's accession, not that the King

himself was attacked. Other than a cursory reading of Buchan's argument exposes its flaws. Britain's withdrawal from the Seven Years' War, at the expense of Frederick the Great, was hardly glorious, and the generalisation about freedom and happiness bears little scrutiny.

It is Buchan's very attempt at overwhelming those he distrusted by sweeping statements that invalidates his argument. Much of what he said was true, but it would gain little currency, lost in the welter of accusations and condemnation as it was.

Abruptly, almost dramatically, Buchan brought his introduction to an end, leaving the impression that he saw little hope for Britain's future.

After this apparently portentous introduction comes the "Life" of Fletcher, which is little more than a vehicle for the expression of Buchan's political sentiments. Any similarity between the times in which Fletcher and he lived was used to vindicate his judgment. Fletcher, says Buchan, was a "strenuous but unsuccessful advocate for a national militia"¹. Here Buchan was on one of his favourite hobby horses, for he long pointed out the benefit to Scotland of possessing a properly organised militia. It is literally true that Buchan saw spies and oppressors everywhere, and the lack of such a military force seemed

1. p.50.

to indicate a government plot to enslave the people of Scotland. Fletcher having contended that "A good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government"¹, Buchan agreed wholeheartedly, expressing the desire to be able to say the same in a "voice loud enough to be heard over all Britain and Ireland". A standing army was anathema to him, and in 1793 he made public all his objections to this form of national defence in his Letters on the Impolicy of a Standing Army².

Sixty three pages are devoted, ostensibly, to an account of Fletcher's life, but as a sustained piece of biographical writing the work is very poor. At best, Buchan produced an extended essay whose thread was repeatedly broken by the intrusion of personal views, about the apparent political state of Britain in 1792. On page 40 occurs the following paragraph:

"But as things are now situated, Britain must be satisfied to fall at least a century behind all other nations; that, like America and France, have had the advantage of erecting a constitution from the first foundations of Jurisprudence, and of escaping the dangers that arise from dilapidation".

It is easy to see how short-sighted he was, now, but his contention is more easily understood if it is remembered

1. pp. 50 - 51.

2. vide. p. 214.

how often he extolled the virtues of the American constitution, and how bright a future seemed, to him, to lie in store for that country. Then, too, like Wordsworth and many other intelligent men he had hailed the French Revolution as a triumph for the liberty of Man over a stifling and effete Monarchy. He realised, subsequently, his error, but by that time he had virtually ceased to address the public with his views.

Fletcher emerges very creditably, when one can separate the text from the footnotes. For example, pages twelve to fourteen are devoted almost completely to a discussion of what was discreditable in the character of William of Orange. In the same way, pages twenty to thirty two embody a huge note consisting of anecdotes of some of Fletcher's contemporaries in Holland on the eve of William's departure for England.

If any illusion of impartiality remained, it was dissipated by a glowing eulogy of Fox, the prominent Whig. Having mentioned rhapsodically Fletcher's skill as an orator, Buchan criticised the low standard of public speaking in the Commons in his own day, taking care to state that Fox was a "wonderful exception"¹. Whilst this may have been legitimate, there is more than a suggestion

1. p.58.

of bias about Buchan's wish that Fox's political career should have a glorious conclusion. The introduction, of course, had prepared the reader for the frequent criticism of Pitt and the government, but the biography was quite brief enough without so much subjective writing.

In an obvious straining after effect Buchan wrote in a very mannered and grandiloquent way. Seeking a dignified conclusion he wrote:

"To the memory of this extraordinary man I have reared this monument. The bodies of men are frail and perishing; so are their portraits and monuments; but, upheld by the power of the Creator, the form of the soul is eternal. This cannot be represented by statues or by pictures, nor otherwise than by a conformity of manners. May whatever was great and truly valuable in Fletcher be for ever imitated by my countrymen, and may the splendour of his virtues reflect honour upon his family, and glorify his kindred throughout all generations!"

*Ille ego qui quondam patriae percussus amore
Civibus oppressis libertati succurrere ausim,
Nunc arva paterna colo, fugioq; limina regum."*

It may be claimed, at least, for this, that Buchan's genuine admiration for his subject manages to shine through.

The rest of the work consists of a hundred and three pages of Fletcher's speeches, "delivered in the Scottish Parliament, 1703". Buchan's choice is readily understood, for in some respects they might have been written by himself. There are the familiar referances to suspected attempts at suppression of civil liberties, and the need for a militia. The overall impression of the "Life" of Fletcher

is of special pleading, and it is obvious that any subsequent, impartial biographer would have leaned but lightly on Buchan's work, although ostensibly he composed it to encourage others to attempt a fuller study.

The "Essay" on Thomson.

The biographical information is of the very slightest, consisting of little more than a testimony to Thomson's good character, and a few scattered incidents in his life, such as his setting out for London in 1725. In the title, of course, Buchan made it clear that this "Essay" was intended only as a "basis" for a future, definitive biography.

Just over half is devoted to a short selection of Thomson's letters, which show his sense of humour, friendly qualities, brotherly affection, and generosity.

There are several unpublished poems by Thomson, Collins' "Ode on the Death of Thomson", a letter to Buchan from Robert Burns containing his "Address to the Shade of Thomson", and various items by Buchan himself. One of these describes how, in 1790, a "considerable number of gentlemen of Berwick and Roxburghshires" assembled at the village of Ednam to pass an evening with "attick festivity and good humour, the Earl of Buchan acting as praeses"¹.

1. p. 239.

The evening was so successful that "it was resolved to meet annually"¹. Buchan felt the need to give the irrelevant information that he narrowly escaped injury or death when his carriage was wrecked in an accident on the return from Ednam. It should be noted that, as on the other occasions when he had apparent brushes with death, he suffered no great harm. He mentioned crowning with a "wreath of laurel" the 1730 edition of The Seasons in the following year's ceremony to celebrate Thomson's anniversary. He had intended to crown a bust of Thomson but, as he recorded dispassionately, it was "broken in a midnight frolick during the race week on the 16th of September"². Why he should have made public confession of something that would have been better concealed is inexplicable, but he may have considered that no questions need be asked since he had spoken in the matter.

Buchan's major contribution was his "Eulogy of Thomson", pronounced when he performed the crowning ceremony of Ednam Hill. It is remarkable, chiefly, for its attack on Samuel Johnson. Buchan talked of the "rude hands of the pedantic Samuel Johnson, whose fame and reputation indicates the decline of taste"³ in Great Britain

1. p.240.

2. p.243.

3. p.243.

Elsewhere he is called a "savage biographer"¹ and put into the category of "little men"². This was criticism of the sort that Buchan objected to. Johnson had committed the sin of cavilling at Thomson, and Buchan found this unforgivable. He showed a want of balance in his approach, for he selected any favourable criticism by Johnson when it suited his purpose, which was "to honour and describe the chief maker of Scotland; to shew the superiority of his genius, to do justice to his character as a man, and to illustrate his merit as an author"³. Whilst Buchan could show a sense of proportion and caution on occasions, he allowed his burning enthusiasm for Thomson to usurp his judgment. That Thomson was "the chief maker of Scotland" is open to considerable doubt, and not all Buchan's sweeping generalisations could alter the facts.

Although Buchan adhered fairly closely to his plan in writing this "Essay", he chose, unfortunately, to resume the attack, begun in "Fletcher", on the government. Mention of Thomson's "Liberty" enabled him to become, once again, the prophet of doom. In some poetry of his own contriving appears:

" leave empiric Pitt,
And raging Burke, and all the hodge-podge fry
Of Tory Whigs, and whiggish Tory knaves"⁴.

1. p.255.

2. p.257.

3. p.178.

The "essays" on both Fletcher and Thomson are completely marred by constant reference to politics, and by personal attacks. It was, perhaps, a pity that Buchan did not see fit to print the following¹, which was written quite soon after his book was published:

"On the 14th of July I put the last hand to my little Essay on the Aera of Political sentiment prefixed to my Essay on the Lives and writings of Andrew Fletcher of Salton & Thomson the Poet. It was then put into the hands of Debrett the bookseller who gave no more than fifteen guineas for it. A Bawdy Novel would have fetched double the money. I saw plainly at this time that a few months would unmask the designs of Government & that a speedy conclusion would be put to the Liberty of the Press & the Liberties of Britain, because the People of Estate or wealth jealous of the advancement of liberty to the Commons were resolved to change the government from a limited to an Absolute Monarchy. I was desirous therefore in the channel of Literature to convey my Political sentiments that they might serve as a Monument of my Perseverance in the good old Cause of the Rights of Man to which I had attached myself from mine earliest dawn of Reason.

For preparing my Life of Fletcher I had diligently sought among the papers at Salton & wherever I guessed there might lurk any of his letters or unedited writings, but I sought in vain nor was I assisted by my learned Countrymen in this research for almost every man of degree had now arranged themselves with the Court & hated every thing that could tend to fan a flame of Republican Sentiment. From the Reverend Mr. Patrick Bannerman Minister of the Parish of Salton I had however in the year 1782 received some slight notices concerning Fletcher".

Buchan's final comment was that he was "forced therefore to go to the Press with very scanty materials". It cannot be

1. G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries.

doubted that Buchan really did seek "diligently", so adverse criticism of the "Essay" on Fletcher can hardly be directed with much justice against the scanty biographical detail. Whether Buchan was entitled to fill up the rest of the work as he did is very questionable.

Writing of the "Essay" on Thomson¹, Buchan said:

"With respect to Thomson my intention was very far from writing a new Biography of that charming Poet, but rather to excite a new attention to his Political Poem of Liberty which tho poetically inferior to his other works was to be considered as more important. An Essay on his genius was also to afford me fresh opportunities of sounding the praises of free Governments and of the Leaders who established them. - Of pointing out the Corruption of the Parliament and People of England & the Cure of these Evils that might be safely attempted".

Whilst these remarks go some way towards explaining the nature of Buchan's book, they hardly constitute an adequate apology for taking such a liberty.

Letters on the Impolicy of a Standing Army in Time of Peace.

In 1792 Buchan had given, in his "lives" of Fletcher and Thomson, what he felt was his last word on the political situation, but in the following year he saw the need to expand his comments on the subject of a militia. He published a pamphlet², the Letters on the Impolicy of

1. G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries.

2. London, 1793.

a Standing Army in Time of Peace, to point out that the people of Great Britain were "in reality saddled with a perpetual standing army". He felt that a standing army could be dangerous if controlled by an unscrupulous monarch, and, at the least, that its maintenance was too heavy a drain on taxation.

In a series of six letters and a postscript Buchan cited examples from history to show the evil effects arising from the possession of a standing army, contending that a nation's most satisfactory means of defence had always been furnished by a militia. He referred to Queen Elizabeth's long reign, and said that she had never had to rely on mercenary soldiers.

His arguments seemed logical and reasonable, for the most part, but occasionally he committed the error of arguing against himself. He said, for example, that if a government had the services of a standing army it would be encouraged to go to war, and soon after this he remarked on the needless expense which had been occasioned in the previous seven years when the standing army had not been required.

In his postscript Buchan developed his contention that all Britain needed for her defence was "a formidable Navy" in conjunction with a "Militia on a proper footing". He indicated the folly of depending on mercenaries by quoting the fall of Rome. The great victories of Agincourt, Crecy,

and Poictiers were not won by hired soldiers he said.

Buchan felt that a lesson could be learnt from such historical examples. Every man was a soldier at heart, he claimed, and could become proficient in military science if given a little training. He put forward a plan for raising a body of trained men, but it was almost medieval in conception, for men were to be selected for military training in each parish according to the number of windows in their houses. Its idealism lay in supposing that all men called for "exercising" would be eager to demonstrate patriotism. Buchan had evidently forgotten Falstaff.

Buchan's arguments were very persuasive, but it must be noted that they would have been better suited to the orator's rostrum than to print, for the style is often declamatory and frequently melodramatic.

Unfortunately for Buchan, all his arguments were invalidated, for after he had published his "Letters" in the Manchester Herald, preparatory to printing them separately in pamphlet form, war broke out between Britain and France.

It was not until 1797 that a "Scots militia was at long last authorised to be raised by ballot"¹. There had been previous attempts to provide for the nation's

1. Pryde, Scotland from 1603, op. cit., p.123.

defence by the raising of regiments of "fencibles", but the threat of French invasion in 1797 was so real that the Government was impelled to pass the Militia Act. Contrary to Buchan's expectations, the mass of the people resented this, fearing that enrolment as a militiaman might lead to posting for foreign service. There were outbreaks of rioting, and after these had been quelled the Act was accepted. Buchan could hardly have felt that the realisation of his dream was as agreeable as he had once thought.

The Correspondence with Horace Walpole.

There are so many points of similarity between Buchan and Horace Walpole that it is not surprising they should have conducted a correspondence lasting over fourteen years. They were both ardent letter writers, and had a large number of correspondents; they both retired to a country retreat; they had a common interest in the study of antiquities; both appreciated books and printing of high quality. But for all this apparent resemblance, they were really very different. Until the end of his life Buchan remained a very tolerant man. The only thing that could move him to anger was injustice of any kind, but once he had spoken out he was not in the habit of harbouring resentment. Unlike Walpole, he was above vulgar spitefulness.

Buchan first met Walpole at Bath, in 1764, when he was twenty two years old, and Walpole was forty seven. For all the difference in age, they struck up a friendship. Almost thirty years later Buchan wrote¹ that his "acquaintance & correspondence with (him) became permanent". Since such of the correspondence as remains spans the years 1778 to 1792, it is obvious that Buchan's use of "permanent" was just.

Walpole became acquainted with Pinkerton and his work, and conceived a high regard for his talents, so it followed naturally that he should have written to him in a very confidential manner. After his death Pinkerton sold a collection of his letters, remarks, and witticisms for publication², and included in the mass was a short note on Buchan³. It is remarkable only for its mendacity:

"Lord B--- a whig! His celebrated brother is indeed a warm one. But, hark in your ear, Lord B--- under the mask of whiggery, is the king's correspondent for Scotch affairs! Divide et impera is the favourite maxim; all family and party distinctions are confounded.

Lord B--- is, however, a mere changeling. I am plagued with his correspondence, which is full of stuff. I say nothing of his fawning letter to Pitt, alledging his friendship with his father, and soliciting a place. Heaven defend us from such whigs" Yet he writes to me as if I did not know him".

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. John Pinkerton: Walpoliana. 2 vols. London. n.d.

3. 2nd edition, vol.1, pp.98 - 99.

It may seem puzzling that Walpole maintained for so long a correspondence with a man of whom he could write in so condemnatory and contemptuous a fashion. W.S.

Lewis writes¹:

"Walpole had the time and inclination to write in his highest style to Sir David Dalrymple and Lord Buchan, even though the latter was asphyxiatingly dull".

Lewis then quoted from a Walpole letter of 10 November, 1782, to Lady Ossory², to show that Buchan's letters were a prime source of boredom. None of Buchan's letters appear to have survived, but the Walpole side of the correspondence gives little indication that he tried to discourage Buchan. It is odd that Lewis should conclude, in the absence of evidence, that Buchan was "asphyxiatingly dull". Walpole, of course, wrote to others to express his contempt of Buchan. To Michael Lort, for example, he wrote on 26 July, 1788³, to ridicule Buchan's book on Napier of Merchiston. He must have written in a similar vein to Dr. John Love⁴, for on 28 July, 1788⁵, Love wrote to Walpole to say that

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1. Horace Walpole, London, 1961, p.181.
 2. Anne Liddell, Countess of Upper Ossory.
 3. Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vol. 16. New Haven, Conn. 1937 --.
 4. (1756 - 1825); eminent divine.
 5. Nichols: Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. 7.

he had not "much curiosity" to see Buchan's book in view of his judgment¹.

The subject of all the surviving letters to Buchan was antiquities, particularly when they related to works of art. The following excerpt of a Walpole letter² eluded the researches of Lewis, and deserves to be quoted since it shows that Walpole certainly did little to discourage Buchan's attentions.

"A propos the Lady Margaret Douglas, Mother of the Lord Darnley, I did mean to ask your Lordship a question. I have somewhere redd I do not recollect where, that she married to her second Husband Lord Thomas Howard & by him was mother of the remarkable Lady Douglas Sheffield wife of the famous Leicester. - pray my Lord was this so? I have lately purchased out of Scotland a most precious historic Jewel. a Golden heart enamel, with variety of emblematic devices and Scottish mottoes, made by order of Lady Margaret on the murder of her husband the Regent Lenox, & worn (probably) about her neck by a chain of gold or pearls. Your Lordship it is likely has seen this curiosity, which came this Winter to England on Sale. The portrait of Dr. Arbuthnot belongs to the Earl of Bristol & I shall inform myself about it as early as I can find an opportunity. Whence Larrey took his portrait of James IV of the Scots I cannot tell; he has not specified any of his Authorities. Your Gambarini picture of the Countess of Desmond I very much suspect all the Pictures said to be hers are of Rembrandts mother Mr. Pennant gave a print of one of them (because he had it engraved) after I had convinced him it was spurious. They all are copied from the one at Windsor, on the

1. Vide p. 136.

2. G.U.L. Mss.

back of which I found, Rembrandts Mother given to the King by Sir Robert Kerr. In King Charles's catalogue it is called so too & said to be given by the Earl of Ancram which was afterwards Sir Robert Kerr's title.

I much applauded your Lordships intention of securing your collection by a perpetual Trust which we could not easily do in England. Collections seldom sell for what they cost and when once sold & dispersed most of the articles perish or are sold for next to nothing. The chief utility of collections consists in there being kept together where they may be consulted. When they are scattered they become no better than the scattered leaves of a Book. This is particularly the case with respect to Libraries & collections in Natural history: nay of portraits too more liable to be under-valued & the names to be forgotten or misapplied.

With regard to the controversy on Rowley, it is one of those problems My Lord, that I believe will never be cleared, so as to unite Mankind in one opinion. Tho' I have been forced to declare myself on one side, yet as Chatterton destroyed the proofs of the authenticity of the poems, if such he ever had: and as, if an Impostor, he was a greater wonder himself, it is not to be supposed but Belief will fluctuate & Prejudice where to the party it has expoused, since the First cannot receive proofs, & the other certainly will not be convinced by circumstantial evidence alone. However, the Ingenuity of Mr. Bryant will always give weight to the Rowleyans, tho' the wit of the Archaeological Epistle will have still greater weight with most men, & not suffer the Rowleians to be popular. The controversy about Ossian will not be more easily or sooner decided; nor does it much signify whether either is. The World is fortunate, when agitated only by the Bloodless. the abusive squabbles of literary men. Their best Termination is Ridicule, a more lasting Umpire than a Conqueror or an Inquisitor I have the honour of being with great respect My Lord,

Yr Lordships

Most obed, humble Servt

Hor Walpole.

It is interesting to see that Walpole admitted there was an element of doubt about the authenticity of Chatterton's

"Rowley Poems", in view of the conviction he expressed in 1779 that they were forgeries. That conviction, was, of course, based on the conclusion of Thomas Gray¹ and William Mason². It might also be noted that a letter containing references to literary mysteries such as the "Rowley Poems" and "Ossian" was scarcely calculated to make a bore keep silence.

The only surviving letters by Walpole that showed a disinclination to continue the correspondence were both written in 1792. On 23 January Walpole wrote that he was "much indisposed" by the death of his nephew³, and that family business would probably prevent future participation in his favourite pursuits.

Buchan wrote to him in November, asking for the "likeness" of a jewel which Walpole had mentioned to him, and received a very short reply which was really an absolute refusal to concur with Buchan's wish. After this letter it is very likely that the correspondence ended, for Walpole was in a poor state of health, and also a very old man.

Almost ten years later, after Walpole had been dead for five years, Buchan referred⁴ to Walpole's refusal:

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1. (1716 - 1771); poet.
 2. (1724 - 1797); minor poet.
 3. (1730 - 1791); George, 3rd. Earl.
 4. P.M.L. Mss.

"A limning of this jewel was promised to me by Lord Orford but after his newphews death I asked for it and he being chafed by the consequences of that event delayed sending it so that I never got it".

Buchan was, by nature, a truthful man, so there is no need to doubt the veracity of what he wrote.

One concludes that Walpole was telling less than the truth when he claimed that Buchan's letters bored him for Buchan was by no means a uniformly dull letter writer. He probably derived a good deal of satisfaction from his association with Buchan who was, after all, by no means an insignificant figure. It is perhaps significant that he adopted a hostile attitude towards Buchan only after he himself had been elevated to the peerage.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to seek a reason for Walpole's vindictive reference to a man whose esteem and friendship he had gained. Lewis says¹:

"his Memoirs are filled with portraits of his contemporaries that were written with the intention of destroying their characters".

One is left with the feeling that only the insignificant did not appear in the torrent of his invective.

Buchan's Educational Views.

In a commonplace book² we find Buchan writing:

1. op. cit., p.6.

2. G.U.L. Mss. David Murray Collection, pp. 109 - 110.

"Much as I desire to promote the Prosperity and happiness of Scotland I cannot help acknowledging that in respect of erudition and high attainment in Science my Countrymen have been in general very superficial".

Buchan found the cause in

"the want of fellowships in our Universities and the custom of hurrying our Youth thro the whole course of Academical institution before the Understanding is sufficiently ripend".

Buchan did not need to remark his desire to exalt Scotland and Scotsmen, for much of his life work was dedicated to national glorification, not personal. If he did not always achieve the end he sought, then he has the credit of endeavour. His conviction that poor education was responsible for Scotland's apparent dearth of scholarship is, however, more questionable.

We cannot dismiss Buchan as just an educational theorist who had never applied any of his notions, for he had tried his hand at teaching, and apparently with some considerable success. It had been part of his father's scheme that Buchan should be prepared for assisting with the education of his two younger brothers, Henry and Thomas, and when the time was appropriate Buchan worked with them. Both became famous in exalted stations. His only son, David Erskine, he educated partly: he "received his first instruction in grammar from the Earl of Buchan at Kirkhill".

David subsequently became a Professor at Sandhurst¹. Any teacher would be proud to claim three such pupils. How much of their prowess was attributable to Buchan's skill as a pedagogue we cannot gauge, but they were fortunate to have an elder brother and father who set so much store by literature and books of lasting worth.

Buchan himself had a wide experience of higher education in Scotland. He had studied a variety of subjects in the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews. His diary² shows he was a devoted student who yet realised the importance of maintaining physical fitness. The habits of his youth never changed, for all his long life is a round of activity. His intellectual curiosity was still active in 1827, when he was 85 years old, for he wrote an advertisement³ to Peter Buchan's "Ancient Ballads"⁴, indicating that he had read the volume. His own library appears not to have been very large⁵, but its content was varied. He published three volumes of

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1. Buchan made reference to the boy's early life in a small ms. notebook, now in the N.L.S. (Ms.806). David Erskine was knighted by William IV soon after his accession to the throne, on 26 June, 1830.
 2. G.U.L. Mss.
 3. A.S. Correspondence, Vol. IV.
 4. Peter Buchan (1790 - 1854); was a collector of Scottish Ballads.
 5. The Sale Catalogue (N.L.S. Press Mark K.R.16 f.5 (5)) enumerated over 900 books, and 10 unspecified lots.

biography and essays, and contributed regularly to periodicals, both verse and prose. He encouraged scholars, and even carried out research on their behalf.

Intellectually, Buchan may seem to have been well-equipped to guide young, untutored minds. He made no attempt to hide his belief in his own competence for he committed his views on education to print on several occasions.

In 1782 appeared a letter to his brother Thomas¹. This letter gave Buchan's ideas about the educational courses most suitable for boys and girls. Much of this letter, and the attitudes in it remind us of Rousseau's Émile² which had made so great an impression when it appeared twenty years previously. Buchan emphasises the value of mens sana in corpore sano, the need for learning through experience and by example, and the early fostering of self-reliance and independence. This is all commendable and hardly to be quarrelled with. Similarly, the common sense of stressing the need for showing moral values, and presenting education practical in value and commensurate with individual ability is obvious. What Buchan does not tell

1. Letter from the Earl of Buchan the Hon. Thomas Erskine, Counsellor at Law; on the subject of Education. Edinburgh, 1782.
2. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778); published Émile in 1762. This book indicated "natural" education was preferable to pedantic training.

us is how all his objectives are to be attained. It is easy to propound theory, but Buchan would have rendered education a greater service had he evolved a system which had been satisfactorily tried out.

His scheme of education is a confused blend of scholasticism, partly for its own sake, and a kind of utilitarianism. Noble authors are to be preferred to a "long novel" or "the ridiculous immensity of a fairy tale". Pupils should be "trained to an uncontaminated appetite for truth and to fear nothing so much as to be outdone by their class-fellows".

Buchan proposed that a boy should remain at school till fifteen, attend a college till twenty one, and complete his education with "the study of politics, the belles lettres, beaux arts, and to foreign travel". It is obvious from this scheme that only the rich would be educated, save in special circumstances.

It was Buchan's contention that eighteenth century education produced "the frivolity and indecency of our women, and the want of learning and public spirit among our men". This generalisation does not require close scrutiny, but education was obviously not perfect. But Buchan leads on from this to a sensible suggestion: instead of learning accomplishments quite useless for their future positions as wives and mothers, women should be

instructed in housewifery, in "the oeconomy of a table". More formal education for a woman, if she is to have any, would be the study of Scottish history.

Buchan disclaimed total originality of approach in his scheme, observing instead that it was very similar to the education he and his brothers received. This confession shows the essential weakness of his "outline"; he and his brothers were all markedly intelligent and scholarly, and would probably have thriven under almost any educational system, though perhaps not so much as they did. Only pupils of similar intellectual capacity could be expected to do likewise under such a process. Buchan seems to have had some misgivings upon the general suitability of his programme, for he wrote that "the quantity and quality of his intellectual food" should be regulated according to the pupil's degree of intelligence. Buchan gives no indication about the method of regulation, so the observation lacks force.

He does give really practical advice to his brother, however, for he recommends the Royal High School in Edinburgh:

"I have visited that school frequently and have always come away with the highest satisfaction".

Since he advised his brother to send his son there, the advice was not lightly given. Sir Walter Scott remarked

upon a visit made by Buchan to the Royal High School in 1782¹. Scott had little admiration for Buchan after he attained manhood himself, so it is perhaps significant that he recalled after almost fifty years the pleasure Buchan had given him by praising his recitation.

Buchan was not unaware of the value of praise to a scholar. An undated letter² from Alexander Adam³ thanks him for his gift of "the little books" to the High School, and in 1769 he presented to Marischal College "a prize to be competed for yearly by the students in the shape of a Silver Pen about a hundred guineas value"⁴.

Buchan contributed a number of articles on education to The Bee⁵, trying to make them more interesting to the general public by giving them a human interest. In his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays he reprinted what he considered the best of these, a "Dialogue concerning Youth", and "On the Art of Idleness". The "Dialogue" took the form of a conversation among Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray, and Richard West, and was really an expansion of what Buchan had written in the "Letter" to his brother.

1. The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1890, Vol.II, p.274.
2. N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.78.
3. An eminent scholar (1741 - 1809); Rector of the Royal High School from 1768 till his death.
4. Beattie and His Friends, by Margaret Forbes, London, 1904, p.39.
5. vide. p.200.

"On the Art of Idleness" was a series of articles by a fictitious lady, Sophia, who in childhood was educated "in compliance with the abominable fashion of the time". Her adult life found her "with no resources to fill up the horrible chasm of her existence". Buchan made her study earnestly such subjects as "economy and culture of useful trees", and persuaded her to find grammar "enchanting"! Perhaps the only notable feature of this series of articles was Buchan's insistence on the desirability of emancipating women. Sophia reported also that she had educated her daughter, Alatheia, according to the principles she herself had learnt so tardily. Like Émile, Alatheia becomes a wonderfully well-equipped human being for the very good reason that she is non-human.

Although Buchan's thoughts lay mainly with education at pre-University level, he did have some ideas about University teaching. For example, he felt the need for a chair of mineralogy in Edinburgh University. Such chairs, he said¹, existed in Hungary and Germany. The salary, he felt, was

"of no consequence to the Success of the design the smaller it is so much the better. It is by the honorary or price paid by the Student that a professor ought to be rewarded and I have not the least doubt of his deriving a very handsome income by teaching a Science which is becoming

1. N.L.S. Ms. 963, in an unpublished letter in a Commonplace Book.

every year of growing importance to the country". Patriotically, he wished to see the foundation of a Gaelic chair¹. If he intended the holder of this chair to be remunerated in a similar fashion, he was rather unrealistic.

His views on the role of teacher were based on apparent common-sense. When the chair of Natural History was created at Edinburgh in 1765, he considered Dr. Walker a more suitable candidate than Dr. Ramsay, who was elected. Whilst admitting Ramsay's superior abilities, he felt he lacked the health to carry out his duties. The objection to Dr. Ramsay had some validity, therefore, but is rather eccentric.

Buchan's views on education are scarcely original or revolutionary. It was natural that he should have expressed his mind publicly, for almost any important topic caught his attention. That his methods worked well with his brothers we need not doubt, but his system fails because of an apparent assumption that all are capable of assimilating academic knowledge. Those who can at the present time are in a minority, and so it must have been in Buchan's day.

1. A.S. Mss.

CHAPTER FOURPreparations for Posterity. (1794-1802).

By the year 1794 Buchan seemed to feel that his life's work was done, and all that remained for him to do was to set in order his papers and correspondence so that a satisfactory biography could be written to justify his behaviour and show posterity the part he had played. He had no doubt that posterity would come down on his side, and see him as an indefatigable patriot and man of letters. It was for this reason that all the letters and memoranda he kept were endorsed with notes of the contents and comments on the people mentioned in them. Subsequently he enlisted the aid of Dr. Robert Anderson¹ to whom he sent large numbers of such papers as he deemed essential for giving the public a complete view of his life's labours. These were stored in a "Depot".

On 30 March, 1794, Buchan wrote² to Dr. Gregory, informing him that he intended to send him "extracts" from his diaries and letter books for his amusement, and as a "testimony" of his regard for him. He was in effect laying bare his soul by doing this, but he felt his life could be held up as an example to those who came after him.

1. (1751-1830); editor and biographer of The British Poets.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

When he again wrote to Gregory on 22 April, 1794¹, he had altered his original purpose in sending Gregory his papers. He now envisaged a book based on these "excerpts":

"with this you will receive the fifth packet of extracts from my Diaries & letter books which will soon become more interesting & occupy a more extensive & closer tissue. If you do not tire of it my purpose is that it should hereafter form a basis for a book the profits of which my purpose is to leave as a Legacy to the literary Fund under your care or the care of such as you may appoint by your will if i survive you.

Tho' i have known for my Station a good deal of the 'Res angustae Domi' yet, considering my situation i hope this scope to men of letters will be remembered as characteristic of my situation, & that the part you take in it will be markt with no less approbation..... i cannot guess how it may grow or not in my own esteem or be decried or be deemed or not worthy of the Publick; Yet it may proceed upon trial in your collection & form at any rate a genuine & curious work. There is a wonderfully pleasing interest that one takes in going along with a Characteristic biography or any thing varied that is truly genuine original and unsophisticated."

A skilful editor might well have produced an entertaining work, at least, for Buchan's acquaintance included some of the foremost men of his time. He was well aware of the interest in biography, writing further:

"One genuine jotting one genuine outline of true life & manners one Shakesperian ray of light, is worth a whole Court or Academy full of forms & Arguments".

He continued to send to Gregory, from time to time, more bundles of his papers, but having begun, as he hoped, a train, he turned his attention to other matters.

Although he regarded his life now as retired, this letter showed that he was unable to ignore the state of the outside world. In a postscript he added:

"my unhappy Countrymen can now see no prospect of rest but in America or the Grave, and they resort hither from all parts to advise on their voluntary Transportation! to the land of Columbus. This is what i have long foreseen & predicted.All confidence is now lost in the Government of the Kingdom, & a great majority of the people are either meditating or determining the darellection of the Country."

Whilst Buchan exaggerated the numbers of emigrants, it was true that he furnished several with letters of introduction to George Washington. He had second thoughts about emigrating himself about this time, but he must have found his country retreat sufficiently remote from the world of public affairs to compensate for the disadvantages of remaining in Scotland.

The life of Copernicus had interested Buchan for a time, and he began to think of writing a biography. He wrote¹:

"Having in the Autumn of the last year (1793) written to the learned Bernouilli² at Berlin, requesting his assistance for writing an Essay on the Life Genius & writings of Copernicus he returned me early in this Year the following letter".

It was dated 22 February, 1794³, and furnished Buchan with likely sources of biographical material. Bernouilli wrote

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. Jean Bernouilli (1744-1807); astronomer.

3. E.U.L. Mss, La II 588.

again to Buchan on the subject of Copernicus, on 24 May, 1794¹. Professor John Robison's² help was sought, for he wrote to Buchan on 8 April, 1794¹, to say that he could afford little assistance. He did, however, make a few remarks about Copernicus, saying that he appeared to have been "in possession of some Mathematical principles that are usually thought of later date".

To this letter Buchan appended the following note:

"It was precisely for this reason that I first resolved to inquire into the history of the learning of Copernicus".

Buchan never seems to have made much progress with a book on Copernicus, perhaps finding the task beyond his powers.

There is a suggestion in Buchan's diary that he was, temporarily, inclined to lead a more contemplative life.

"In the midst of much domestic business in the month of May I gave after an interval from the time of its first appearance a Second perusal to Winckelmann Sur l'Art.³

His meditations on the fine Statues of Greece especially on the Laocoon and the Apollo of the Belvedere are chastely and supremely beautiful & intelligent. No German I suppose had ever a Soul like Winckelmann's for the sublime & elegant forms & expressions of Ancient Art.

If a man of fortune (& no great expence is required) should desire to feed his own Taste & that of his friends with the beauties of ancient

1. G.U.L. Mss.
2. (1739-1805); Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University.
3. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). In 1758 he examined the ruins of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Paestum. In 1762 he published Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums, a treatise on ancient architecture.

Sculpture & the sentiment of revolving Ages I would prescribe to him the dedication of a Hall or Casino to ancient Virtue & Taste it should have the following dimensions which are sufficient 48 x 24. & 22 in height with an arched ceiling. I would have it with intersecting Columniation of the old Doric to contain 52 niches in which on brackets I would place the Busts of the greatest & worthiest the most useful of Men that have enlightened & adorned this World in the procession of ages".

The only building he had erected at Dryburgh was "The Temple of the Muses", and its architecture was faithful to the Greek model that he esteemed so highly. If much of his conduct seemed extravagant, he still prized the kind of order and discipline that characterised Greek civilisation.

In 1792, young English aristocrats anxious for political reform had formed the Society of Friends of the people. It was very much the age of reforming societies, but this one was rather harmless. Buchan's name headed the list of non-resident members of it¹, but by 1794 he showed less enthusiasm. To the secretary of the Society, Daniel Stuart, he wrote on 17 May, 1794²:

"My situation altogether retired from publick life and my employment altogether dedicated to Literature prevent me from being able to estimate the merit of the different parties that agitate the Country or to determine what is necessary to be done at the present very extraordinary Crisis.

I am not therefore in a state to be a part of a deliberative Assembly at the distance of four hundred miles".

1. ed.Ch.Wywill: Political Papers, vol.III, p.131(11 April, 1792)?

2. Yale Mss.

Remoteness from London had never hindered Buchan before in the expression of his political views, so it seems that he had really made up his mind not to be embroiled in any public controversy. Stuart had presumably asked him to lend his weight to the Society's labours, but there was no ambiguity about Buchan's point of view. He felt that he had said his last word in his "Lives" of Fletcher and Thomson. Henceforth he resisted any temptation to return to his political activities, preferring instead to enjoy the calmer waters of private interests.

This attitude was reflected in his letter of 22 June, 1794¹, to Thomas Coutts:

"I congratulate you & your's on the birth of yr. grand-daughter and hope all will contribute to make the evening of your days agreeable. It is much happier and better to have congenial relations than to subsidize great and profligate families with the portions of amiable children as we see to often done by men of business. I used to tell my old master Adam Smith that it was the happiness of Nations & not their wealth that I had for the scope of my meditation & in like manner my friend I must assure you that it is the happiness of families & not their grandeur or wealth on which I meditate or on which I place the cordiality of my wishes".

There was a note of content in this that was not always present in the days when he was absorbed in assuming a militant role towards the Government. There was also a real awareness of

1. N.L.S. MS.3391,f.20.

the value of family spirit in society.

To Robert Anderson Buchan confided, in a letter of 7 October, 1794¹, "Additional hints for the publication of heads of useful characters in Scotland". This was not a new scheme of Buchan's, but it was to include men whom he felt could not have enough praise, such as Francis Hutcheson and Lord Kames. As a tribute to worth, he wanted the inclusion of men who had lived in Scotland, though not Scots by birth, and he stated that "low birth" or "obscurity" should not be accepted as reasons for not including "any Inventor or Benefactor to Society" in what he chose to call "this honourable Kalendar of Merit". His sentiment did him much credit, but he obviously had little hope of seeing this idea realised for he wrote:

"For years long have my thoughts been sett on public good and so long in Obscurity have I striven to bring forth the light of others, happy indeed if fallen on evil days on evil times I might be recorded as the Friend of those who deserve to be remember'd!"

Unfortunately he was not to be remembered as he hoped.

It was in the same vein that he wrote to The Gentleman's Magazine on 11 October, 1794², to communicate a "very learned essay of considerable length" which showed "much laborious research"³. It was by Dr. Donald MacQueen⁴, and

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1. G.U.L. Mss.
 2. Nichols: Literary Illustrations...., vol.5, p.402
 3. pr. in vol.64, pp.881-889.
 4. (d.1785); minister of the parish of Kilmuir, in Skye. "Probably the best known and most distinguished minister in the Highlands in his time". (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*).

Buchan, who had found it among his papers, had sent it for publication to pay tribute to its author who had worked "for years (with) no access to books or erudition" apart from the library of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat. Buchan had no obligation to take this trouble save his characteristic respect for literary men, but for the benefit of those perhaps not acquainted with his motives he noted:

"It is pleasing to preserve the names and memory of men that have been useful to society. It is a task which I perform with exultation".

It is doubtful if he was seeking to aggrandise himself at this point.

In 1795 Buchan undertook a project of ornithological interest at Dryburgh Abbey. In the description of Dryburgh Abbey which he had sent to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth¹ in 1786 he wrote:

"I have observed frequently the little grub or earth worm on which the Nightingale feeds I propose to attempt the introduction of that delightful Bird into Scotland".

He undertook the task successfully, again showing the diversity of his interests.

He had some anxiety about this time with regard to his son's prospects, for to Coutts he wrote on 22 November, 1795²:

1. vide.p. 110.

2. N.L.S.MS.3391,f.26.

"I am exceedingly desirous of obtaining Erskine the step of Major before the Peace - especially as his present situation has cost me extremely dear".

At the time of this letter his son had been "appointed to the recruiting service" in his father's neighbourhood. Buchan asked Coutts to do what he could to secure promotion for his son:

"(I) would be singularly obliged to you to sound for me in the necessary department to know whether if I should ask such a thing I might obtain it without price, for I have laid out so much that otherwise I should rather wait for a more favourable juncture".

It seems that despite his care in economising he was still bedevilled by the old problem of lack of money. Since Coutts was such a close friend, it seems odd that Buchan should have referred to his son as his "Friend", but presumably he did so out of deference to his wife's feelings. It was apparently only after her death that he referred to him as his son.

This worry apart, Buchan seems to have employed himself happily. He had by now acquired a small printing press¹, as a letter of 18 December, 1795², from Henry William Tytler shows. The rest of this letter was a fund of gossip about books and literature, obviously in answer to Buchan's wish for such information.

1. vide.p. 176.

2. N.L.S.MS.1003,f.117.

On 6 December, 1796¹, Dr. Gregory wrote to thank Buchan for his swift offer of help. He had apparently written earlier to Buchan, referring to his straitened circumstances, for he mentioned Buchan's "spontaneous" offer of a "lucrative" favour. Although Buchan had suggested writing personally to various noblemen to seek their assistance, Gregory declined the offer gracefully. Buchan had also obviously asked him to lend Tytler some aid, for he promised to do what he could for him.

With Buchan's help and encouragement, and perhaps with Gregory's also, Tytler published in 1797, a volume entitled Paedotrophia². Buchan had shown interest in Tytler's work on this, for Tytler's letter of 18 December, 1795, had discussed arrangements for printing it.

On 24 June, 1797³, Buchan wrote to thank Tytler for the copies of Paedotrophia he had sent to his sisters, but the main purpose of the letter was to show how his time was taken up between his estates at Dryburgh Abbey and Kirkhill:

"I returned from Kirkhill on the third of this month and shall remain here (i.e. Dryburgh Abbey) until the end of November when my agricultural operations

1. G.U.L.Mss.
2. Paedotrophia; or the art of nursing and rearing children: a poem, in three books. Translated from the Latin. London, 1797.
3. H.H.L.Mss.

At Kirkhill will demand my attention for most part of the Winter. I shall have an apartment in Edⁿ. for Lady Buchan & family during that time, as the house at Kirkhill is not sufficient for accomodating us all properly. - I become every year more & more attached to the occupations of Farmer Gardener & Orchardist and these far from interfering with Science & Literature increase the Powers that are necessary for evolving them".

There is no sign here that Buchan felt his energy flagging.

An anonymous letter of 29 July, 1798¹, to Buchan informed him of a plot against his life. He noted laconically on it:

"A Copy of a Letter wrot to The Earl of Buchan advertising him of a plot to murder(him) on the Road from London to Edinburgh".

Since he was engaged at this time in selecting which papers he thought ought to be preserved for the use of his biographers, it seems obvious that he took this warning seriously. It was inevitable that he should have done so, however, for several times in his life he had convinced himself that he had been near death but had been spared, almost miraculously, because of his incalculable value to society.

A more important event was mentioned by him to Coutts this year. On 26 October, 1798², he wrote about his son's impending marriage. It is a letter that does him credit, for it expressed the extent of his affection for his family and friends.

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. N.L.S.MS.3391,f.22.

"As my niece¹ Elizabeth of Sergeants inn is about to be married to our friend Capt. Erskine of the 31st. her cousin it is necessary as well as congenial to my dispositions that those who have been my steadiest and best friends thro life should by me be made acquainted with this additional union of the family and of Brothers remarkable for their friendship & resemblance. I know none better entitled to this confidence than yourself & Mrs. Coutts who have always been partial to me & mine. It will also be necessary that he who is now with my Sister Lady Anne at her house in Spa-fields should have a credit sufficient to defray any charges that may be incident to his present situation which I am persuaded he will not abuse. You will therefore have the goodness to supply him with what cash may be requisite to this end which I shall not fail to replace. Moreover my worthy friend I ask it of you with your leisure to visit my Sister Lady Anne & there to see David to ask him to your hospitable board & to give him the mild counsel of an experienced old man and kind relation. At your house I know he will meet good men such as I have met there formerly and will profit by it as I know nothing that can lead to greater advantage than rational & respectable Society. I have also for many years past had a great desire to promote your acquaintance with my brother Thomas a man after my own heart and who as connected with you by blood would feel a greater pleasure in knowing and esteeming you as I do".

Buchan's letter of 12 November, 1798², to Coutts thanked him for his prompt attention to the requests he had made concerning his son, and for having visited "Spa-fields" as asked. He felt contented with life, ending his letter as follows:

"I continue to live here in profound but I hope not altogether useless retirement and I find reason to approve of the resolution I took in my youth of not staining my character or disturbing my tranquillity with political connections".

1. Second daughter of Buchan's brother Thomas.

2. N.L.S.MS. 3391, f.24.

The marriage of his son seems to have occupied most of his thoughts at this time, not unnaturally, for on 12 January, 1799¹, he appraised Coutts of his plans. He wrote that he was "about to settle(his) young friends at a farm" he owned, "just opposite to this Abbey". They appear to have approved of his wishes, for he continued:

"Both of them like retirement and rural employment and I am glad of it. The Farm house I am building for them will also hereafter suit the junction to another Farm which adjoins and meliorate my property".

Whilst Buchan obviously had an eye to business in settling the young couple in such circumstances, it is probable that he wanted them to be close at hand should there be any children. That he was genuinely fond of children appears from a remark by Henry Brougham² who, in speaking of his own childhood, wrote³:

"He(Buchan) was exceedingly kind to us as children, and I continued his acquaintance afterwards, his phrase being, 'Ye're min ain bairns of the hoose".

Fergusson noted⁴ of Lady Buchan that she was "devoted in her affection" to Henry David⁵ who "as a child, was somewhat puny and delicate". She was in the habit of bathing him in the

1. N.L.S.MS.3391,f.29.
2. (1778-1868); Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux.
3. The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham, vol.1,p.55. Edinburgh 1871.
4. op.cit.,p.269.
5. (1783-1857); 12th. Earl of Buchan; eldest son of Henry Erskine.

River Tweed, at Dryburgh Abbey, in the hope of strengthening his constitution.

Since Buchan by now was well known as a friend to literary men and scholars, it is not surprising that he was approached for help by Dr. James Currie¹, the first biographer of Robert Burns. Buchan mentioned this to Robert Anderson, in a letter of 5 October, 1799²:

"I had the pleasure of a long letter from Dr. Currie of Liverpool on the subject of his generous undertaking for the family of the poet Burns to which I made my return in course".

Currie presumably solicited Buchan's interest in the necessary business of securing such manuscripts and papers as would be necessary for a biography. Buchan was obviously pleased to be asked, and to help, but it is doubtful if he approved of Currie's book when it appeared³. Of Currie's work Daiches writes⁴:

"The suggestion that in his last years he (Burns) had become a drunkard is wholly false, a legend which developed largely as the result of the misleading account in the pages of Dr. Currie an ardent prohibitionist who ... used his life of Burns to further the prohibitionist cause".

Buchan disapproved thoroughly of drunkenness, as is shown in the following, from a letter of 31 March, 1792⁵, to Dr. John

1. (1756-1805).

2. G.U.L. Mss.

3. The Works of Robert Burns; with an account of his life, and a criticism on his writings. 4 Vol. London, 1800.

4. Robert Burns, London, 1952, p.303.

5. Hyde Collection.

Coakley Letsom¹:

"I have for more than Twenty years observed the pernicious consequences of the universal use of Tea and Ardent Spirits in our Islands".

Despite this view, it would have been foreign to his nature to misrepresent facts as did Currie, and he would have objected even more strongly to Currie's interpolations to strengthen his case that Burns was a helpless prey to drink². Buchan's reference to the harmful effects of tea may sound odd today, but he was not alone in its condemnation³.

At the end of the letter of 5 October Buchan inserted a regret that he had to do without as much congenial company as he would have liked:

"my great retirement since the unfortunate prevalence of party Spirit in Europe so hostile to all my affections & habits & to all my pursuits has baulked me of so many interviews & many correspondents that I regret".

He was disgusted with the international situation at this time, partly because it made correspondence with European savants and friends difficult, and largely because of the senseless bloodshed. In a letter of 5 November, 1799⁴, to Coutts he sounded a common-sense note:

1. (1744-1800); Natural Historian.
2. Daiches, op.cit., p.311.
3. vide Henry Grey Graham: The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1900. vol.1, p.11.
4. N.L.S.MS.3391, f.31.

"Barring a national insanity & national ruin Peace must now be at hand, & silent as I have been for many years on political subjects I have no scruple to state this as my opinion openly."

The natural consequence of this disgust and frustrated longings to have regular, literary meetings was a plan which he unfolded to Robert Anderson in a letter of 6 November, 1799¹. Requiring some undertaking to exercise his mind, he wrote about an "Encyclopaedic plan":

"I think such a work might be so conducted as to contain most interesting and brilliant views of Art and Science & literature in Scotland and a variety of chaste Anecdote highly to be relished by the public especially at present when every body disgusted as it were with our present condition are for looking back with minute curiosity to what we were formerly".

Obviously Buchan looked to Anderson to take some practical step towards bringing this scheme to fruition, for he ended his letter as follows:

"I am too much occupied perhaps as I have always been in the inventing or in starting new literary Game to examine the old fields of literature properly and instead of writing books I am constantly in the train of endeavouring to excite others better qualified to write them with advantage to Posterity I shall appear to posterity if it enquires after me more like the Springing Spaniel than the steady Hound of Science and Literature".

If Buchan had written and published more than he did, posterity would have been better able to assess his merits than it was. Arreputation based on endeavours which were repeatedly fruitless

is not likely to be very high or long-lasting. This "Encyclopaedic plan", as far as he was concerned, could make little direct progress, for by this stage of his life he had parted with a great mass of his private papers, which comprised various anecdotes of well-known men, and much correspondence with foremost figures of his acquaintance.

He referred to the waygoing of his papers in his letter of 24 December, 1799¹, to Anderson. He said that he had little of moment for the prosecution of his latest scheme, and would have to rely on his friends to use his materials:

"I can therefore only recommend to my friends possessed of these materials.....to arrange them in a Chronological & Encyclopaedic order with such connecting notes & illustrations as may gradually lead to the design we have in view".

This was the weak point in his scheme, for on the inclination of those to whom he had sent his papers rested the only chance he had of seeing his design achieved. He had had high hopes that Dr. Gregory would have done something by this time, but, with nothing accomplished, Gregory was in an "infirm state of health".

He seemed to feel that Anderson needed some explanation for his having disposed so readily of his manuscripts, for in an undated letter of about this time² he wrote:

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. N.L.S.Adv.MS. 22.4.17, f.33.

"You will perhaps wonder that I should scatter my papers but the truth is that as I have at present no prospect of literary Heirs in my own family who can have leisure to use them I have wishd to place them according to their subjects in different hands who are likely to look at them con amore & to treat them accordingly.....making the chief Depot at London".

He gave, also, as his reason for not compiling his own memoirs the desire to see impartial chroniclers at work:

"We are all apt to overvalue our own little operations".

It is questionable if this was written in the hope of a disclaimer from Anderson. In a further letter of 14 December, 1799¹, he listed the men to whom he had entrusted his papers. "The great mass" was in the care of Dr. Gregory. By this he meant a large quantity of autobiographical material, as well as anecdotes about University Professors who had taught him, and scholars with whom he had corresponded. To Dr. William Thomson² he had given his copy of "The Antiquity of Man"³, and many of his "papers relative to the Antiquities of Scotland" had gone to Wood⁴ and Cadell.

He had made a note of all his contributions to "The Bee", and sent it to the Literary Society at Newcastle, but the bad luck that seemed to dog so many of his undertakings led to its

1. N.L.S. Adv.MS. 22.4.17, ff.35-38.

2. (1746-1817); miscellaneous writer.

3. vide p. 106.

4. John Wood (d.1838); eminent antiquary.

destruction. In the letter of 14 December Buchan told Anderson that it had been thrown into a fire by a "Lunatic who escaped from a private mad house", and who had chanced to make his way to the inn where the parcel containing the information lay on a "dumb waiter".

His enthusiasm for the scheme he broached to Anderson seems to have spread, for he presented to the Advocates Library a "ms. volume of letters transcribed from the Cotton Library". This gift was acknowledged by Malcolm Laing¹, in a letter of 30 January, 1800². On this letter Buchan subsequently noted that the transcripts were "Letters & Instructions of State in Scotland 1580-1". Buchan obviously hoped that by making accessible these documents to Scots scholars they would be impelled to study them with a view to publication. A letter of 2 March, 1800³, from Alexander Stephens⁴, thanked Buchan for materials relating to the poet Thomson⁵. Within a few months, then, Buchan had tried to set three literary projects on foot. If he had been thinking for years about his memoirs, nothing had been done, and his real purpose in writing to Anderson on the subject was to enlist his assistance.

1. (1762-1818); advocate.

2. N.L.S.MS.968, f.75.

3. G.U.L.Mss.

4. (1757-1821); biographer.

5. vide p. 348.

Since Stephens thanked Buchan in a letter of 29 May, 1800¹, for "a series of anecdotes relative to the life" of George Washington, Buchan must have realised that Stephens would not be undertaking any work on Thomson. The real value of Stephens as a correspondent seems to have lain in the information he sent Buchan about such topics as "the State of the noble & learned Emigrants from France at London". Buchan appears to have relished letters giving him news and details about a society in which he might have figured prominently had circumstances been different.

Anderson must have expressed his willingness to act for Buchan in the same way as Gregory and the other literary executors, for in 1800 really began what was to prove a lengthy correspondence. Buchan sent a "bulky" mass of papers to Anderson by a letter of 19 January, 1800¹, and hinted that it would be a good idea if a "sort of Committee of Amateurs" could be formed to deal with his memoirs. When he wrote again on 17 February, 1800², with another bundle of papers, he described to Anderson what this "Committee" should be like:

"nine men.....got together in the same place fit to associate with each other in the three grand departments figured by Lord Bacon of 'History, Boetry and Philosophy' three in each grand Class comprehending History Biography Antiquities -

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. N.L.S.Adv.MS.22.4.17,ff.39-40

Poetry - Belles lettres, Beaux Arts, Nat. Philosophy, Astronomy Ethics! Each associate to have a successor named by himself to fill his place & to render the Cycle perpetual!"

If this was rather naive, Buchan recognised that it was so, for he added:

"Such an idea occurs to a fine Mind in a healthy body of a fine morning in the best circumstances but flee away like a Spirit at the crowing of the Cock!"

He does not seem to have noticed that nine men would be needed to deal with all the subjects that he himself had apparently mastered single-handed! It is some measure of the varied nature of his interests and studies that he had taken an intelligent interest in so many fields of human knowledge, even if he never really did become an authority in any of them. He made his achievements seem even more remarkable by reminding Anderson that most of his time was occupied by the labours of a farmer:

"The employment of a real agriculturist leaves less leisure than that of any other Profession".

From a letter of 24 February, 1800¹, to Anderson, it can be deduced that Anderson had shown some enthusiasm for editing some of Buchan's papers, for Buchan indicated that he would be visiting Edinburgh quite soon, on the way to Kirkhill, and promised to call on him to discuss any questions which

1. G.U.L.Mss.

Anderson might wish to pose. Anderson's part, however, was not to be so complete as Buchan would have wanted, for it emerged that Anderson wanted Buchan to "arrange and elucidate with notes" his memoirs. This was really quite the opposite of what Buchan had originally had in mind, and probably is one main factor in the non-appearance of the book he longed for.

Despite the undeniable magnitude of the task which Buchan seemed willing to undertake he resumed his thoughts on an edition of Drummond of Hawthornden's works. He had written before to Anderson about his correspondence with Thomas Park¹ on the subject, and on 1 April, 1800², he sent him an introductory letter to Mr. Clerk of Eldin³:

"Mr Clerk will furnish you with some authentic particulars relative to Allan Ramsay and I know none in Scotland so proper to consult in what relates to Drummond & Ramsay as my friend Mr. Clerk of Eldin, who tho no Poet is a man of real Genius".

There is little sign here that Buchan's main interest lay in arranging his papers with a view to publication, and from what he said next it can be inferred that he was more interested in a spectacle similar to that enacted on Ednam hill⁴ in honour of Thomson. He informed Anderson that he had written to Clerk:

1. (1759-1834); antiquarian and biographer.
2. N.L.S.Adv.MS.22.4.17, ff.41-42.
3. (d.1812); inventor of improvements in naval tactics.
4. vide p. 211.

"I have suggested to him a Strawberry feast at Roslin & a pilgrimage to the tomb of Drummond there to Crown the folio Edition of his works with a wreath of Cypress & Roses entwined with Bays, when Mr. Campbel¹ perhaps may feel his Muse inspire him to imitate the example of Burns when Thomsons Seasons were Crowned on Ednam Hill".

It is a rather sad commentary on him that he considered flamboyant show and ostentatious spectacle the best means of stimulating public interest in Drummond. It seems never to have occurred to him that he might have achieved the opposite effect to that which he wanted, and brought his current idol into disrepute.

His apparent disinclination to do what he felt others ought to is shown further in his letter of 27 April, 1800², to Anderson. He now adopted the standpoint that even all of his papers were inadequate for the full prosecution of the scheme he had originally envisaged. At best he thought they might be considered as forming a "nucleus". He added that he was unwilling to spoil "so fine a design" with his "own illustration". Henceforth he kept sending Anderson packets and bundles of letters and manuscripts, but it is very likely that Anderson merely stored them away to be kept until he had exhausted all his own pursuits. He certainly made no attempt to file or classify the documents as Buchan did, with his summarising notes and biographical comments on the back of so many of his letters.

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1. (1777-1844); poet.
 2. G.U.L.Mss.

Buchan must have been easily satisfied by Anderson, for he could hardly have been given much evidence of progress. He felt as early as this time that Anderson had all the information he needed for a book about Buchan:

"I believe I have now given you a correct view of myself such as you may be able hereafter to hold up to those who honour me with their consideration".

This sounds suspiciously like prompting, but if it was, Anderson was impervious to it.

With a persistence admirable only for the strength of purpose it showed Buchan informed Anderson in a letter of 26 May, 1800¹, of his further intentions about his memoirs. Although he had earlier written that Anderson had enough material, he now promised more:

"I intend at my leisure to send you a Chronological catalogue of my papers & correspondence by which means you will see what are in other hands or printed so that if ever they be brought to converge for publick design they may be properly arranged & interspersed with biographical & Literary notes.----- Besides this it is my intention to give you a Sketch of my Eremetical Life as far as it had been made subservient to any degree to the promotion of useful knowledge and to delineate if I can properly the Picture of my Mind in its progress to maturity".

Although most of this is mere reiteration of what he had written so often before to Anderson, it is interesting to note that he now proposed to furnish Anderson with the same materials as he had begun sending to Dr. Gregory years before, namely the

1. G.U.L.Mss.

"Extracts" from his diaries and Letterbooks. He had obviously concluded that if ever his biography was to be undertaken and completed it would be by Anderson.

Several themes other than that concerning his memoirs are apparent in his correspondence with Anderson in 1800. On 8 February, 1800¹, he referred to the lack of information about Sir James Foulis of Colinton, both with regard to his life and writings, and said that the only "writings or memorials of that acute worthy, & unknown Man" extant he had had printed in The Bee². He again returned to the question of having a biography of Sir James written when he sent a letter in September, 1800¹, to Anderson, urging him to compose it.

Anderson sent Buchan a copy of his Life of Tobias Smollett³ in October of this year, for Buchan thanked him by a letter of 1 November, 1800¹, and recalled how he himself had met Smollett "at Bath in 1767". This led him on to show his admiration for the novelist:

"The want of a fashionable & glib dialect and the want of money & power are such obstacles to wit & humour that Smolletts eminence in both entitle him to great admiration".

Naturally, Buchan said nothing in praise of Smollett's novels,

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1. G.U.L.Mss.
 2. He had these pieces reprinted in his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays.
 3. The Life of Tobias Smollett. With critical observations on his works. Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, 1796.

preferring rather to mention "his wonderful history of Britain"¹. He could see only the ephemeral side of the novel, and classed it along with fairy tales. In this, his judgment was at fault.

The year was not without sadness for Buchan, His son had married in November, 1798, and in the autumn of 1800 his wife died. Buchan wrote to Coutts on 24 September, 1800², to describe, in what must have been a very restrained fashion, his son's state of mind:

"By the unlooked for death of my Niece Mrs. Erskine of Holms David is thrown out of the domestic situation he had adopted..... he now very judiciously thinks of getting into a compting house at London."

Erskine subsequently was appointed to a professorship at Sandhurst, so presumably he did not enter a "compting house".

In 1800 came to an end the long correspondence between Buchan and John Pinkerton³. It seems that Buchan was the one who actually declined to continue an exchange of letters that had gone on since 1785, and not without reason. Reference to the correspondence shows that only Buchan's enthusiasm for scholarship enabled him to endure Pinkerton's ingratitude.

(N. L. S. Ms. 3391, f. 33)

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1. Complete History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. 4 vol. 1758.
The success of this encouraged Smollett to write a continuation of it to 1764.
 2. N.L.S.Ms. 3391, f. 33.
 3. (1758-1826); eminent antiquary and author.

The Correspondence with John Pinkerton.

On 24 November, 1785, Pinkerton wrote a self-introductory letter¹ to Buchan, soliciting his assistance in preparing a transcript of a ms. of Barbour's Bruce². The tone of the letter was hardly respectful, but Pinkerton was obviously unconcerned about the impropriety of addressing a nobleman in so brusque a fashion. It is almost certain that he had decided Buchan was best able to assist him in Scotland, and had therefore decided to use him. If Buchan resented Pinkerton's assumption that he would be eager to devote his energies to furthering his activities, he did not resist the appeal to his "love of letters and antiquities".

Some years later Buchan noted³ of Pinkerton that he had "resolved to help him" although he was "terrible to old and to Young among the Literati". Buchan's use of "resolved" suggested that he had hesitated before beginning a correspondence with a man of whom he must have heard a great deal. By 1785 Pinkerton had established a reputation, having published a number of books dealing with orthography, numismatics, and medieval Scottish verse. He was to become even better known, for he stirred up resentment and controversy with his Dissertation on the Origin and Progress

1. ed. Dawson Turner: The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, now first printed from the originals in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq. 2 vols. London, 1830.
2. A metrical history of Scotland (1304-33) by John Barbour (d.1395) Archdeacon of Aberdeen (in 1357); auditor of the Scottish Exchequer.
3. G.U.L.Mss. "Extracts...." from Buchan's diaries.

of the Scythians or Goths¹. He appears to have been an unpleasant man whose temper was very uncertain. Buchan decided to do what he could for him, however, and until 1799 corresponded with him and for him.

Almost every letter from Pinkerton contains a request to Buchan for assistance, varying from the copying of mss. to the furnishing of drawings and tracings of rare and unusual pictures and portraits of historical personages. Much of the actual labour involved was undertaken by Buchan himself, although he could have had little spare time. In the letter of 24 November, 1785, Pinkerton had asked Buchan to find someone with a knowledge of Middle Scots to scrutinise the transcript of the Barbour ms. to ensure its correctness. Buchan did this himself, writing²:

"I David Steuart Earl of Buchan have compared this transcript of the ms. dated 1489 in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh, with the original and find it to be a true copy having corrected such errors as I have been able to observe in the course of a very minute investigation & Comparison.

Buchan.

Edinburgh September 27th 1781."

Buchan must have chafed at times, for on 10 January, 1795³ Pinkerton's apology for having seemed "blunt" suggests Buchan had taken exception to Pinkerton's attitude. From time to time, too, Buchan had received letters—from men whose judgment he respected—

1. London, 1787.

2. N.L.S.MS.1711,f.29.

3. Dawson Turner, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 372-378.

criticising Pinkerton. Sir James Foulis¹ wrote to Buchan on 31 December, 1789², calling Pinkerton a "vile Goth", referring ironically to Pinkerton's campaign against "Celts", and showing at some length his considerable dislike for him. Lord Hailes³ wrote to Buchan on 10 May, 1791³, expressing disapproval of Pinkerton. Buchan, nevertheless, continued to aid Pinkerton because he was "a benefactor to literature"⁴, and not because he had conceived any affection for the man. It is obvious that Buchan could overlook gross discourtesy and ingratitude when literature was being served.

Once Buchan could do no more for him, Pinkerton did not scruple to vilify him by allowing into print Horace Walpole's nasty reference⁵ to Buchan's political attitude. In turn, Buchan intended to print Sir James Foulis' letter of 31 December, 1789, in the second volume of his "Fugitive Essays" which, however, never appeared⁶. Since such retaliation, or what would have seemed so, was foreign to Buchan's nature, perhaps it is fortunate that the book was never printed.

1. of Colinton, antiquary. (1714-1791).

2. E.U.L.Mss.La D.K.2.12.

3. Scottish Judge and antiquary. (1726-1792).

4. E.U.L.Mss.La II 588.

5. vide p. 218.

6. The materials for this work exist only in ms., in E.U.L.Mss. La D.K.2.12.

Their long correspondence of almost fourteen years did bear fruit, despite Pinkerton's shortcomings, and perhaps the most important result was the publication of the Iconographia Scotica.

Buchan's part in the Iconographia Scotica.

When Pinkerton indicated that he was to undertake the task of preparing for the press an Iconographia Scotica, Buchan was quick to offer help and advice. In a letter of 16 July, 1790¹, Buchan wrote:

"If you choose to give engraved portraits of the most eminent statesmen, & etc.,.....I advise such only to be given as have not been hitherto engraved: such as the regents Mar² and Moray³.....some of which are in my collection, and would be cheerfully copied for your use".

On 5 August, 1790¹, Buchan wrote further:

"Use freely every aid that I can afford you in the prosecution of your researches".

By this Buchan would mean not only his direct assistance, but the use of his name as an introduction to whoever had any portrait necessary to the completion of the design. On 5 May, 1791⁴,

1. Dawson Turner, op. cit., vol. I, p. 246.

2. John, 5th. Lord Erskine; Regent in 1571. d.1572.

3. James Stuart, natural son of James V.; Regent (1567-70).b.1533 d.1570.

4. N.L.S.MS.1709,f.40.

Buchan wrote:

"If you should propose to give portraits of the Kings and illustrious persons to make your book more popular I shall be ready to furnish you with...drawings of such as are in my collection and not engraved, for you would not think of having any that had formerly been published".

Buchan had collected a respectable number of portraits at Dryburgh Abbey¹, and he showed every eagerness to share his possessions without hoping for material gain.

This project had long been dear to Buchan, and it is not surprising that he took so active a part in assisting Pinkerton. He added the following footnote to Pinkerton's letter of 19 May, 1794², at a later date:

"I sent all my drawings for the *Iconographica Scotica*. This is a work in which Mr. P. has great merit. It is making up an inventory of our bankrupt effects for the benefit of posterity".

As customary, Buchan took no credit for his help, for it was enough that scholarship should be promoted.

He appears, however, to have been worried by the work the engravers were producing, and in his letter of 11 December, 1794³, to Pinkerton he voiced his misgivings:

"I do not intend to send up any more of my Drawings of Original Portraits for your Series until I shall be certified by your Engravers that they are

1. vide Catalogue of "Buchan's books and pictures, N.L.S. S.K.R. 16f.5.
2. Dawson Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 352-353.
3. N.L.S.MS.1709, ff.49-50.

sufficiently made out to answer their purpose. Of this however I can assure you that the resemblances are very perfect and characteristic, a point too seldom attended to".

It seems scarcely likely here that Buchan was worried about the quality of the drawings he was producing. He had probably seen or heard about the engravings that had been done, and been alarmed, knowing that badly-executed work was little better than none at all.

Pinkerton himself mentioned the low standard of the engravings that had already been done, in a letter to Buchan of 6 July, 1795¹, but he attributed no blame to himself. He claimed that Isaac Herbert, the bookseller concerned also in the work, was at fault. It may be wondered, despite Pinkerton's disclaiming responsibility, whether this is the entire truth. Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen says² of him that:

"In 1795 and in 1797 he bestowed some pains in preparing lives of Scotsmen, for the *Iconographia Scotica*..... but the information in the work is very meager, and the plates are wretchedly engraved".

Pinkerton may not have done all in his power to complete the work satisfactorily. Buchan himself seems to have had no illusions about where to lay the blame for the partial failure of the work, for on a letter of 21 November, 1791³, from

1. Dawson Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 385-386.

2. Vol. IV, P. 104.

3. Dawson Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 271-273.

Pinkerton he noted, years later:

"I furnished about sixty drawings, most of which were by my own hand, to Pinkerton, for his *Iconographica Scotica*, and procured artists and correspondents for his undertaking; but he, being no wise skilled in the fine arts, allowed the undertaking to be bungled, by the employment of incorrect and inferior engravers. He acknowledged his obligations to me in very sparing and general terms in his preface".

Buchan made it plain in other places that Herbert was not the one at fault. He noted on a letter of 5 January, 1797¹, from Herbert:

"Herberts capital was not equal to the undertaking (but in) other respects he was fit to conduct it with success".

On another letter from Herbert, dated 28 May, 1796², he wrote:

"Herbert..... a bookseller & man of considerable erudition particularly in antiquarian research. Herberts want of capital & Pinkerton's ill temper spoilt the undertaking".

When the work was published, on 1 September, 1797, Herbert paid Buchan his due with a dedication that acknowledged "aid and numerous communications" by which the work had been "chiefly promoted and enriched".

Turner published a letter from Horace Walpole to Pinkerton, dated 25 January, 1795³, in which Walpole had flattered Pinkerton's share in the *Iconographia Scotica*, and in a footnote he remarked on the poor quality of the book:

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1. N.L.S.MS.1006, f.66.
 2. N.L.S.MS.1006, f.64.
 3. op.cit., vol.1, pp. 379-380.

"the publication is indeed.....a wretched one; the portraits are so bad as to be a disgrace to the arts in England".

Turner listed the prices paid to artists for their work, commenting on the poor remuneration, and attributed the sad level of production to the fact that Pinkerton could not pay many of the artists the small sums he had originally offered.

Turner printed also a letter from Pinkerton to Malcolm Laing¹, dated 7 January, 1800², in which Pinkerton referred to the Iconographia Scotica:

"years ago I protested....against those bad portraits inserted by Herbert in spite of my positive prohibition; and in consequence I desired him not to put my name to the book, which he impudently did".

Buchan must have been disgusted with the way in which Pinkerton had bungled the business, for in answer to further requests for assistance he wrote to him on 29 July, 1799³:

"The situation of Society at present and my great seclusion from it makes it much more difficult than formerly for me to promote your literary designs".

Buchan's tactful hint that he was unlikely to assist Pinkerton very much in future evoked Pinkerton's resentment. On 6 April, 1800⁴, he wrote to Malcolm Laing:

"I cannot help smiling at your formal enumeration of

1. (1762-1818); lawyer and constitutional historian.

2. op.cit., vol.2, pp. 122-123.

3. Yale

4. Dawson Turner, op.cit., vol.2, pp.141-143.

the Earl of Buchan's promises. That peer has so often deluded me in this way, that I beg to hear no more of them".

He would have been more faithful to the truth had he told Laing that he had been too well-rewarded by Buchan for his repeated discourtesies and boorish manner.

Buchan's efforts ought to have had more reward than that supplied by the Iconographia Scotica. Had he undertaken the work himself it could scarcely have been any poorer. It would, at any rate, have been a real labour of love, for Pinkerton was not so disinterested as he chose to pretend¹. As with other schemes, however, Buchan looked to others to provide the sustained effort that he himself would not.

Buchan's health began to be noticeably affected by the rigours of winter spent in the country, for on 20 January, 1801², he wrote to Anderson:

"In the course of next month I shall probably pass some short time in Edn. and next Winter I have thought of residing there & probably continuing to pass a good part of my Winters hereafter in Town being apt to suffer in the Country from too much exposure to cold & moisture".

The rest of this letter was filled with sadness and forebodings:

"I am now advancing in the 59th. year of my age and from circumstances relating to my health & structure, cannot expect to see much of the present century in this World".

1. Dawson Turner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 55, n.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

As if ashamed by this confession, he wrote that he thanked God for having kept him from a public career which would have brought him misery. Although the tone of this letter was not characteristic of his correspondence up to 1801, after this time the note of despondency is often found. On 12 April, 1801¹, for example, he wrote to Anderson, sending a "bundle" of letters from his collection of correspondence. Anderson must have accused Buchan of literary idleness, for he replied:

"I am sorry to say you accuse me justly of slothfulness in not having put together properly the elements I have occasionally mentioned to you of my Philosophical pilgrims progress which were it properly done would be a handsome legacy to my friends & a curious morsel. But I begin now to think that I shall be taken away before I can accomplish my design".

Buchan made another confession of weakness when he said that he frequently found it impossible to judge which manuscripts were worthy of preservation, and which ought to be destroyed. He seemed to be uncertain about a number of things at this time, for although he sent further materials, he doubted whether he wanted the publication of his memoirs to take place. The following shows some of the indecision in his mind:

"I am doubtful whither I should commit myself to posterity in this manner or not, but my notices will be useful and if all that I have done or may do be only be considered as a slight contribution to the literary history of my own times & be employed by able hands for that purpose my views will be compleatly fulfilled".

The probable explanation of Buchan's vacillation is that he wanted genuinely to see his papers printed, and his life held up as a model for mankind to praise and imitate, but he was unwilling or unable to do very much about making anything ready for the printer. He had a genuine fear that his literary editors might make a bad job, but even the thought of appearing before posterity in a biased light was not enough to spur him to action.

His mood of despondency passed quickly, for the moment, for on 15 April, 1801¹, he presented to Anderson a scheme which, he said, he had contemplated for years:

"I venture (& I will not here insert any proud humblis) to propose the formation of a little Encyclopaedic groupe at Edinburgh not to exceed nine in Number who shall associate together periodically or otherwise at each others apartments & sup together after their literary readings or conversations. That each Associate shall have his choice of his associate Lady of Science & that this shall constitute the utmost extent of the Club, the visitors may of course be admitted according to the pleasure of the Associate in whose home the meeting shall occasionally take place".

He entered into so detailed a discussion of how the members should be chosen, and how they should choose their own successors, that it is apparent that he was quite unaware of the total idealism of what he had in mind. Since he had obviously forgotten that he sent a description of such a "club" to Anderson on 17 February, 1800, it is equally apparent that his memory had lost some of its

1. G.U.L.Mss.

keenness. In studying the "origin....of philosophical learning in Britain in the 16th. & 17th. Centuries" Buchan had been impressed by the remarkable results achieved by small groups of scholarly men. He felt, and not without justification, that initiative might have freer scope when a man was not overawed by belonging to an "Academy". Buchan, nevertheless, was simply indulging in an agreeable dream. His experience with the Antiquarian Society at Edinburgh should have taught him to temper his enthusiasm with realism.

Whilst Buchan maintained a steady flow of his documents to Anderson, he could take his mind off the problem their editing presented. In a letter of 25 April, 1801¹, he sympathised with Anderson's poor state of health, and invited him to come to Dryburgh to recuperate. Something of the dream-like quality of the life he himself spent there emerged when he wrote of Dryburgh:

"This is a pleasing place there is a character & a soul in it - the ground on which you tread is holy & Classic".

Certainly, if one considers the gentle beauty of Dryburgh Abbey there need be no wondering how Buchan remained true to his promise to exclude public affairs from his life after his retirement to that place. The calm, unhurried existence he enjoyed for almost half of his life had the effect of making him disinclined to exert himself so much as formerly.

1. G.U.L.Mss.

He now gave entertaining and hospitality a larger part of his attention than he had been accustomed to do. Writing to Anderson on 6 May, 1801¹, for example, he related how he had had a visit from Mungo Park and been "highly pleased" with him. Again, in a letter of 3 June, 1801¹, to Anderson, he made no reference to his papers, preferring to discuss various visitors to Dryburgh Abbey, and planned celebrations for his birthday:

"Emilia(Lady Buchan) has thought proper this year to make the sheep shearing festival to fall on the 12th. of this month which is the Birthday of Ascanius so if it should be convenient for your Party to come then I announce it to you".

It appears that a number of others were expected to attend at this occasion, for Buchan continued by saying that if Anderson came he would have "full leisure to enjoy a select society of enlightened & fervid Makars". Such events were very important to Buchan, and it seems that he could not dispense with public demonstrations of his enthusiasm. Whether these had any value other than that of entertainment is unlikely, but they always satisfied Buchan who was more concerned with the intention rather than the results of such acts. It was probably all very unreal, but when Buchan mentioned it to Anderson in a letter of 19 June, 1801¹, he commented that "Lady Buchan's festival proceeded very pleasantly."

In a letter of 1 July, 1801¹, Buchan mentioned to Anderson his fears that anonymous, periodical works might be

ascribed to him, thus harming his reputation for impartiality. Since he had already entrusted to Anderson a list of all his contributions to The Bee, he now sent a note of all he had had published in "Sibbalds Edinburgh Magazine"¹. His efforts for this magazine were quite in character, for the common themes of biography and engraving are present. Altogether, there are twenty three items listed². There was an air of finality about Buchan's determination to acquaint Anderson soon with a complete list of everything he had had printed and published, and once again he referred to his approaching death as if he were sure that he could not live much longer.

This conviction made him undertake a journey to London in the winter. At his age, and in his condition, this was a risky business, but his motives were strong enough for him to overlook the discomforts and inconveniences he must have sampled. He wrote to Anderson on 30 November, 1801³, to say that he had visited the birthplace of Sir Isaac Newton, and that he was "pushing forward.....to London in the midst of Snow". With an enthusiasm that belied his earlier morbid and despondent thoughts he tried to set afoot inquiries about Newton's "Youth & rural connections".

1. James Sibbald (1747-1803) began a monthly literary miscellany called The Edinburgh Magazine in 1783. Many eminent literary men in Edinburgh contributed to it, although he himself wrote the principal papers in it, chiefly about Scottish antiquities.

2. vide p. 476.

3. G.U.L.Mss.

A few days after this, on 2 December, 1801¹, he wrote to inform Anderson that he was opening a private subscription for George Dyer², and that he intended it to be "communicated only to real friends & men worthy of being permitted to have their names in it". It need scarcely be remarked that if Buchan's conditions were adhered to rigidly, very few donors could be found for similar subscriptions. It was only one more instance of his idealistic attitude. In a lighter vein Buchan remarked that soon he expected to have a visit from Bloomfield³ to "recite" to him and his friends. Writing to Thomas Park on 13 December, 1801⁴ he said he appreciated "the compliment of busy Bloomfield" to him. By referring to the incident in this way Buchan was doing himself less than justice. Ill-health had forced Bloomfield to leave the countryside in which he delighted, and to set himself up in town as a shoemaker. Buchan showed him kindness, and in gratitude he made for Lady Buchan a pair of kid shoes. He presented these to her with "the appropriate piece, entitled 'Emma's Kid', which may be found in all collections of his works"⁵. In a letter of 21 April, 1810⁶, Buchan wrote to Anderson:

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. (1755-1841); author. He took Buchan to visit Charles and Mary Lamb about this time: vide p. 347.

3. (1766-1823); Robert Bloomfield. "The Farmer's Boy" was published in 1800.

4. Yale.

5. Fergusson, op.cit., p.491.

6. N.L.S.Adv.MS.22.4.13, p.28.

"Bloomfield you know recited his poem (i.e. 'The Farmer's Boy') to me and in presence of my acquaintance when I was in London 1801.2".

Life in London seems to have consisted of attending galleries and theatres. On 15 December, 1801¹, he could write to Anderson that he had been "knocked up by a cold caught by being plunged in the 5. row of the Pit on the 8th." at an operatic performance in which Elizabeth Billington² was appearing. Characteristically, he showed that the excellence of her performance more than compensated for any physical discomfort he had suffered. He wrote to the King on 1 January, 1802³, to say that he had been "looking at the great accumulation of fine pictures at London". In this letter he also asked the King to show some kindness to James Barry⁴. Barry had been dismissed in 1799 from the post of professor of Painting to the Royal Academy, to which he had been appointed in 1782, as a result of his irritable temper.

Barry had, apparently, been in indigent circumstances since losing his post, and, on hearing that Buchan was in London, he called on him to solicit his interest. Of his visit Buchan said in the letter of 15 December, 1801:

"I have had Barry the injured Barry Professor of Painting in the Royal Academy with me last night

1. G.U.L.Mss.
2. (c.1768-1818); celebrated operatic singer.
3. Windsor Royal Library Mss.
4. (1741-1806); historical painter.

that I might soothe him in his distress & assure him that the King was innocent of his expulsion. I told him that it was honourable to him to be in the same predicament with Fox tho in very different departments".

Buchan's comfort must have appeared of the cold sort to Barry, for martyrs do not complain about their circumstances. Buchan kept his word by writing to the King, but Barry never regained a comfortable living, and died in poverty in 1806.

The real reason for Buchan's visit to London he gave to the King in the letter of 1 January; he was taking a farewell of his acquaintance before he died. Convinced of his imminent dissolution, he determined, also, to take at last the opportunity of visiting the Continent. In his letter of 15 December, 1801, he had written to Anderson:

"I go to Paris with Mr. Parker Forth of Manchester Square about the very first of the month of January when I hope the final Treaty will be concluded so that we can go without passports".

Buchan's plans were frustrated initially by the illness of his projected fellow traveller. His estimate of the date of a peace treaty was erroneous, for peace preliminaries had not been concluded until 1 October, 1801, so that the actual treaty of Amiens was not signed until 27 March, 1802. It appears that he never did visit the Continent at this time or afterwards.

A letter of 13 January, 1802¹, to Anderson gave a full and cheerful account of all the things he had done during his

1. G.U.L.Mss.

visit to London. He had been so busy that, on discovering he could not visit France, he had replaced the plan with a visit to the King at Windsor. There he had conversed with Herschel about Astronomy, a subject which had long interested him.¹

His life in London had been regulated by his normal habits, for, he went on:

"I am up with oil every morning 2 or 3 hours before breakfast & 5 at least before a fashionable London one".

This letter contained, also, reference to an unhappy accident which had befallen Buchan. Being on a visit to Thomas Coutts, he struck himself "upon a door.....& got such a contusion as to have.....a total Suspension of the sight of the Sinister eye". He made no attempt to minimise the gravity of the accident:

"the(y) say it will come again I do not pretend to say so but am prepared for the worst".

What is chiefly remarkable is the stoicism with which he regarded so serious a blow. Writing to Coutts on 26 March, 1806², more than four years later, he referred to this incident as the "calamitous eighth of January, 1802". His letter of 26 January, 1802³, to Anderson reported that he was totally blind in one eye, and the sight of the other was affected. He obviously tried to keep his mind from brooding over the shock of his injury, for he adjured Anderson in the letters of 13 January and 26 January to

1. vide p.51.

2. N.L.S.MS.3391, ff.35-36.

3. G.U.L.Mss.

devote himself thoroughly to study and work:

"shut your morning doors against idlers.....
dedicate yourself to the hatching of your Eggs".

That he was trying to do the same himself is obvious from his
"Tie up my Knocker say I'm sick or dead"¹, which was his way
of saying what his attitude to idlers then was.

Frustrated in his hope of a visit abroad, and saddened
by the diminution of eyesight, Buchan returned to Scotland.
From Dryburgh Abbey he wrote to Anderson on 8 April, 1802²:

"Considering the state of my sight, the hazard of
losing it altogether, my age, the delicacy of my
Frame & the nature of my Mind I have put into the
hands of our friends Mr. & Mrs. Fletcher a deed
whereby I have named my literary Executors & of which
it will be right that you should have a copy of them.
You may think it singular that all these Executors
are Ladies, but you are to observe that they are to
be aided by Gentlemen and it would require too many
words at present to explain my reasons for this
adjustment which has been the result of mature
deliberation. My Life altogether has been so
singular that closing it with a singularity can
excite no surprise".

He was now endeavouring to lay in order all the business he had
begun in 1794 when he first sent Dr. Gregory material for his
biography, feeling that the loss of his sight was a warning that
he had little life to anticipate.

His letter of 11 April, 1802³, shows that this fear of
dying without leaving all in order was prominent in his mind:

1. Pope. "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot", l.2.

2. N.L.S.Adv.MS.22.4.13,p.1.

3. G.U.L.Mss.

"I now sett apart a morning hour to the further selection of Papers & Letters. I must work while it is yet day. The night cometh when no man can work".

His labour must have been heavy indeed in view of his attitude.

He went so far in this letter as to discuss the manner in which he would die if he were given the choice:

"standing in the open air accompanied by those I loved & giving a loaf of bread to someone who did not ask for it".

This was a curiously shrewd assessment of his own character and life. The giving of the symbolic loaf would represent his ungrudging help to worth wherever he found it.

In contrast to the gloomy letters Buchan wrote on the 8th. and the 11th. of April came a letter of 18 April, 1802¹, to Anderson. In it he urged Anderson to try to form or establish a literary group "to meet in a regular manner.....to do some literary business". This was an old theme, but one Buchan felt worthy of repetition. He talked also about the "nonsensical Royal Society" at Edinburgh, with some justice, saying that the proceedings of such an uninformed body, with its parochial outlook, could earn only "the laugh of Paris & of Europe". His patriotic instincts, he said, rebelled against such futile activities. The letter was greedy for news, for Anderson was asked to inform Buchan about various people and what they were doing. It would be difficult to attribute lack of interest in

his former pursuits to Buchan on the evidence of this letter, which reads as if he had written it twenty years earlier.

The following day, Buchan wrote to Anderson¹, to give him notice of the whereabouts of various portions of his correspondence and diaries. He seemed to be unaware of the mistake he had made in distributing these papers among so many different people. When some of them died before him it is likely that these materials were either lost or scattered. His error lay in the idealistic supposition that each aspect of his life and work should be dealt with by someone experienced in it. His scientific observations, therefore, would require the attention of a scientist, just as his philosophising would require the attention of a metaphysician. After giving an outline of the important stages in his life, such as refusing the diplomatic post in Spain, and founding the Antiquarian Society, he explained why he had chosen women for his "literary Executors":

"it is my opinion that without a much greater Degree of paralelism than now exists between the Sexes the progress from rudeness to real refinement in Society must be greatly checked & that I was desirous at the same time to hold forth my Executors to the World as Women whom I had chosen out of it as congenial to myself".

What Buchan was saying, in effect, here, was that Woman's place in society was not commensurate with her abilities, and that he

1. G.U.L.Mss.

had determined to show the world how capable a woman could be in the literary field. He was really dealing with the problem of feminine emancipation, and apparently taking it for granted that men would follow his lead in extolling women's abilities. As usual, Buchan was ahead of his time, but it is difficult to see how he could have expected a serious response since he had been ridiculed so often in the past. Presumably he never lost his belief that he had to enlighten mankind. How far he was serious about his belief in what women could achieve it is impossible to say, but there is a significant comment in his letter of 24 December, 1799, to Anderson. Talking about biographers and editors for his papers, he confessed that he preferred "the gentleness of a female hand better than the gripe of a Johnstone or a Pinkerton". It is possible that he realised how distorted a view of his life could easily be furnished by an unsympathetic editor, and that he turned to women, trusting in their less cynical attitude. If this was his reason, then the letter of 19 April assumes a sad aspect, for in the list of what he had accomplished was much of value, and many things of which he might justly have been proud.

With the approach of his sixtieth birthday Buchan felt that it was time for him to lead a less active life, and to withdraw even more from public view. In five letters¹ written in

1. G.U.L.Mss.

May, 1802, to Anderson, he referred to a special festival he intended to celebrate on his birthday. In the letter of 7 May he wrote:

"But my ministry is now finished and the Feast of the twelfth (of June) closes it completely to my great joy & satisfaction. It is a period of Forty years of uninterrupted energy & sacrifice".

In the letter of 11 May he referred to seeing "pullulating on all hands the progeny of (his) incubation", thus indicating that no further efforts were required from him. Realising, however, that whilst life remained to him he would retain his intellectual curiosity, he wrote on 18 May:

"while life remains I can never fail to promote what is praise-worthy according to my powers".

Buchan's intended festival to celebrate his final withdrawal from the outside world never took place. He was to have arranged a journey, in company with very intimate acquaintances, to Roslin and Hawthornden, and had several times confessed his eager anticipation to Anderson. Lady Buchan had looked forward to it as well, as he had remarked in his letter of 23 May, but on 14 June, 1802¹, Buchan told Anderson why the visit had not taken place:

"I regret exceedingly that it was impossible for me without giving pain to Lady Buchan to meet my friends in the way I proposed at Rosslyn on the 12th. She had always been in the use of inviting a party upon

1. G.U.L.Mss.

that occasion and I found she would have been greatly hurt if a different arrangement had been made. It was a disappointment which if you consider the thoughts that were expressed in relation to this eventful period of my life when resolving to retire from its former activity in my literary pursuits that could not fail to throw a still deeper shade upon my future views of social intercourse so much already checked by the deprivation I have sustained in my Sight.- It is not easy to dilate upon a subject which involves domestic considerations of so delicate a nature".

Knowing the store Buchan set by ritual, one can appreciate the depth of his disappointment, whilst noticing his family loyalty.

Buchan's Literary Executrices.

Buchan's choice of ladies to deal with portions of his biography fell upon Mrs. Barbauld¹ and Lady Anne Hamilton². Mrs. Barbauld appealed to him probably because of her diverse talents. She had published some of her poetry in 1773, and later, in conjunction with her brother, essays. She had a keen interest in education, and had a more active role than Buchan for she helped her husband to establish a boys' school in Suffolk. In many ways she must have come near to Buchan's ideal of educated womanhood.

Whilst no correspondence between her and Buchan has

1. (1743-1825); Anna Letitia Barbauld.

2. (1766-1846); daughter of Archibald, 9th. Duke of Hamilton; Lady-in-waiting to Queen Caroline.

survived, there are sufficient letters extant¹ from Buchan to Lady Anne Hamilton to give some idea of the esteem he had for her. In a fragment of his "Journal"¹, too, he made it obvious that she occupied a very special place in his affections:

" April 5 (1802)

I arrived at Dryburgh Abbey at half past 5 in the afternoon at the same time of the day when Urania² paid her first visit to it..... I press my lips to the first footstep of my Muse on the Threshold of my Home".

His letter of 13 August, 1802, showed his warm affection for her:

"I did not think it was possible my amiable and truly valuable Friend that I should ever again be present at an Election of the Peers of Scotland, but when one of the Letters patent was touched by the Scepter of Urania.....I could not resist; so you see what power you have when you plead the cause of Friendship & Reason, and Virtue, the darlings of my Soul, by which it has ever been adorned & guided & which have made me what I am, & happy in the possession of your Esteem".

In a letter of 25 September, 1802, Buchan discussed art and paintings, and added:

"I have many things in store for you which I put in a portefeuille inscribed to you I often think of you with the respect and affection which is justly due to you and with that regret which naturally arises from the little prospect of our often enjoying each others company which to me at least would be a great pleasure & satisfaction".

In a note, dated March, 1803, he asked Lady Anne to

1. P.M.L.Mss.

2. The Muse of Astronomy.

furnish him with a portrait of herself in the dress of Urania, enclosing a drawing to show exactly what he wanted:

"If you comply with this request you will greatly oblige your Friend- Ascanius, & no soul upon Earth shall ever know the Device I propose".

If this note might seem cryptic, at least it showed Buchan's sense of propriety. In an undated letter, obviously written soon after this, he referred to his wish for a portrait of Lady Anne. He sent an artist to her, saying:

"Be kind to him my dear Urania and sit to him for your picture as Urania.....and send it by the Bearer or transmit it to Dryburgh Abbey or to this House in Edinburgh as you please. My dear Urania! remember all that I have said to you heretofore & look again & again at my Youthfull life in your hands & so think and conduct yourself that we may meet at last in the Regions of tranquillity and immortal Bliss".

The last surviving letter, dated 1 January, 1805, gave her some information about the social life he and Lady Buchan led in Edinburgh at that time:

"We came to Edinburgh on the 14th. of November. Time is passed here as it has been heretofore in that pleasing variety of engagements which belongs to the uniform tenure of my Life known to you my most worthy Friend by my writings and by my actions. We have had one Dilletanti evening one Attic meeting in Castle Street and we are to have another on the 7th. of this month. Almost all the Syrens of Edinburgh have promised to be present and the companions of Ulysses will hear them without any Scyllas or Charibdis. Since the Amaltheas of our day have poured out their horns of plenty so liberally among the people let us try to mix with that abundance of the fine things of the world, the refining influence of elegant Taste".

The very personal tone of these letters shows that his friendship with Lady Anne Hamilton must have given him a great deal of pleasure. He actually confided to Fauris de Saint-Vincens, in a letter of 15 April, 1802¹, exactly how he considered Lady Anne:

"La dame.....que J'ai adopté pour ma fille spirituelle, C'est milady anne douglas hamilton".

Although Buchan had a higher opinion of women than was usual in his day, and for long after, little of his correspondence with the prominent women of his time has survived. It is the more interesting, then, to see from his letters to Lady Anne Hamilton that he was not merely posturing when he extolled feminine talents. That being so, it was a pity that Lady Anne should have done no more than his other intended biographers.

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv.acq.,fr.9179,fol.81.

CHAPTER V.A Farewell to Letters. (1802-1812).

After the serious injury to his eye whilst he was in London, Buchan suffered a great deal of ill health. This fact, coupled with his conviction that his useful life was almost over, resulted in his being less active in most ways than he had ever been. For several years he seems to have corresponded with only a few, very familiar correspondents, Robert Anderson in particular. There was little of the old fire and enthusiasm, and in his letter of 15 April, 1802, to Fauris de Saint-Vincens he poured out his feelings:

"j'ai presque perdu la vue de mon oeil gauche par un coup que je donnai au tranchant de la Porte.....et Le Coup porta exactement Sur L'endroit où le nerf optique entre dans Le cerveau. Ce Coup doit avoir en quelque façon affecté L'autre oeil et je dois etre tres attentif pour ne pas avoir toutes les fenestres fermées à la fois, et d'etre réduit a L'état du glorieux Milton".

When the 12th of June came, he made his sixtieth birthday the occasion for retiring to Dryburgh Abbey. He probably envisaged his journey there as the last he would make, since his injury had followed on his preparations for having his biography written. He could have found few places better suited for ending his life in peace and solitude than Dryburgh, and he must have blessed the foresight that led him to purchase it.

Dorothy Wordsworth visited Dryburgh Abbey in September, 1803, and noted¹ that it was a "very sweet ruin". She expressed,

1. op.cit., pp. 387-389.

also, her surprise at the general air of prosperity surrounding the houses of the estate workers, thus paying a compliment to Buchan as a landlord. Lockhart found much to laugh at when he visited Dryburgh Abbey¹, so it is salutary to find that Dorothy Wordsworth's impression was much different:

"Lord Buchan has trained pear-trees along the walls, which are bordered with flowers and gravel walks, and he has made a pigeon-house, and a fine room in the ruin, ornamented with a curiously-assorted collection of busts of eminent men.....all these improvements..... are certainly much less offensive than you could imagine"

This was the quiet state to which Buchan returned, in 1802, convinced that soon his death would come.

Perhaps his health was less fragile than he thought, or perhaps the life in the country had a restorative effect upon him, for a year after his sixtieth birthday he was well enough to go with Lady Buchan on a tour of the Lake District. In a letter of 14 July, 1803², to Robert Anderson he wrote:

"We are just returned from an excursion to the Lakes in the North of England which Lady Buchan had a great desire to visit & with which we have been greatly delighted.....
There were two very rainy days during our Tour which prevented us from going across Furness fells to the Abbey & Coniston Water.....the time we spent..... with engagements at Carlisle & Penrith.....disabled us from seeing the Poets on the banks of the Ullswater Windermere & Grasmere. I much regretted this circumstance particularly in not seeing Messrs. Wordsworth & Coleridge".

1. vide p. 183.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

Since he also told Anderson that he had once again been examining his papers, to separate "the Chaff from the Wheat" for the "depot", it is obvious that he had contrived to throw off some of the depression which had made him catalogue and arrange in complete order all his books and papers, so that when he died there should be no confusion among his effects¹.

He wrote again to Robert Anderson on 5 August, 1803², obviously in answer to a letter that had expressed some anxiety about his state of health since the correspondence had not been as regular as it usually was:

"You need not fear the smallest destruction of my Identity from my being forced to forgo my former extensive correspondence or employment in literature & when you recollect the whole tissue of my retired life, writings or correspondence you will see nothing more in the formidable Veil of Rosslyn & Dryburgh than an arrangement suited to my advanced age & circumstances & which I could not have avoided without attempting what I should not be able to perform properly.

The Times are certainly not such as invite any alteration in arrangements similar to mine especially when my domestic & private duties are such as to require a great deal of time & attention."

There could still be a flash of the old interest in literature and learning, as a short correspondence with Colin Maclaurin³ in 1804 showed. Maclaurin was engaged in collecting biographical details relating to his famous grandfather, and on

1. Mentioned to Fauris de Saint-Vincens, on 15 April, 1805.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

3. Advocate; grandson of Colin Maclaurin (1698-1746), the famous mathematician.

5 March, 1804¹, he wrote to Buchan to thank him for an invitation to Dryburgh Abbey, calling him the "Maecenas of the present age". This invitation, which was accepted, led to Maclaurin's asking Buchan for his good offices when he applied for the chair of Jurisprudence at the University of Vilna, which had been newly established in Poland.

He had obviously learned from Buchan during his visit to Dryburgh that Dr. Gregory had written to him, on 19 December, 1803², sending "a list of the professors' chairs now vacant". Buchan, he concluded, would be able to secure for him the post he coveted. On 25 April, 1804³, Buchan wrote to answer MacLaurin's request:

"I shall immediately transmit to Dr. Gregory your pretensions to the chair of Jurisprudence at Vilna, and would have done so long ago had I not waited for your transmitting previously the recommendations of our Scottish civilians and others competent to support my wishes in yr. behalf. In the execution of the Trust relating to Vilna I have not ventured to do more than to collect the opinions of others competent to recommend candidates and to transmit them to Prince Czartorysky thro' the canal of Dr. Gregory though where personally acquainted with the candidates I have not failed to express my knowledge of their moral and social good qualities and the particular interest I myself took in their Success".

If MacLaurin was uplifted by receiving this letter, Buchan's next, dated 9 June, 1804⁴, must have come as a surprise to him:

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1. N.L.S.Ms.3278,f.45.
 2. Fergusson, op.cit.,pp.501-502.
 3. N.L.S.Ms.2609,f.44.
 4. Ibid.,f.46.

"I should think with very great reluctance of transplanting you to Vilna which seems to me an undertaking suited only to a person of a very vigorous constitution & to one who could forgoe the agreeable habits of our learned Society in Britain for those of an infant country which must for a long time remain unprovided with those which have rendered your own Country so interesting.

I believe my brother and Professor Stuart and all your friends & wellwishers are of my opinion on this subject as relating to you so that I should indeed think it very hazardous for you to venture on such a plan of expatriation especially with a family.

Nevertheless if you should persevere in such a desire as I mentioned to you formerly your pretensions however good to the Chair of Jurisprudence would require to be supported by persons competent to judge in that department of Science & not by me who have only lent my aid to the institution as a channel of communication with the Patron of the University in question.

Upon the whole my dear MacLaurin I do really think the plan for you would be imprudent nor is your situation such as to require the execution of so hazardous a plan".

This apparent volte-face of Buchan was so uncharacteristic that some explanation of the letter is necessary, for it was really an elaborate attempt to soften the disappointment that MacLaurin must have felt on learning that Buchan had no intention of doing anything for him. Fergusson shows¹ that Buchan had never been in the position of being able to do what he seems to have promised MacLaurin. He had written, on his own initiative, to a Russian nobleman, Prince Woronzow, to offer suggestions about filling the thirteen chairs that had been created, and Gregory had written an irritable letter to him to say that Woronzow had no influence in the matter. He added that the Poles were likely to resent any

1. op.cit., pp.502-503.

Russian interference in the business of academic appointments. Buchan must have misinterpreted Gregory's letter to him, originally, for he seems to have been asked only to suggest the names of men likely to be suitable, and not to assume any important role.

A letter of 10 July, 1804¹, to Robert Anderson showed that Buchan's activities had been hampered by "the increased weakness" in his sight. It was this that had persuaded him to write, on 21 May, 1804², to the War Office to report that although he was "on the half pay of the 32. Regt. of foot" he was "unfit for Service" because of his eyesight. He tried, nevertheless, not to give way completely to his handicap, for his letter of 5 September, 1804³, to Robert Anderson showed his continuing interest in new books, particularly one of Wyvill's volumes of political papers.

With the passing of time Buchan's sturdy independence remained as firm as ever, as the following letter of 5 November, 1804³, to Colonel McMahon⁴, showed:

"The Earl of Buchan requests Col McMahon to convey to his R.H. the Prince of Wales his most humble and gratefull acknowledgment of the great honour he has recd. thro' the canal of his brother Henrys Letter conveying the sentiments of his Royal Highness touching Lord Buchan's Public conduct & his invariable attachment to the Prince.

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. N.Y.P.L.Mss.

3. Windsor Royal Library.

4. (1754-1817); Keeper of the privy purse to the Prince Regent.

Upon the present occasion Lord Buchan regrets that from a promise made more than two years ago to his Kinsman the Earl of Kellie, he could not appear in opposition to his interest at the ensuing Election, tho no consideration would induce him to oppose that of the Earl of Lauderdale supported by the wishes of his Royal Highness".

It could never have been easy to refuse royal requests, but Buchan did so quite firmly, despite the flattering conclusion.

Throughout the winter of 1804, whilst Buchan was resident in Edinburgh, according to his custom, he and Robert Anderson had discussed the possibility of producing a literary history of the eighteenth century. Buchan was obviously not disposed at this stage of his life to undertake lengthy correspondence with those fitted for the task, for in a letter of 24 April, 1805¹, he indicated that he was about to set out for Dryburgh Abbey where he intended to spend the next five months.

At the same time he wrote:

"I beg leave to reccomend you the serious pursuit of the noble plan of literary history which has been so much the subject of our conversation this Winter and which if properly executed would eternise the memory of the Man who should have Genius and perseverance to bring it to perfection and to the view of the Republic of Letters."

Buchan made it clear in this letter that he had complete faith in Anderson's ability and judgment in the choice of literary associates for executing this scheme.

Once at Dryburgh Abbey, he devoted much of his time

to seeing that his tenants were comfortably provided for, thus showing that he was serious in his intention of leaving Anderson to carry out the literary plan. In a letter of 19 June, 1805¹, he mentioned to Robert Anderson that he had befriended a local poet, Andrew Scott², "the Bowden Rhymer", who was in poor circumstances. He had advised Scott to live as frugally as he could, and promised to obtain for him a "Cottage & Garden in Bowden village for him during his life". He felt genuinely sorry for Scott who seemed to have mistaken notions about his literary ability, for on 22 July, 1806³, he wrote to Robert Anderson:

"Andrew Scott the poor Bowden Rhymer brought to me a few days ago the enclosed effusions with a humble petition to subject them to yr. perusal which I could not refuse to do though I am no approver of the suffocation of a publick with such rural manufacture".

Only Buchan's ingrained kindness made him refrain from telling Scott the painful truth, when it would have been easier to do so. It was merely another indication that Buchan's attitude to deserving cases never changed.

Thomas Coutts was Buchan's most valued friend, as well as his banker, so that the following letter⁴ gave a more personal

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.9.

2. (1757-1839).

3. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.16.

4. dated 26 March, 1806 (N.L.S.Ms.3391,ff.35-36.)

comment on himself than could be found in letters to almost any other correspondent:

"I never was you know one of those who are given to change. Thanks be to the Almighty & to my excellent Parents & excellent Preceptor, thro this Providence.

The Winter here in Edinburgh has passed with us as usual very Gaily & pleaurably. I taste & only taste of the very late Parties but still I have tasted and am glad to observe More Taste in conducting them than there was long ago. more Music & less Wine, no Punch & no brawling politics to deform Social Intercourse No Bragg no Gambling & less pawing than heretofore".

He hastened to add that he was not criticising from the point of view of a crusty old man. He mentioned also to Coutts that he sent with this letter a "prelude to the first canto of a poem" he had "in hand". By this he meant The Irish Chiefs, which was not published until 1811¹. Buchan's comment on the festive gatherings of his youth was what might have been expected from one who had been taught from his earliest years to prize the virtues of discipline and self-restraint.

On 9 December, 1806², Charles Vallancey³ wrote to Buchan in answer to his queries about Ossian. As a patriot who gloried in his country's heritage, Buchan naturally respected any famous Scotsman. That being so, what Vallancey had to say may not have been very agreeable:

"in truth, my good Lord, it is with reluctance I can stoop to such a subject as Ossian & Fingal."

1. vide p.317.

2. P.L.A.S. Letterbook.

3. (1721-1812); army officer and antiquarian.

Vallancey was a philologist of some ability as Buchan was not, and he had a knowledge of Celtic literature denied Buchan. Vallancey's dismissal of the whole business as a trifle would, then, be accepted by Buchan who could acknowledge superior learning. It is sufficient to recall his assistance to Pinkerton to realise the truth of this.

The question of the authenticity of the Ossianic poems does not seem to have interested Buchan very much, although when Macpherson¹ gave his translations to the world in 1761 Buchan was only nineteen years old, an age when youthful enthusiasm might have caused him to have violent sympathies. There is no doubt that he admired Ossian, of whom he wrote²:

"perhaps no country has ever produced a person in whom military virtues and poetical talents have been so happily united".

The quarrel over the authorship of the poetry must have been well-known to Buchan, and he could hardly have found some aspects of it edifying. He probably refrained from championing one side or the other because there were so many others with better knowledge and claims to be heard. Since he was so ardent a Scot, it is odd that he should have made no effort to learn Gaelic, for he certainly made a considerable study of Scottish history. It may be that his other activities

1. James Macpherson (1738-1796).

2. N.L.S.Ms.1711, ff.175-176.

interested him more because they had a greater bearing on the history and civilisation of his country.

Buchan's letter of 27 May, 1807¹, to Anderson suggests that he was rather irritated by Anderson's failure to promote his scheme for an eighteenth century literary history:

"Instead of our frivolous madrigals upon fair Ghosts or dreadful black letter Goblins or insipid Magazine poems let us endeavour to revive the Spirit of Buchanan and Ruddiman & show the insolent Oxonians & Cantabs. that we are not quite as far behind them in Erudition as they chuse to represent us".

It is as if he had realised that all his prompting was unlikely to stir Anderson to activity. Soon he was to make the effort himself to accomplish some of what he had hoped to see done.

In October Buchan took some pains to secure the charge of Sprouston for David Brewster². He referred to Brewster's request for help in a letter of 7 October³, to Robert Anderson:

"Having been informed by Mr. Brewster that the Parish of Sprouston is likely to become vacant..... I have renewed my sollicitation to Sir James Innes Ker⁴ in his favour".

He was aware of Brewster's talents, and although he felt he would be of greater value in a teaching post, in a University, he lent him assistance readily. He told Robert Anderson, in a letter

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. (1781-1868); physicist; knighted in 1832.

3. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 22.4.13, p. 18.

4. (ca. 1738-1823); became Duke and Earl of Roxburghe in 1812; in his youth he was an army officer.

of 24 October, 1807¹, why he had decided to help Brewster find a position which did not really do him justice:

"Sprouston is an excellent living near a good Library at Kelso and in a neighbourhood, not unfavourable to his pursuits".

Buchan's letter of 30 October, 1807², informed Robert Anderson that Sir James Innes Ker had promised "eventual presentation of Mr. Brewster to the Kirk of Sprouston".

Since Buchan had achieved success in his efforts to help Brewster he intended to do another good deed soon after. Joseph Bonomi³ wrote to him on 26 November, 1807⁴, to discuss a scheme Buchan had broached to him a week or two earlier. Buchan had suggested holding an art exhibition in Edinburgh, and devoting the profits from it to relieving the want of the "Widows and orphans of artists". It seems that this plan came to nothing. Part of the reason for posterity's neglect of Buchan is probably the fact that too often he omitted to put into practice ideas which were genuinely good. Buchan would have achieved more fame by one outstanding deed than he did by dreaming.

As if aware of the dullness, even aimlessness, of his life since 1802, Buchan tried once again, by personal example,

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.20.

2. Ibid., p.22.

3. (1739-1808); architect of St. Peters, Rome.

4. G.U.L.Mss.

to arouse the Scots literati from their apathy. Despairing of anything being done to honour the memory of the Foulis brothers and their Academy at Glasgow, he made ms. collections from which a book could be published.

In his Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow¹, Duncan referred² to the fact that Buchan had been interested as early as 1795 in a "more complete memoir of 'the Elzevirs of Scotland'", that he "extended his researches to the literary and typographical history of Glasgow generally", and that the title he intended to give his completed work was "Anecdotes of Printing and Academical Literature at Glasgow". He mentioned, also, that Dr. Robert Anderson assisted Buchan in the work, but, judging from what is known of Anderson as an associate, it is doubtful if he achieved much by himself. The real importance of Buchan's researches lies in the fact that "a large proportion of the Foulis papers have since perished by fire".

As well as wishing to pay tribute to the fine printing that the Foulis brothers achieved, Buchan had a personal interest in the scheme he propounded, for he had studied under them whilst he was a student in the University of Glasgow. He did not achieve a high degree of excellence, but the competence of his work was attested by the drawings with which he supplied

1. Glasgow, 1831.

2. p.x.

Pinkerton for the Iconographia Scotica.

In 1806, at the latest, Buchan began to amass all the mss. he could relating to the Fouliss and their work. On 14 April, 1806¹, Elizabeth Dewar², wrote to him, offering to supply him with whatever mss. belonging to her father, Robert Foulis, and her uncle, Andrew Foulis, she could find. Her motive was not disinterested, for in return she expected Buchan to assist her son-in-law. He must have fulfilled her expectations, for the correspondence continued. For some unknown reason she sent nothing to him until 1808, for on 26 January³ of that year she acknowledged his "very kind condescending letter" which was "a great consolation" to her in her misfortunes. She then promised, as she had done almost two years previously, to seek out "memorials" of her father's life. The first contribution seems to have been sent to Buchan by a letter of 8 March, 1808⁴. Significantly, perhaps, she thanked Buchan for having solicited assistance on her son-in-law's behalf. By now it must have been obvious to Buchan that she intended making the most of the materials in her possession.

On 21 March, 1808⁵, she wrote again to Buchan, but he

1. B.I.Ms.B.32225, ff.37-38.

2. She married Robert Dewar, one of her father's printers.

3. B.I.Ms.B.32225, f.35.

4. Ibid. ff.31-32.

5. Ibid. ff.26-27.

was probably chagrined to find that the subject of her letter was not her father. Instead, she reminisced about an uncle, who, like her son-in-law, suffered from bad luck. Another letter of 5 April, 1808¹, dealt with well-known details about Robert and Andrew Foulis. On 16 April, 1808², she thanked Buchan for his "uncommon kindness and generosity" to her, and yet again she promised to send "all the papers great and small" in her possession. It says a great deal for Buchan's patience that he submitted to Elizabeth Dewar's repeated demands for assistance, but he was so anxious to do his subject justice that he bore with her. Presumably he satisfied all her wishes, for on 23 April, 1808³, she sent him "four different parcels" containing all the letters she had or could ever procure "relative to this subject". The correspondence seems, not unnaturally, to have closed after this.

Buchan never completed the book he envisaged, although he made some attempt, as the following⁴ shows:

"Sketch of the Life of Robert Foulis of Glasgow Printer
by the Earl of Buchan.

Robert Foulis the first born of four brothers and two sisters was the lawfull son of Andrew Foulis Maltman and Brewer of the City of Glasgow by Marian Patterson of the same City a woman of good sense & Piety which last she instilled into the minds of her children from their earliest years with so much care that its effects remained with them thro life & created in them towards their Mother's memory the most inviolable

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1. B.I.Ms.B.32225, ff.33-34.
 2. Ibid. f.28.
 3. Ibid. f.30.
 4. Ibid. ff.45-46.

respect.

Great is the importance of early piety, & to sow the seeds of it belongs more especially to the Mother. I attempt therefore in this place to preserve the name of Marian Patterson the mother of Robert Foulis from oblivion.

Robert Foulis was born in the year 1707. In the year 1725 he became a Burgess and Guild brother of Glasgow and entered into the Malthouse and Brewery of his Father together with his immediate Younger brother Andrew, the Youngest James being sent to the University as destined for the Church. But the ardent spirit of Robert Foulis could not be confined to the vaults of a Beer cellar and he soon forsook them for the University of Glasgow where having procured rooms in the College he with his Brothers attended a regular course of Lectures for several years, Roberts lamp being seldom extinct Until the Midnight hour The progress of his Studies & attainments (were not) unobserved by the Professor in the University among whom the eminent and excellent Francis Hutcheson as he had been formerly known to him during his Studies became his favourite Instructor as a Professor, and he also became a favourite disciple of Hutcheson".

This "Sketch" seems to have been the only thing Buchan composed after studying the materials he had collected. It shows quite clearly why he did not complete the task he undertook, for as a basis of a life of Robert Foulis it is almost completely useless. That he could believe it would be of use shows that he was scarcely aware of the magnitude of the work he was attempting to do. It is difficult to believe that he meant the unfortunate pun when he wrote of an "ardent spirit" in a "Beer cellar", and one concludes that he did not, or could not, apply himself seriously enough.

David Murray wrote¹ of Buchan's attitude to Robert

1. Robert and Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press,
Glasgow, 1913. p.107.

Foulis that he had "recognised in him a man of no ordinary character", that he had "little insight, and was unable to discern what it was in Foulis that he respected and appreciated". This was less than justice. Buchan knew very well what there was to respect in Robert Foulis. He appreciated Foulis' scholarship and talents, and the high-class work he produced. His help to the Morison Press showed that he rated the art of printing highly. Murray was in possession of a large quantity of Buchan's letters and papers, which are now lodged in the University of Glasgow, and ought to have known better. He did, however, pay a tribute to Buchan:

"It is to Lord Buchan's industry and his collections of projected work, that we are indebted for the greater part of what we know of Robert Foulis".¹

It was so in character that Buchan should never have carried out this plan. Most of his schemes failed because of his erroneous supposition that there were others willing to act upon his suggestions. Why he himself did little more than project ideas, only he could have said. He had ample energy and enthusiasm, but these were cancelled out by his conviction that he was destined to be some kind of director, an architect who would only rarely undertake a task himself, and then so that he could set an example for those who came after him. It is much to be regretted that he did not encompass the plan of printing the "Anecdotes", for in almost every way he was uniquely fitted for doing so.

In 1808 it might have been expected that Buchan would have been so occupied with his plans for the "Anecdotes" that he would have had little time for any other schemes. This was not the case, for in that year he was in touch with a number of artists. On 15 February, 1808¹, for example, he wrote to Ozias Humphrey²:

"I am greatly pleased with Blakes³ description of his Drawing and though your defect of Sight prevents you from writing without inconvenience I hope you will employ from time to time some friendly and enlightened Amanuensis to communicate to me your meditations on the chef d'oeuvres of art that reside in the higher Regions of your Fancy & Judgment. I wish particularly to have your Meditation on the Picture of Old Chiron instructing his young Achilles adjoining to which I mean to place yr. Portrait as a memorial of my regard for you".

Just as Buchan kept himself up to date politically by his correspondence with Alexander Stephens, so was he kept informed about the artistic world by men like Humphrey. The tone of the letter is that of an old friend, but its obvious purpose was to elicit information. Buchan was actually enjoying the best of all worlds, for if he lived aloof he was probably as much aware of the latest developments in society and the arts as many a man living in Town.

1. L.U.L.Mss.

2. (1742-1810); royal artist.

3. (1751-1827); poet, engraver, and artist.

A letter of 8 June, 1808¹, from William Tassie², the nephew of James Tassie³, gave Buchan information he had sought about the life and work of that artist.

On 8 August, 1808¹, Joseph Bonomi's son, Ignatius, sent Buchan, at his request, "effegies of Mrs. Angelica Kauffman"⁴.

The overwhelming impression one has of Buchan's life after his attempts to produce the "Anecdotes" is that he was content to let life flow around him, that he was becoming, almost daily, more of a hermit. Andrew Foulis⁵ wrote to him on 30 March, 1809⁶, to describe a process he had invented for copying pictures. Buchan noted on this letter:

"Andrew Foulis his Invention for the Multiplication of Painters Sketches &c. I propose to have this Invention of Mr. Andrew Foulis carried into practice for verification at Dryburgh Abbey this Summer or Autumn".

It was unlike Buchan to put off so much time before investigating anything that appealed to his fancy, and there is a rather dream-like quality about this intention. If he ever tested it, or even

1. G.U.L.Mss.
2. (1777-1860); he won in 1805 the lottery for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery. John Boydell (1719-1804), Lord Mayor of London in 1790, created a gallery of 162 pictures by artists such as Reynolds.
3. (1735-1799); he executed in cameo a large series of portraits of his illustrious contemporaries.
4. (1741-1807); painter.
5. (d.1829)
6. E.U.L.Mss.,La IV 26.

remembered it, there is no evidence of his conclusions.

Buchan wrote to John Wood¹ on 30 May, 1809², promising to investigate some point of heraldry Wood had raised. The letter was remarkable for its postscript:

"N.B. I have been much indisposed by a severe cold a thing never before experienced by me!"

There seems to be a note of resentment in this, almost as if he ought not to have been incapacitated by any illness. It is interesting to consider this point, for he had, after all, returned to Dryburgh Abbey in 1802 to die. It seems that the recipe he gave for longevity in The Bee³ really was effective.

The pattern of Buchan's life in 1810 followed closely that of the previous year, although to Robert Anderson he resumed discussion by letter of the familiar literary topics. He decided also that he would not be able to accomplish his "Anecdotes". This he revealed to Anderson in a letter of 14 March, 1810⁴:

"after considering all the documents I have been able to procure for the work I meditate concerning Glasgow I have come to the resolution of placing all the materials in the Depot where they may be easily put together & produced in such a literary Miscellany as you frequently have projected and ought to accomplish. I entertain little doubt of such a literary undertaking meeting with encouragement of the Scots Magazine".

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1. (d.1838); eminent antiquary, genealogist, and biographer.
 2. N.L.S.Ms.2251,f.105.
 3. vide p. 201.
 4. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.26.

If Buchan genuinely thought that the task was an easy one, then it is a comment on his inability to be bothered any more. He ought also to have known that placing all the "documents" in Anderson's care was equivalent to hiding them away.

Although there was no sense of urgency about this letter, Buchan could still be enthusiastic, as in a letter of 27 April, 1810¹, to Robert Anderson, who had asked his permission to use some of his papers for his own purposes:

"It would afford me pleasure to think of your profiting in the least degree from any thing I can furnish or have contributed to our Depot but considerable pain to think of such matter being quite unproductive of advantage to my friends".

Buchan's enthusiastic agreement to Anderson's request suggests that it was a rare occurrence when Anderson wanted to publish anything Buchan sent him to the "Depot". Thinking that at last Anderson was about to fulfil some of his expectations, he wrote at some length on the subject of men likely to be able to assist. The letter might have been written fifteen years earlier, so buoyant is its tone. One concludes that Buchan's unusual lack of energy had been caused by the failure of his friends to do what he thought was necessary.

The new cheerfulness of this letter led him to write again to Robert Anderson on 31 May, 1810², offering to do what he could. With the letter went the inevitable "parcel" for the

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13, p.30.

2. Ibid. p.32.

"Depot". He suggested tentatively that Anderson might find the time within the next month or two to visit him at Dryburgh Abbey where a detailed discussion might take place. On 18 June, 1810¹, he wrote a very long letter to Robert Anderson, mentioning all the scholars who could certainly add valuable contributions to the "Anecdotes". He referred to Wodrow², pointing out that he was singularly well-qualified to assist with knowledge of the best places to approach for fresh materials. Unfortunately, this source must have remained untapped, for Wodrow died in this year. Buchan indicated how Anderson's son-in-law, David Irving³, could be of great assistance, suggested that various Professors in the University of Glasgow might be willing to lend help, and recommended that Anderson write to Dublin for information about Francis Hutcheson who had established a private academy there. Buchan was now so excited at the prospect of Anderson setting to work that he wrote another long letter on 19 June, 1810⁴. Apparently anxious to prompt Anderson who was at last of the mind to proceed in accordance with Buchan's frequently expressed hopes, he gave him a free hand to publish separately any or all of his papers in the "Depot". Respecting the "Anecdotes", he

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1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.34.
 2. Rev. James Wodrow (1729-1810); minister of Stevenston.
 3. (1778-1860); LL.D. of Aberdeen(hon) in 1808; he was Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates from 1820 till 1848. He wrote The Lives of the Scottish Poets, in 2 vols., published at Edinburgh in 1804.
 4. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.36.

suggested that a good part of the work ought to deal with Glasgow University students who had subsequently become famous, men such as his brother, Henry Erskine:

On 5 July, 1810¹, he made the intelligent suggestion that Thomas Percy² be approached for permission to print a selection of his correspondence along with the other materials that were to be incorporated in the Glasgow "Anecdotes", where they could throw any additional light on the people and institutions discussed. This idea came to nothing, for Percy died in the following year.

Buchan and James Barry.

In the letter of 5 July to Anderson Buchan also wrote:

"I have just now the pleasure of yr. letter of the 29th, which I cannot but greatly approve in the expression of yr. kindness to poor Barry".

By "poor Barry" Buchan meant James Barry, nephew of the artist whom Buchan had befriended³. Buchan took a thorough interest in him, as appears from the following letter, dated 15 October, 1811⁴, to Robert Anderson:

"James Barry who charges himself with this letter..... has been here for five weeks past and has employed himself in my Library very busily in usefull reading

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13, p.38.

2. (1729-1811); Bishop of Dromore; in 1765 he published Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

3. vide p.273.

4. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13, p.42.

of Books connected with his professional views.

He is a well disposed young man and worthy of yr. notice and advice in his studies.

It will be kind in you & Dr. Irving to look at the Latinity of his Thesis which he tells me he is about to prepare this winter, and tho he is much younger than is usual to take his Degrees in Medicine & Surgery yet from what I have observed likely to entitle himself to them by his attainments".

Barry, after graduating M.D. at Edinburgh, went to Plymouth, armed with a letter of introduction from Buchan. He reported this to Robert Anderson in a letter of 20 November, 1813¹, when he mentioned that Dr. Skey², to whom Buchan had recommended Barry, had written in praise of Barry's work. In Edinburgh University library is a copy of a book by Barry, dedicated to Buchan³, so the kindness of the old earl to the struggling student was not forgotten.

Buchan helped large numbers of people, but never one like Barry, who kept secret the fact that she was a woman⁴ virtually until she was dying. Buchan would probably have appreciated hugely the fact that a woman could have been so successful a student at a time when women were debarred from the universities. She, at any rate, was sufficient vindication of his view that women could profit from advanced studies.

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.62.

2. M.D. of Edinburgh; physician in Plymouth.

3. Disputatio Medica inauguratis de Merocele vel Hernia Czurali.

4. For a study of James Barry see: Isobel Rae, The Strange Story of Dr. James Barry. London, 1958.

Buchan's letter of 10 October, 1811¹, to Robert Anderson suggested that age was hanging heavily upon him. He mentioned the death of Thomas Percy:

"I have now to condole with you on the death of the worthy Dr. Percy BP of Dromore if the period of such a long life can be considered as a subject of condolence: Yet considering how few men we have of his stamp one cannot help regretting it".

Recollecting when he first met Percy, he went on to catalogue only some of the famous men he met at that time, when he was a young man. He concluded by asking Anderson if he could name without lengthy thought a list of his contemporaries to compare with men like Garrick, Johnson, "old William Pitt", Goldsmith, Thomas Gray, Gibbon, Benjamin Franklin, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Robert Adam. He had, at least, the consolation of having been privileged to meet members of so brilliant a society. At the same time he was merely displaying the common human failing of thinking that only the past had any merit, that the generations after him were decadent.

He had much to depress him at this time, as a letter of 12 November, 1811², to Thomas Coutts showed:

"We are now come to this Town (Edinburgh) for the Winter & I wish I could give you & my worthy friend Mrs. Coutts good accounts of Lady Buchans health but she has complained for some time past of a troublesome Asthma".

From this time until her death in 1819 Lady Buchan seems to

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. N.L.S.Ms. 3391, f. 51.

have been in ailing health, and a constant reason for Buchan's worrying. He and his wife seem to have been apart very little throughout their long and apparently happy marriage. After her death he was so numbed with grief that he virtually shut himself up at Dryburgh Abbey, not even writing to his closest friends.

The most important event of 1811 for Buchan was the publication of the poem on which he had been at work for about five years, The Irish Chiefs.

Buchan the Poet.

With the publication of The Irish Chiefs¹ in 1811 Buchan gave his most ambitious attempt at poetry to the public. He had tried his hand at most forms of literary composition, and over the years he had written short poems for various occasions.

He seems to have had no doubt that he was possessed of a genuine poetic gift. He would have been all the more irritated had he known that the following would be printed² with the claim that it constituted all the poetry he had ever composed:

"O drink of me only; O drink of this well,
And fly from vile whiskey, that lighter of hell.
If you drink of me only-or drink of good ale-
Long life will attend you-good spirits prevail".

This, it was alleged, was written by Buchan himself on the wall

1. The Irish Chiefs, or The Harp of Erin: A Poem in Three Cantos,
By an Irish Gentleman. Edinburgh, 1811.
2. John, Lord Campbell: The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and
Keepers of the Great Seal of England. London, 1847.
Vol. 6, p.704.

of St. Bernard's Well. Whilst this doggerel may easily have been of Buchan's composition, it should be noted that the general tone of the other remarks on Buchan in the article from which this verse appears is completely derogatory. The authorship might then be in doubt, since Campbell obviously had no scruples about ridiculing a man he clearly knew little about.

Thomson being his idol, it was inevitable that he should have regarded the poetic conventions of the first half of the eighteenth century as constituting the highest development of the art of poetry. All his poetry shows his adherence to a style that was outmoded when he set to work.

His "Verses on The Earl of Buchan's Birth-Day"¹ provide a fair sample of his poetic achievement. They begin:

"THE Scottish Muse, no venal praise,
To hail her ERSKINE's natal day;
Bears, on the morning's brightening rays,
To Dryburgh's holy ruins grey.

On classic Tweed's love-haunted shore
The Sky-born virtues croud her train,
In ether float their weeds of yore,
Dy'd in the rainbow's orient grain."

There are another sixteen stanzas in this fashion. Little need be said of it as poetry. Its most noticeable feature is the fulsome self-praise:

"Hark! from each vault's prophetic womb,
Unearthly sounds! the voice of fame;
They whisper years beyond the tomb;
They add thy fate-defying name!"

1. E.U.L.Mss.La D K 2.12.,ff.3-4.

Buchan composed this on 12 June, 1801, at a time when he had almost completed his arrangements for selecting his biographers and the materials he felt they would need to give the true picture of his life and endeavours. He was convinced that posterity would recognise his greatness, and this explains the "fate-defying" reference.

Whilst these "Verses" bear the stamp of careful revision, the following, addressed to Pinkerton, suggests extempore composition:

"Adventious Pinkerton I saw thy hand
 first touch the plumage of the Stratford Swan
 I saw thee daring & above command
 tender a fig tree ripping into Man.
 I saw thee rocking Shakspear's cradle
 enough the brains of gods to addle
 and now I feel thee rock the Towrs
 and thy hands profane the Bowsrs
 Of old Opinions Gothic Keep
 where the sons of Phoebus weep,
 where long locking for the day
 They pass their dreary hours away.
 Adventious Bard wield not so wild
 thy critic Thunder, but be thou the Child
 of Art, and Nature & thy Spear reserve
 to shake the guilty not the weak to swerve".¹

It would be only charitable to regard this as a first draft.

Certainly, if Pinkerton ever received it he did not admire it for its poetic qualities.

There is extant a copy of "Scots Wha Hae" in Buchan's writing². Burns had sent him a copy of the poem in a letter of

1. N.L.S.Ms. 1711, f. 215.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

12 January, 1794¹, knowing full well that its theme of ardent patriotism would delight him. Many years later he paid Burns a posthumous compliment by adopting the form of his poem for a patriotic one of his own, dated 7 July, 1813:

Victoria!

Hark! a shout beyond the main,-
 'Triumph-Wellington- and Spain!'
 Hark the gladdening sounds again,
 The sounds of victory.

Again the Eagles plumes are shorn,
 Again a Tyrant's laurels torn:-
 The battle's voice afar is borne,
 On peals of victory!

Thus may tyrants ever fly-
 Thus their slavish minions die;-
 And FREEDOM'S prayer be heard on high
 And Crown'd with victory!

Oh! blessed is the generous hand
 Outstretch'd to save a sinking land;
 And blessed is the warrior's brand
 In FREEDOM'S victory.

Immortal CHIEF! to thee belong
 The proudest notes of raptur'd song:
 Oh may thy bright career be long
 A blaze of victory!

Amidst the sulph'ry thunder-flame,
 Who pours its vengeance? Gallant GRAHAM;-
 Companion ever to thy name
 Is Britain's victory.

Ah Moore! for thee, alas, was found
 A soldier's grave, on hallowed ground-
 A grave, with splendours compass'd round,
 Of saddest victory.

In manly eyes a tear must start,
 To see thy setting sun depart:
 The throb of every British heart
 Proclaims thy victory!

1. De Lancey Ferguson: The Letters of Robert Burns. 2 vols. Oxford, 1931. Vol.2, pp.230-231.

And now, Cadogan! - see him lie
 Exalted, bleeding;- see him die-
 A burst of glory fills his eye-
 'Tis closed in victory!

When England's banner is unfurl'd
 To rouse- to free a trembling world,
 'Tis HEAVEN'S resistless bolt is hurled-
 And gives the victory!

Although this is not poetry of the highest order, it has some merit. Apart from its blatant chauvinism, it contains a sincere tribute to Sir John Moore, who died at Corunna, in 1809. Like Buchan, Moore had encountered much hostility to his revolutionary ideas, but, unlike Buchan, he had vindicated himself before the whole world. In this poem Buchan came nearer to showing a mood of inspiration than usual.

Buchan seems to have regarded highly a poem which went by two names: "The White Ewes of Dryburgh", and "The Golden Fleece". In his own copy of his "Discourse on the Antiquity of Man" Buchan transcribed it under the former heading. He introduced the poem in a typically artificial way:

"I laid me down on the velvet turf, and without premeditation lisped some numbers² of an Elegiack pastoral".

The poem opens with an introduction of twenty lines. This is woefully stilted, with its invocation of typically pastoral characters, and references to "Oaten reed", Arcadia, and nymphs.

1. N.L.S.Ms.1676, ff.69-70. Buchan himself must have thought well of this poem, for he had it printed, either by himself at Dryburgh, or, perhaps, at Kelso.

2. cf. Pope: "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot". "I lisped in numbers"

The poem itself is of very loose construction. It begins with reference to Astraea, the daughter of Zeus and Themis, who lived during the golden age. There is some not very profound moralising about the pernicious effect of unbridled greed, preparatory to a stanza in which Buchan appeared to recommend to all men

"A peaceful life by nature led
The peaceful flocks among".

This was a reference to the kind of life Buchan led, some of the time, at Dryburgh Abbey. Having returned to his story of Astraea, Buchan speedily strayed from it to point out that Rome fell because of its greed. Determinedly, it seems, he says Astraea came to Britain. It is here that the worst verse occurs:

"Oh Shepherds shall I add one lay
so dismal is the tale!
The Goddess stayd but for a day,
And left us all to wail!"

Faithful to the legend, Buchan made her recoil in disgust from the depravity of men. This effusion seems to have pleased Buchan, for he sent a copy of it, minus the introduction but with two additional stanzas, to Dr. Nisbet in his letter of 19 September, 1786.

In 1803 he felt the urge to compose verses on the "Anniversary of Washington"¹, a poem of nine stanzas called "To the Muses". In deference to Gray, presumably, he wrote it

1. H.S. Penn. Mss.

in elegiac stanza. His debt to Gray did not end there, as verse six shows:

"Mouldring and frail to Dust the Body tends,
And like a cloud the human vapour, flies!
Fleeting and vain the storied urn¹ ascends
Or Bust or Portrait meet our wondring Eyes"

It is very much in the style of the eighteenth century, but is a very poor imitation. Buchan wanted it to be assumed that inspiration came to him as he sat alone. This is a trifle difficult to believe since he appended explanatory notes where he thought necessary, such as the "Atlantic Ocean" for "vast Sea". It appears from his note that he read it aloud to an audience in his house at Edinburgh. Its rhymes were frequently achieved at the expense of all else, as in the first stanza, where he produced an extraordinary inversion:

"And hears below of Birds the vocal throng".

This is suspiciously close to doggerel, as is the sixth verse:

"Oer the vast Sea I cast my moistned Eye,
I smile thro' tears to see this day return;
I look from Earth to Washington on high
And pensive come with tears to bathe his urn".

Buchan occasionally sent examples of his poetry to The Bee². They were, even when polished for publication, little different in quality from those that remained private. In volume 10 of The Bee is an "Ode to Fancy", from which the following comes:

1. cf. Gray's "Elegy", "Can storied urn or animated bust", l.41.
2. Vol.2,p.317; vol.3,pp.67, 68, 106; vol.4,p.180; vol.10,p.286;
vol.14,p.218.

"O waft me, Fancy, when you fly
 To tinge with gold some azure sky;
 Or when you roam through Albion's isle,
 O lead me where the muses smile".

Just as Buchan forced his political views into his work of Fletcher and Thomson, so did he come to use verse for the same purpose. It seems that by about 1790 he could no longer recognise the impropriety of colouring his writing with political outbursts. His "life" of Napier had been free from such a blemish, but in volume three of The Bee¹, in an "Epitaph of Merchiston", occur these lines:

"No Napier! thou wert not that thing,
 The creature of a pageant King,
 Which Britons call a lord".

Until 1811 Buchan's output of verse was very small, even negligible. In that year, however, he produced his first - and last - volume of poetry, The Irish Chiefs. In view of the brief nature of his previous efforts some explanation for his new departure at the age of sixty nine is necessary. He felt one was called for, since in the preface he stated baldly that his intention in writing the poem was to place "the Irish Nation and Character in a high point of view". He expressed also the hope that it would help to promote "a sincere and everlasting UNION" between England and Ireland. It is also probable that his passion for innovation led him to publish a volume of poetry so that his literary reputation would be enhanced. Really, he had

1. p.68 (18 May, 1791).

nothing to say in it that he had not already said in prose. In the previous year Scott's Lady of the Lake had appeared, and been received with great acclaim. Buchan modelled his poem on it, dividing it into cantos, and using rhyming couplets of iambic tetrameter. It is a grossly inferior work, nevertheless, as he admitted, with suspicious modesty, in the "Conclusion"¹:

"And, had I Scott's enchanting pen,
Our minstrel lay should live again".

Whereas Scott's poem told an interesting story, coupled with much felicitous nature description, Buchan fell into the error of digression for too much of the time. Although there were only three cantos, the story did not begin until the second one.

In Canto One Buchan bemoaned the disappearance of Ireland's glory. He contemplated what might have been:

"So, - had dissensions ne'er been known,
Albion and Erin had been one;
But jealousy and party rage,
Have blacken'd oft the historic page".²

Ireland had been basely and foully treated, Buchan said, but in singing the praises of the peasantry's hospitality he indicated that cruel fate had not debased the finer feelings of the Irish people. Buchan ended this first Canto by hoping for the abandonment of faction, and the speedy coming of universal brotherhood³.

1. p.93.

2. pp.29-30.

3. p.33.

In Canto Two Buchan came to grips with his story. The hero is a simple, hard-working, innocent Irish peasant. He has a daughter, Mary, who is good, beautiful, chaste, kind, loving and gentle. Buchan took some time to catalogue her almost innumerable virtues. She is the mainstay of her parents' lives, for she is the only child left at home to comfort them. Two of their four sons had died, and the others had left Ireland to make their fortunes. They had done so, but on their return voyage they were impressed for service in a King's ship.

Mary, inevitably, was loved by all the men of the neighbourhood, and when one of them died as a result of unrequited love, she resolved never to wed. At this point in the story Buchan interpolated a "Song", conventional and repetitive, rather in the manner of the songs in Scott's long poem.

The rustic idyll has a dark side, however, for the local landowner is a villain:

"Near to her father's cabin stood
 Embosom'd in a stately wood,
 A costly mansion, proud and great,
 Just built to mock the cotter's state".¹

His history is quickly given:

"In India he his fortune made
 By rapine - cruelty - and trade.

 On sordid interest ever bent,
 Subset his farms to raise the rent."¹

1. p.58.

His predecessor had been loved for his benevolence, but he is a monster, who "Treated the natives just like swine"¹. Enamoured of Mary, he tries "each foul device"² to seduce her, but is thwarted by her purity. Enraged, he falsifies evidence of crime against her father whom he has banished.

In Canto Three Buchan tells us that the unlucky peasant's name is Moran. In exile, he dies of a broken heart. Although far away, and in complete ignorance of her husband's situation, his wife dies at the selfsame moment. Apparently carried away by the double tragedy he has just engineered, Buchan returned to the villain:

"Just as the tyger pall'd with food,
And satiate with the victim's blood,
Views his sad slaughter o'er and o'er,
And triumphs in wide scenes of gore,
So did the rich man prize the thought
Of all the havock he had wrought".³

He is so inhuman that he hastens to make fresh advances to Mary who is alone with her grief. Rejected again, he turns her out into the world. The generosity and compassion of the peasants she encounters preserve her sanity, and after a long conversation with a holy man she decides to become a nun.

In the "Conclusion" Buchan said that the praise of "Erin" was his "fav'rite strain"⁴, and after he had enumerated several famous Irishmen he ended the poem.

1. p.61.

2. p.62.

3. p.79.

4. p.90.

The story is told in so banal a fashion that it is more melodramatic than tragic. In his indiscriminate heaping up of brutalities Buchan used a bludgeon rather than a rapier. He had obviously devoted much thought and care to this work, for to each Canto he appended explanatory notes, again in the fashion of Scott, but its only merit is a regularity of rhyme and metre.

He added several short pieces at the end of the volume. One of them merits attention, for it is the only item which really deserves to be called poetry. Buchan called it "Impromptu, On Touching, By Accident, An Irish Lady's Hand, Of Exquisite Sensibility, which made Her Start". Unlike his other verse, it has an echo of the seventeenth century, perhaps of Lovelace's "To Althea from Prison":

"When my rude hand encounter'd thine,
Alas! I felt the shock was such,
As if some precious holy shrine
Was trespass'd on by heathen's touch;
For that soft hand, so lily fair,
Is just an emblem of thy mind;
Unsullied purity dwells there,
And sensibility refin'd".

On the evidence of such poems as are extant, it must be admitted that Buchan was no poet. There is no variety of metres, too much bad poetic diction, and a general diffuseness that makes reading difficult. It is unlikely that Buchan could have improved on what he did write, since he was obsessed with subordinating art to the expression of his views on what ought to be reformed.

The Irish Chiefs was Buchan's last work for the public,

for his volume of essays printed the following year comprised articles he had written almost twenty years before. It serves to show that Buchan was remarkably consistent in his approach to publication. It demonstrates also that, for all his suggestion to others of novel schemes, he published nothing original.

Although Buchan had done little of note apart from publishing The Irish Chiefs in the years just previous to 1812, this year was to prove most eventful. He made what was really his last gesture in his personal deification of James Thomson, and he also published his third and final book, The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan¹.

In a preface to the volume he explained that he intended to reprint all the anonymous articles which he had contributed to The Bee, over twenty years before, so that there could be no doubt in future about what he alone had written. He wrote to Robert Anderson on 1 April, 1812², to explain why he had chosen 1812 for this book's appearance:

"As I think the Country in considerable danger of sharing in a few years the fate of the rest of Europe I have thought proper to reprint what I have written in various subjects connected with the stability of Nations & though my arguments and views are artfully covered from vulgar inspection enough will be seen to show how we may escape the misery of civil war.

Considering how much you like yr. learned ease I refrained from troubling you with correcting

1. vide p. 200.

2. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.46.

the proof sheets of the publication of my fugitive Essays now proceeding with Ruthven but seeing your disposition to do me this favour I gladly accept of it".

Perhaps Anderson thought it was the least he could do for the man who had so often told him of the trust he placed in his ability, and for whom he seems to have done so little.

To Robert Anderson Buchan wrote on 25 May, 1812¹, a letter of thanks for having kept his promise to correct the proof sheets of his book which was by then "in the press". He mentioned also that on his seventieth birthday he meant "to thicken the cloud" that was to hide him "from publick observation". By this he meant, presumably, the cessation of his published works, for he could scarcely have made his life more secluded than it had been for many years past. He spoke of publishing a second volume of "Essays", but although he drew up a list of these, they remained inaccessible to the public except in the pages of the periodicals in which they first appeared.

In 1812 it is possible that the long correspondence with Thorkelin came to an end, for no letters appear to have survived later than 21 April, 1812.

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13, p.48.

Buchan and Thorkelin.

Thorkelin¹ was a Danish scholar of some ability, whose favourite study was that of Scandinavian antiquities, and he was sufficiently known to be appointed Keeper of the Royal Danish Archives in 1780. In 1786 he was sent to England by the King to make researches in libraries where there were any manuscripts relating to Danish history and antiquarian studies. His stay lasted five years, and he visited Scotland in 1787. He is best known in this country, perhaps, for his work on the "Beowulf" manuscript, of which he made a transcript himself, besides having one made by a professional copyist. Of these copies C.L. Wrenn wrote:²

"These transcripts, generally referred to as 'Thorkelin A' and 'Thorkelin B' respectively (B being Thorkelin's own work), are indispensable for filling in much that the after-effects of the Cottonian fire have lost to us".

Buchan was no philologist, but he was an obvious person for Thorkelin to correspond with, since by 1783 his connection with the Society of Scottish Antiquaries would have made his name as an antiquarian enthusiast abroad.

Thorkelin probably began the correspondence which was to last until at least 1812. A letter of 12 June, 1783³, by

1. (ca. 1750-1829); Grímr Jónsson Thorkelin.
2. Beowulf, (London) 1953. p.11.
3. E.U.L.Mss. La.III. 379, f.114.

Buchan, thanks Thorkelin for his gift of 4 books.¹ Buchan announced that he had given these to the Library of the Antiquarian Society, probably as Thorkelin had suggested, for they are entered under Thorkelin's name in the list of donors and donations. Along with this letter Buchan sent him a copy of the first part of the Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland (1782).

On 14 March, 1785², Buchan sent Thorkelin several books for the library of the Royal Antiquarian Society at Copenhagen. By this time it is clear Thorkelin and Buchan hoped to be able to assist each other by an exchange of notes from, and copies of, manuscripts in their own countries. Buchan made another donation, mentioned in his letter of 23 August, 1785³:

"I do myself the honour to present to the library of the Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen a collection of ancient and modern Gaelic poems".

The following year Thorkelin came to England, and during the autumn or winter he formed a friendship with George Dempster⁴. Thorkelin was a

"man of wide interests and attractive manners. Sponsored by Sir John Sinclair⁵, who had met him in Denmark in 1786, and Lord Buchan, he

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1. Listed on p.112 of Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, ii, 1784.
 2. E.U.L.Mss. La. III, 379,f.119.
 3. E.U.L.Mss. La. III, 379,f.123.
 4. Of Dunnichen (1732-1818).
 5. Of Ulbster (1754-1835); author of the Statistical Account of Scotland, 21 vols. 1791-99.

made many friends in London, and impressed them all with his personality and his learning."¹

Thorkelin having expressed a wish to visit Scotland in the Spring of 1787, Dempster arranged the details of his journey² which led him to such places as Mull and Staffa, Harris and Stornaway. A letter from Thorkelin to Pinkerton, dated 19 September, 1787³, mentions some of the things he had seen, such as "Pictish Houses".

Buchan furnished Thorkelin with various letters of introduction⁴ to men who would be able to assist him in his work. To Copley⁵ he wrote in 1787⁶:

"Professor Thorkelin, who is on a mission from the King of Denmark for elucidating the history & antiquities of his country and for enriching the cabinet of the King his master, will deliver this note, and you will oblige me by giving him information on the objects of his mission in London".

A very similar letter of 31 October, 1787⁷, to John Bogle⁸, shows that Buchan had mentioned to Thorkelin a painting of Margaret of Denmark, wife of James III, suggesting that he have a copy of it made for the King of Denmark's "cabinet". Sir

1. ed. James Fergusson: Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson 1756-1813, London. 1934., pp.162-63.

2. vide Scots Magazine, October, 1933. Vol.18.

3. Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, vol.I, pp.160-162.

4. E.U.L.Mss. La.III. 379.

5. John Singleton Copley (1737-1815) Historical Painter.

6. E.U.L. Mss. La.III.379 f.124.

7. Ibid. f.126.

8. Miniature Painter (ca. 1745-1804)

1
 Robert Strange's assistance was also sought, in a letter of 30 October, 1787², and on 7 November, 1787³, Buchan wrote to Robert Melvill⁴ asking him to introduce Vallancey⁵, should he come to London that winter, to Thorkelin.

Buchan's correspondence with Thorkelin led to a warm friendship between the two, so that the subject of their letters was not confined always to antiquarian matters. In a letter of 20 October, 1788⁶ Buchan wrote:

"No problem or Theorem in Euclid can be more fairly demonstrated or shown than what you have sett forth in that pamphlet--but yet I think it is absolutely necessary to go on regulating the slave trade in our colonies so as to keep up our stock and to provide emancipation for old slaves".

"That pamphlet" referred to Thorkelin's An Essay on the Slave Trade⁷. Buchan was keenly interested in the question of emancipation, for he continued:

"Your little book is by far the most learned and satisfactory I have seen on the Subject tho I have received I believe every tract that has come from the press on it that is worth preserving."

It was in this same year that William Wilberforce began his

1. (1721-1792); engraver.
2. E.U.L.Mss. La.III, 379, f.127.
3. Ibid. f.128.
4. Antiquarian, (1723-1809)
5. Antiquarian, (1721-1812)
6. E.U.L.Mss. La III. 379, f.133.
7. Published in 1788.

campaign to secure the abolition of the slave trade, although it was not until 1807 that his efforts bore fruit.

If Buchan's idea of "regulating the slave trade" sounds hardly like the view of a humane man, it had some common-sense. J. Steven Watson writes of the trade:¹

"Slavery was not bad in itself, but the trade was iniquitous because it involved the brutal alteration of status and domicile (often to the next world) of West Africans".

It must also be remembered that Buchan's views were highly enlightened when compared to those of men as well-born as himself. Perhaps he changed his mind about slavery later in life, for it appears he erected a sign at Dryburgh, forbidding any slave owner access to his grounds².

Thorkelin seems to have sent Buchan a copy of his Eyrbyggja Saga³, for Buchan wrote of it in the letter of 20 October that he would find it a "pleasant morsel". This saga was written by Thorgrim, whose forefather, Rolf, came from the Isle of Moster in the west of Norway, and first planted Iceland with people from his island ("eyrbyggja" means strand-settlers) to escape from Harald Fairhair. The historical period it dealt with extended from the first colonising of Iceland to the middle of the eleventh century⁴. Buchan's knowledge of Scandinavian literature was probably almost non-existent, so his

1. The Reign of George III, 1760-1815, Oxford, 1960, p. 354.

2. Robert Murray: "Dryburgh and the Earl of Buchan".

3. Eyrbyggja Saga, sive Eyranorum Historia...quam versione, lectionum varietate ac indice. 1787.

4. vide Heimskringla, (Everyman's Library). 1951. pp. 424-425.

comment was doubtless the result of friendship.

Much of the letter is in Buchan's characteristic vein:

"It will be of great consequence for your plan to procure a fund from the Court of Denmark to cause transcripts to be made from all the Mss. in Britain that tend to illustrate the history &c of your Country, fifty pounds a year laid out with oeconomy would in a few years procure you the whole, a small pittance for a court to bestow on so interesting an object."

Buchan seems by now to have expected automatically that scholars need not look for much financial assistance. This accounts for the suggestion which follows:

"If you remain in London till Sir Thomas Dundas comes up he can show you the finest series of English Danish money in the Kingdom, and as I know he has doubles have no doubt of his exchanging them for pieces you could procure him from Copenhagen whereby you might compleat the series of your Societys in Denmark, without expence".

----- In a letter of 17 July, 1789¹, Buchan advised Thorkelin to continue his scholarly work which had already made him a "respectable & usefull citizen of the World". From his own experience he wrote:

"Do not stand in awe of the raillery of bons vivants, or the uncourth garb of ancient monuments which must be produced in their original form that the world may judge for itself concerning the progress of Society & how much we are indebted to the light of the Gospel".

He mentioned also that his enquiries, through Cardinal Erskine, at the Vatican had been rewarded by the receipt of:

1. E.U.L. Mss. La III.379.

"some fresh packets containing copies of some very ancient muniments relating to British history and particularly Scottish".

He detailed, also, another scheme he had evolved:

"Some time ago I proposed to Sir Willm. Hamilton¹ to move the King of the Two Sicilies on the business of unfolding the antient Volumes found in Herculanaeum amounting in all to about 800 many of which are irretrievably spoilt. That a score of poor Clergymen should be employed in this work & that when a part of each volume should be unfolded, the Ambassadors from the different Kings & States in Europe should be permitted to contribute on the part of their Masters to contribute to the unfolding of such volumes as should be desired and to have transcripts correctly made from them under the Eye of a select committee of the learned employed in this usefull work".

His scheme had much to commend it, but the disturbed state of Europe for many years after this precluded any attempt to put it into action.

On 4 March, 1791², Buchan returned to the question of the research he was having done in the Vatican library, and he promised to send Thorkelin anything helpful which he might find.

"If I shall meet with any danish Icelandick or Swedish historical documents in the ladues(?) of Queen Christina or otherwise worthy of being communicated to Denmark I shall be happy to render them open to your transcript; by supporting with my interest at Rome any applications that you may wish to have made for that purpose".

Thorkelin must have asked him whether he would allow the Royal Society of Iceland to elect him a member, for he said he would consider it an honour. When he wrote to Thorkelin on 25 December,

1. British Ambassador at Naples, from 1764-1800. (1730-1803). He took an active part in the excavation of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and formed rare collections of antiquities. One of them was purchased in 1772 for the British Museum.

1791¹, he acknowledged

"with gratitude and pleasure the receipt of the Diploma from the R: Literary Society of Iceland dated September 13th. ult."

Most of this letter was an expression of Buchan's well-known attitude to politics:

"Nothing O respected Thorkelin can make a People under a cold heavy and unauspicious Sky, in any degree prosperous or happy but a free and equal Constitution of Government. The enslaved Athenian, or Italian may yet smile or at least attempt to smile in the midst of bondage, and insignificance because born and born Nature pours unbidden treasures into his lap without laborious exertion. But in the frozen and foggy regions of the North, where the peasant has no wine to gladden his heart or oil to make his head to shine what can exhilarate his powers or affections if the charming Sound and real delights of Citizenship and equal Franchise are not uniformly enjoyed".

Thorkelin had written to inquire about such matters as whether there was a Militia in Scotland, how many traces of the feudal system could be found, and how land was leased. Buchan took the opportunity, whilst furnishing information, to vent his opinions freely. Of the Militia he wrote:

"with respect to the Militia there is still more unfortunately no such institution in Scotland the it has often been warmly contended for by the well-wishers of the Country..... The Scottish Lairds or Barons feclishly imagined, that the use of arms would introduce idleness and serve the recruiting service of the Army without securing the defence of the Country".

It is unusual to find Buchan writing at such length to Thorkelin on politics. The explanation is that Buchan at the time was

1 E.U.L.Mss. La III.379, f.116-117.

regarding with greater suspicion than usual the manoeuvres of the government. He hoped that Denmark would avoid the pitfalls into which the British Government plunged. His case, of course, was somewhat prejudiced, for in his eyes Pitt could do little right.

Thorkelin's letter of 1 November, 1791¹, informed Buchan rather belatedly that he had been elected a member of the Royal Society of Iceland. It must have gratified Buchan to have his "Generous protection" of the "northern Muses" acknowledged so freely by Thorkelin.

There is a long gap in the correspondence until Buchan's letter of 8 April, 1807². He wrote to introduce an acquaintance:

"Lord Iosceline³ eldest Son of the Earl of Roden Knight of the illustrious order of St. Patrick being about to depart from hence to Tonningen and from thence to proceed to Copenhagen where he means to study for some time at your University-I gladly embrace the opportunity of assuring you of the continuance of my Esteem. Lord Iosceline is an amiable Youth apparently bent on the improvement of his Mind and consequently desirous of cultivating the acquaintance of the learned & of the Virtuous. It is for this reason respectable and excellent Thorkelin that I have given his Lordship this introductory Letter to you and entreat you favour him with your particular attention, at Copenhagen and in Denmark. and also in case he should travel into Norway with proper instructions for doing it with advantage to his Stock of usefull knowledge".

Presumably Thorkelin acceded to Buchan's request. There is only one more letter from Buchan, dated 15 December, 1811⁴. In it

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1. G.U.L.Mss. "Extracts" from Buchan's diaries.
 2. E.U.L.Mss. La III.379,f.132.
 3. Robert Jocelyn, 3rd Earl of Roden (1788-1870)
 4. E.U.L.Mss. La III.379,f.137.

Buchan wrote:

"I should like very much to receive the annals of your Royal Societys Scientific, Literary Heraldic & Genealogical of some of which I have had the honour to be affiliated. (?)

What has passed in Denmark has afflicted me greatly & I thought myself fortunate in not being of our national Councils when my Country deviated from its antient Honour & Principles. I fear hereafter we shall hear a voice of

'Discite iustitiam monite et non temnere Divos'.

It has given me real pleasure to hear of yr. welfare and of that truly Xtian & Philosophick fortitude which you have manifested on the occasion of heavy & irreparable losses".

Buchan was referring to the actions of the British government in 1807, when Copenhagen was bombarded by the British fleet, and most of the Danish navy was seized. Denmark and Britain were not at war, but there was evidence that Napoleon planned to overrun Denmark. Such a manoeuvre would have increased Napoleon's fleet, and given him a further stretch of coastline for its preservation. In the event of its success, England would not only have been isolated but in renewed danger of invasion.

Britain demanded that Denmark hand over her fleet, promising to restore it when the war with Napoleon ended. Denmark's refusal led to a prolonged bombardment of Copenhagen which caused widespread destruction.

The attack on Denmark, quite unprovoked by anything that either nation had done, aroused the fury, not only of other powers, but of the opposition at Westminster. Although there was some justification for the action, the inevitable misery suffered by the civilian population merely underlined the savagery of war.

Thorkelin answered Buchan in a letter of 21 April, 1812¹.

It shows an almost pathetic gratitude;

"Indeed My Lord of all the impressions, your former goodness made upon me, I never received any with greater pleasure, than this of your abundant kindness and affectionate remembrance. Besides I had many other pleasures from your letter. It proves to me, that you abhor the wicked treacherous, and flinthearted Council, which framed the destruction of Copenhagen, robbed our Navy, and involved in a common ruine, all that was dear to a peaceful and innocent people".

Thorkelin gave a dreadful account of the sights and sounds he had seen and heard during the bombardment. His own loss was sufficiently bad, for much of his library was destroyed by fire. He was not wholly disheartened despite the destruction of much of his work, for he remarked that at least his "gracious Souveraign" was a patron of learning.

~~If this was the last letter that passed between~~ Thorkelin and Buchan, it was probably not by design, for Thorkelin promised to send any Danish antiquarian publications which were likely to prove interesting or useful. At the same time he asked Buchan to keep him informed about himself, and Scottish antiquities. Thorkelin's fortitude and cheerfulness say much for his character.

It seems, from Thorkelin's letter of 21 April, 1812, that he must have paid a visit to Dryburgh Abbey during his Scottish tour, for in sending his regards to Lady Buchan he wrote:

1. N.L.S.Ms. 3278, ff.48-52.

"I know (her) to have a stronger bend of mind than all most any one of her exalted sex".

He certainly stayed with George Dempster at Dunnichen, but, as Fergusson notes¹, his "movements on leaving Dunnichen..... are a little obscure". For example, the University of St. Andrews conferred an honorary LL.D. on him, and yet there is no record in the University to show the date when he received it.

The correspondence between Buchan and Thorkelin is interesting for the manner in which it shows that two men of such different temperaments could maintain a friendship simply by letters, and in times when neither could be certain that the other would ever receive what had been sent. It is equally interesting in that it shows little trace of the reputed growth of Buchan's eccentricity.

Buchan and the Cult of James Thomson.

Throughout his life Buchan flung himself so wholeheartedly into various projects that he ultimately earned himself the reputation of an eccentric. Perhaps no incident shows this misplaced enthusiasm better than his celebrations, in honour of Thomson's memory, in 1812. Buchan's own account of the proceedings² was so matter of fact that it is obvious he was not aware of anything extraordinary.

1. The Scots Magazine, vol.18,p.42.

2. pr. in the Kelso Mail, Monday, 17 August, 1812.

To his house at Dryburgh Abbey he invited all the members of the Masonic Lodge in nearby Newstead, on Tuesday, 11 August. Once they had been "duly constituted" about 7 p.m., they "walked in procession with music playing and colours flying" to the Temple of the Muses. "When the procession reached the place, the Lodge assembled in the Temple, when his Lordship, who was adorned with the Masonic insignia, as Ancient Past Grand Master of Scotland, addressed the Lodge".

Buchan's address followed the usual fashion of any public remarks he made about Thomson, for he delivered a short eulogy of the man and his poetry, and referred to the memorial tablet he had placed on Thomson's grave in Richmond church many years before. When he had finished, "the Master of the Lodge..... expressed his satisfaction.....in being convened on so interesting an occasion".

After "loud acclamations, which were echoed by the spectators assembled on both sides of the river", the "procession then marched towards the Abbey". On the way an even odder incident, all of Buchan's contriving, took place. As the procession passed through Dryburgh village, "it was met by a groupe representing the four Seasons". A fourteen years old girl symbolised Spring, a blooming young woman with a "little beautiful child" personified Summer, a "grey-headed healthy old man" was Autumn, and for Winter Buchan had found "an aged mother".

In all seriousness, Buchan addressed these four in his best manner, reciting to them Burns' "Address to the Shade of Thomson". At the Abbey itself, "a number of blooming young maids from the neighbourhood" met the procession, and everyone was given a "ball and supper", at Buchan's expense.

This entertainment went on, with great merriment, until about 1 a.m., when the next part of this rather involved ritual took place. The "Newstead Lodge again marched in masonic procession, by the light of flambeaus, to the poetic temple".

By now, an "illuminated transparency" had been placed "on the summit of the south bank of the river Tweed, immediately opposite the Monument", so that it "produced a striking and romantic effect". It was a representation of Britannia, "with her characteristic emblems", and had been specially commissioned by Buchan for this occasion.

Once the procession had again reached the Monument, Buchan extolled the virtues of the Prince Regent, and proposed a toast to him. This was well received. The assembly then sang "God Save the King", "Rule Britannia", and other stirring songs. During the singing, a firework display took place. Then the fete ended.

It appears, from Buchan's account, that all who took part had enjoyed the experience, but whether they would have

shown equivalent enthusiasm without the "ball and supper" is another matter. It might be asked what the various diversions had to do with the honouring of Thomson's memory, and, indeed, a closer examination of everything about the "fete" shows that Buchan was the central figure all the time, whether resplendent in his Masonic regalia, declaiming poetry, proposing a toast, or appearing as the benevolent host. In a fashion he resembled a kind of high priest performing a ritual. It is certain that his "fete" brought him as much publicity as it did Thomson's memory little honour, and it is equally sure that he did not arrange the flamboyant performance with such an end in view. He had obviously lost his sense of proportion by this time, for he was seventy years old, and his long and virtually complete retiral from public life had probably affected his judgment.

The unveiling of the Wallace statue, in 1814, was to have the same emphasis on ostentatious show. In his old age Buchan seems to have thought spectacle was all-important.

This 1812 festival was not the first occasion on which Buchan honoured Thomson's memory publicly, but although he continued to take an interest in anniversary celebrations it really represented the culmination of all his intentions. It was the most lavish design Buchan accomplished, and must have given him great personal satisfaction, for not only was he, as he thought, paying tribute to the memory of his poetic idol, he

was making a striking public appearance.

It is impossible to say why Buchan became obsessed with the idea of venerating and perpetuating Thomson's memory. It is true enough that he entertained a deep admiration for his poetry, particularly "The Seasons", but he was nearly fifty years old before he embarked on his personal campaign, which amounted almost to deification. It is possible, indeed very likely, that his actions were inspired by the fact that Thomson had known Dryburgh Abbey well in his childhood. In Buchan's eyes this would have justified his adopting a proprietorial attitude towards Thomson.

Buchan was far from being the first to pay tribute to Thomson, either in print or by means of public "celebrations". After Thomson's death in 1748, a great deal was done in his honour. He has his place in Westminster Abbey, in "Poets' Corner", his monument¹ between those to Shakespeare and Rowe. Even if it is an inferior piece of work, artistically, there is no doubting the honour intended. Various tributes to him appeared in print² before Buchan wrote his Essay, and a testimony to the popularity of his poetry was furnished by the printing of six "complete" editions between 1749 and 1768, and five editions of "The Seasons" between 1758 and 1766. The

1. It was designed by Robert Adam.

2. vide: Léon Morel, James Thomson, Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres, Paris 1895, pp.176-180.

edition of 1762¹ was a splendid one, "digne de lui et digne de l'Angleterre"².

Besides these tributes there were flamboyant celebrations of the anniversary of Thomson's birth, on 22 September. In 1770, a society in Edinburgh calling itself "The Knights Companions of the Cape"³ met to listen to music, recitation of Thomson's poetry, a lecture on his literary genius, and a glowing eulogy of him. This was so successful a meeting that the society held another in 1780. Amidst much floral decoration the members were entertained to a programme very similar to the first, but this time there was a great deal of singing, particularly of Thomson's "Rule Britannia". Further meetings were held in 1790 and 1800, each more enthusiastic than the previous. Apart from these decennial happenings in Edinburgh, there were annual celebrations of Thomson's anniversary in his birthplace, the village of Ednam near Kelso⁴.

It was in 1790 that Buchan first took a hand in the commemorative proceedings. The extent of his admiration for Thomson may be gauged from the advice he sent Robert Burns, in a letter of 1 February, 1787⁵:

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1. ed. P. Murdoch: The Works of James Thomson with his last corrections and improvements. To which is prefixed, an account of his life and writings. London, 1762.
 2. Morel, op.cit., p.185.
 3. vide: Dr. Hans Hecht: Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, Edinburgh, 1904. pp.35-51.
 4. Morel, op.cit., pp.187-189.
 5. Robert Chambers: The Life and Works of Robert Burns. (revised by William Wallace), 4 Vols. Edinburgh, n.d. Vol.2, pp.46-47.

"(visit) the birthplace of Thomson on the water of Rule feed your Muse with Ethereal mildness when the spring first opens the primrose on the steep verdant margin of his parent stream".

It was enough, Buchan said, for a budding poet to be associated with Thomson's former haunts if he wished to become great. As it happened, Burns resented this advice, or the manner in which it was phrased, for he referred to it as a "bombast epistle"¹. A more accurate adjective would have been "stilted", but Burns could hardly have known much about Buchan's unfortunately usual habit of making himself seem pompous when he was merely trying to attain a style exalted enough to be worthy of a dignified subject.

By 1790 Buchan was ready to do more than write vaguely about the beneficial effects to be derived from frequenting Thomson's youthful scenes. In his Essay on Thomson he described his having invited various gentlemen to an anniversary celebration at Ednam, and the decision then taken to open a subscription for erecting a monument to Thomson on Ednam hill². This was the beginning of his personal cult which, at times, was to lead him into extravagant situations.

On 24 June, 1791³, he wrote to Thomas Coutts⁴:

1. Charles Rogers: The Book of Robert Burns, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1891, vol.3, p.332.

2. pp.239-241

3. N.L.S.Ms.3391, ff.5-6.

4. (1735-1822); Banker in the Strand.

"I have a prospect of a pretty full and good anniversary for Thomson on the 22nd of September; and wish to crown his bust with laurel at Ednam. I wrote to Cooper¹ in Charles Street St. James's to call at Flaxman's² the plaister figure man in the Strand to see what he would take...(for).... a cast of Thomson's bust...in Westminster Abbey but finding he asked eight guineas I am not rich enough to sport so much for a day. I wish a score of our countrymen of taste could be found to club for casts of the Bust in which case Flaxman writes he would let me have one for a guinea and a half. If you can find a leisure hour you would oblige me by trying to overcome this difficulty which if it cannot be done I must content myself crowning the Seasons".

Coutts generously presented him with the cast he wanted, so that the ceremony should not lack dignity, but it was "broken in a midnight frolick", and Buchan had to resort to "imposing a wreath of laurel.....on a copy of the Seasons"³.

The copy Buchan crowned is now in the library of Edinburgh University. A first edition⁴, it had passed to Buchan from his father who had himself been given it "by Andrew Millar as from the author"⁵.

Buchan enclosed the book in a handsome wooden box with a picture of the Seasons on the lid, and the following inscription underneath:

"To the College of King James the Sixth at Edin^x.
from the Earl of Buchan. March 21st. 1808."

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1. Richard Cooper (1740?-1814?); painter and engraver.
 2. John Flaxman, R.A. (1755-1826); sculptor.
 3. Essay....., pp. 242-243.
 4. The Seasons, a Hymn, a Poem to the memory of Sir Isaac Newton, and Britannia, a poem. Printed by J. Millar. London, 1730.
 5. Buchan made this note in the book.

Some might have found Buchan's ceremony ostentatious, but he was obviously far from satisfied that he had done all that he could. If he had been wealthy he would probably have paid for the proposed monument himself, but it seems that his enthusiasm did not overcome his cautious attitude to expenditure. By now he could hardly have been a poor man, but the habit of economy into which he had been forced after he succeeded his father was probably too deeply rooted to permit any rash outlay. As far as public subscription was concerned, he had been made aware of the Scottish public's disinclination to part with money when the Antiquarian Society had been unable to keep its museum.

Having now publicly espoused Thomson's cause, he sent copies of his "Eulogy of Thomson", delivered when he performed the crowning ceremony on Ednam Hill, to the Scots Magazine¹ and The Gentleman's Magazine²: By doing so he attracted a very widespread attention to what he thought could and should be done for Thomson. The danger of such an action is that charges of vainglory are liable to be made. While Buchan was anxious to see something done for Thomson's memory, he was probably not averse to seeing his own name and activities in print.

He was soon approached for assistance in "preparing a new and collated edition of Thomson's Works, with a more correct

1. vol.53(1791),p.574.

2. vol.61(1791),p.1019.

account of his life than has hitherto appeared"¹. Dr. James Bell of Coldstream² wrote to ask Buchan for advice and any unpublished ms. items relevant to this proposed edition³. In a letter of 10 June, 1791⁴, Bell acknowledged Buchan's help, and mentioned that he himself had been amassing information and papers. Buchan enlisted Coutts' assistance in the hunt for anything likely to be helpful, in a letter of 8 July, 1791⁵:

"Being very intent on illustrating the life of Thomson whose works Dr. Bell of Coldstream is preparing a new edition collated and with various readings, I must beg of you to send me down what original Letters of the poet or what authentick copies you can procure if the originals can not be had, that I may use them for the Biography of my excellent Countryman. Perhaps among Dr. Armstrong's⁶ papers some may be found & these I should particularly wish for".

Buchan himself published his Essay on the Genius, Character, and Writings of James Thomson in 1792. It was unfortunate that, in view of his professed admiration for that poet's work and character, he chose to fulminate against the government at such length, for by doing so he must have given the impression that his respect for Thomson was less than it was. It is odd that he should have treated the book as an

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1. Essay.....,p.209,n.
 2. Thomson's nephew.
 3. Bell does not appear to have published.
 4. E.U.L.Mss. Ia II 330.
 5. N.L.S.MS.3391,f.7.
 6. John Armstrong (ca.1709-1779); physician and poet; friend of Thomson.

opportunity for airing yet again his political views. One concludes that he was so deeply engrossed in his sustained opposition to Pitt that everything had to be subordinated to it. As a biographer he had too many obvious shortcomings.

In 1792 he extended the scope of his operations by making what he considered a pilgrimage to Richmond Church to place over the grave of Thomson a brass tablet with the following inscription:

"In the earth below this tablet are the remains of James Thomson, author of the beautiful poem, intituled, The Seasons, The Castle of Indolence, and etc., who died at Richmond, August 22nd., 1748, and was buried here the 29th., 1748.O.S. The Earl of Buchan, unwilling that so good a man and sweet a poet should be without a memorial, has denoted the place of his interment for the satisfaction of his admirers, in the year of our Lord, 1792".¹

In addition, Buchan had six lines from "The Seasons" engraved under the inscription. If he had done honour to the grave of Thomson, he had also made certain that all would know he was responsible.

Buchan referred to this action in his diary²:

"In erecting or rather placing on the Grave of Thomson in Richmond Church a Monumental inscription I wished not only to preserve the Classical remembrance of the real place of his Sepulture but from the great resort of people to Richmond I meant to attract the continual attention of the English Nation to the Poet of Nature & of Liberty.- From this I thought even in the first instance

1. In Nichols: Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol.6, p.893.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

some good consequences might be expected and I was not deceived.

Many sentimental visits have been paid to the Tomb of the Poet who described in glowing Verse how the Rights of the People of Britain might be sapped and Overthrown by Corruption".

Buchan's critical faculties could hardly have been of the highest if he thought that posterity would accord to Thomson's poem "Liberty" the acclaim he thought it deserved. In his "Life of Thomson", Samuel Johnson had dismissed the poem as unreadable, a judgment which was accepted as readily as many of his other pronouncements, and it may be that Buchan was trying to redress the balance. Since he used the Essay on Thomson for a political purpose, he was virtually compelled to do so.

Buchan himself was to make a "Sentimental" visit to Richmond:

"I visited (Richmond Church) with a small group of poetic amateurs on Old Xtmass day 1802 being the birth day of Sir Isaac Newton whose grave and monument we visited in Westminster Abbey on our progress to those of Thomson"¹.

Of this visit Charles Lamb wrote in a letter of 9 January, 1802, to Rickman²:

"my Lord of Buchan went on Thursday last to Richmond in the Long Coach to pay...devotions to the shrine of Thomson! The coldest day in the year. Enough to cool a Jerusalem-Padder".

Lamb was highly delighted to have met Buchan and looked forward eagerly to breakfasting with him. Although he referred to him

1. N.L.S.Ms.1676,ff.250-253, "Address to the Ednam Club".

2. E.V.Lucas: The Life of Charles Lamb, London, 1921, vol.1,p.274.

as a "mad Lord", it is obvious how much pleasure Buchan's visit had given, for he adds:

"O human nature! human nature! for my part I have told every Body, how I had an Earl come to see me".

His friend, George Dyer¹, had brought Buchan to his house, where his sister, Mary, "was washing - a pretty pickle to receive an Earl in!" There is something delightfully incongruous about Buchan's having made a long, uncomfortable, and arduous journey at the age of sixty to visit Thomson's grave, and graciously ignoring the awkwardness he found at the Lambs' home. It is probable that Lamb and Buchan were attracted to each other, for in some respects they had much in common, such as delight in curiosities.

After he had published the Essay, in 1792, Buchan obviously expected a prompt response to his suggestion that a definitive biography was needed. In this, however, he was disappointed. He must have had a very sanguine disposition, for on almost every occasion that he indicated the need for some literary undertaking there was no response. Repeated disappointment seems to have had no effect on his optimism. He had been corresponding with Alexander Stephens² since March, 1800, at least, and had conceived a good opinion of his literary merit. He must have suggested that Stephens set to work

1. (1755-1841); writer.

2. (1757-1821); biographer.

to prepare for the press a biography of Thomson, for on 2 March, 1800¹, Stephens thanked him for sending mss. relating to the poet, and indicated that when he finished the task he was engaged on he might turn to the book Buchan wanted. He does not appear to have found the time necessary, but Buchan kept him informed of his own activities. This is apparent from his acknowledging, in a letter of 13 September, 1812¹, the receipt of a note from Buchan dealing with the "honours to the Shade of Thomson".

These were probably what Buchan wrote to Dr. Robert Anderson² on 24 September, 1812³:

"Enough has been done for Thomson in the way of Marble & Stone his grave has been duly honoured by the Tablet of Brass in the Church at Richmond, his statue by a good Artist placed in Westminster Abbey by the sale of his Book in the year 1762. The Bust and Seasons have been crowned on Ednam hill. The fine edition of Seasons presented by himself to my Father accompanied by some of his Original Mss, particularly that addressed to his Amanda & his Tears on the death of his Mother and his Elegy on Aikman the painter were placed by me in a box.....presented to the University of Edn. by me with 2 keys one for the principal of the College and one for the Librarian.....

Besides all those memorials everybody knows that his Bust surmounts the Temple of the Muses at Dryburgh Abbey".

Buchan had a drawing of the "Temple of the Muses" reproduced on the title-page of his Anonymus and Fugitive Essays. It is rather a beautiful monument, although it has suffered from

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. Editor and biographer of The British Poets. (1751-1830).

3. N.L.S.Adv.Ms. 22.4.13, p.56.

vandalism, and has obviously been neglected for many years. At the present day there is nothing to show who erected it or for what purpose. Buchan's description of it, as it was, follows:

"On the outside, over the centre, a beautiful imitation, in stone, of the Lyre of Terpsichore, found in the ruins of Herculaneum, is surmounted by a Bust of Thomson, also cut in stone. The whole structure, including the sculpture, is the work of Mr. John Smith of Darnick..... (The temple consists of) nine open columns of the Ionic Order, of the free stone of Dryburgh, which, from its sombre hue, is admirably calculated for purposes of this nature. These pillars are covered and connected by a canopy of solid stone; and on the capital of each column respectively is inscribed in large metallic characters, done in relief, the name of one of the nine Muses".¹

It was probably Buchan's best tribute to the memory of Thomson.

This letter was not just a report on what Buchan had done over the space of twenty two years. Ostensibly he had written to Anderson to express his sympathy over the death of his daughter, but most of the letter was about Thomson. Buchan suggested that Anderson seek solace in hard work:

"What remains to be done (for Thomson) ought to be performed by the Biographer of Smollett, the Poet next in merit tho not in fame to Thomson, and if it be not accomplished I think it will be regretted hereafter by the Biographers of the said Smollett. There are ample materials for you now to give an ample Biography of Thomson accompanied with his most interesting literary and friendly correspondence and I expect it from you.-
If you undertake it I will allow my original portrait of him by Slaughter which was allowed by his acquaintance to be the most characteristic of any done for him to be engraved for yr. Book and

1. N.L.S.Ms.1676, pp.38-39.

I can also procure for you.....Letters that will be extremely interesting to the Publick.

I wish you to think of such things & not only to think of them but bestir yourself."

It is very unlikely that Anderson was flattered by Buchan's letter and virtual demand at this time. Buchan's advice about forgetting grief in work might be construed as well meant, but his obvious anxiety to see a biography worthy of Thomson rather precludes such a conclusion. It is a good example of the exaggerated importance he attached to whatever he felt enthusiastic about. For years before he wrote this letter he had been obsessed with the idea that his death was imminent, and this goes some way towards explaining his forceful letter. In it he referred to this conviction; writing of his recent attendance at the Ednam Club's anniversary celebration of Thomson's birth, he said:

"It is more than probable I shall never be there again tho I was named from respect to fill the chair on the next anniversary".

He did. in fact, "fill the chair" in 1813, but his fear was understandable in view of his great age. He may even have been anxious that his "Fete" in 1812 should be as remarkable as possible, since it would probably be his last chance to glorify Thomson.

On 22 September he addressed the Ednam Club, but his customary eulogy¹ had nothing new, for he had said all he could on the subject, many times before. Over a third of it was devoted to singing the praises of Thomson's mother. The main topic of

1. N.L.S.MS.1676, ff.86-87a.

the address was the possibility of having a mural monument to Thomson placed in the parish church at Ednam. He was aware that a monument on Ednam hill would cost more than he thought Scotsmen would subscribe, so he modified his desires and selected, for the benefit of the Club's members, a sketch for a mural by Sir Joshua Reynolds. He suggested also that "a Statuery Bust" by Mr. John Smith of Darnick, executed from Slaughter's portrait of Thomson, might be commissioned and placed in the church.

Buchan had broached this subject to the minister at Kelso, the Rev. Robert Lundie¹, in a letter of 2 September, 1813²:

"Some few days ago I communicated to the Revd. Minister of Ednam my opinion respecting a monument or Cenotaph to the memory of the Author of the Seasons in his native parish to which I refer you for the detail of it..... I am decidedly for a mural monument.....
The sketch is by my artist John Smith junr. of Darnick who proposes if it shall be agreeable to the Subscribers to the undertaking to execute it in Statuary marble the Bust of the Poet to be modelled and done from the original picture by Slaughter.....
If you think it proper the Sketch herewith sent may ly at the Book society of Kelso's room to be viewed by those who desire to see it and afterwards to be presented to the meeting at Ednam on the twenty second instant".

Since Anderson had not acceded to Buchan's wishes about composing a biography, Buchan wrote to him on 25 October, 1813²:

"I have endeavoured to lay a fund here for acquiring more of the interesting Correspondence of Thomson with his Papers & Prints the fruits of which may come forth hereafter".

1. (1774-1832).

2. N.L.S.Adv.MS.22.4.13,p.58.

The tone of this suggests that Anderson had unequivocally stated that he had so much work on hand that he could not contemplate working at Thomson's biography. This suspicion is strengthened by what Buchan wrote to Anderson, on 1 November, 1814¹:

"I send.....a parcel for the Depot in which you will observe a final letter from Mr. Thomas Park² of Hampstead on the subject of the proposed Memoirs of the Bard of Ednam with his hitherto uncollected works & correspondence with persons of eminence, & as Mr. Park has declined the Task I hope when yr. present undertaking is finished you will fulfill it".

Buchan's anxiety for Robert Anderson to undertake the "Task" rather than anyone else is easily understood. For many years Anderson's house in Edinburgh was a literary centre, so that he would have been well acquainted with likely helpers other than Buchan. He was, apparently, amiable and kindly, and had shown, like Buchan, a readiness to help literary "Unknowns". For Thomas Campbell he had found a publisher willing to risk handling his early poems. These qualities would have won Buchan's respect, but even more important for Buchan was the fact that Anderson had already done good work in editing A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain³, and furnishing biographical and critical notices. His merit had been recognised by Percy, for whom Buchan had entertained a high regard, and they had corresponded regularly. Buchan virtually regarded Anderson's failure to deal with Thomson as a tragedy.

1. N.L.S.Adv.Ms.22.4.13,p.66.

2. (1759-1834); antiquarian and bibliographer.

3. (1792-95).

Amongst the many things he wrote and said about Thomson is a stray reference in a commonplace book¹. In a list of famous Scotsmen such as George Buchanan, Napier of Merchiston, and Watt, he included Thomson, saying he would "hold up to the world as a poet James Thomson". In some ways this tribute is deeper and sincerer than any other Buchan paid his memory.

Despite all he had done, it can scarcely be claimed that Buchan earned immortality for Thomson. He was not the first to call out poetry in Thomson's memory, nor was he the first to hold anniversary celebrations. If his "fete" was remarkable for its extravagance, so were the festivities of "The Knights Companions of the Cape". His "Temple of the Muses" stands neglected and defaced at the present time. There is nothing to suggest the part he played in keeping Thomson's memory alive in the monument which eventually was erected on Ednam hill. At best, his success was only partial, for he relied on those with much less enthusiasm to accomplish what he should have done.

Buchan probably did not attend the ceremony of laying the first stone of the obelisk that still stands on Ednam hill. He would have appreciated everything that happened, for the scene was reminiscent of the earlier celebrations in Edinburgh in its enthusiasm, and akin to his "fete" of 1812. Morel describes it².

1. G.U.L. Mss.

2. op.cit., p.191.

"Toutes les loges maçonniques des environs
s'étaient réunies, et marchèrent de Kelso
à Ednam en un cortège précédé d'une fanfare".

Since Thomson himself had been admitted to the brotherhood of
Masons in 1737¹, it was appropriate that the foundation stone
should have been laid by the Master of the St. John's Lodge
at Kelso. The Monument bears a simple inscription:

Erected
In Memory of
James Thomson
Author of The Seasons
Born at Ednam
11th September
A.D. 1700

Oddly, the annual commemoration at Ednam ended in 1819. The
cult of Thomson ended, inexplicably, as suddenly as it had
begun. In its way it was as much a phenomenon as the
astonishing cult of Burns. Fortunately for Buchan's peace of
mind he would have been unaware that his idol was to lapse
into obscurity.

1. Morel, op.cit., p.191 n.

CHAPTER VIThe Hermit of Dryburgh. (1812-1819).

With the publication of his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays Buchan made his last venture in authorship. He contemplated a second volume consisting mainly of articles reprinted from The Bee, but owing to his advanced age it never appeared in print. From 1813 until his death he seems to have been indifferent to most things that had nothing to do with his private world at Dryburgh. Gone was most of the old, characteristic enthusiasm. It can be argued, of course, that he considered his life's work done. He had opposed with some success the corrupt methods of electing Scots peers; he had produced his "specimen" of biography in his "Life" of Napier; Thomson the Poet had been eulogised in great measure; an Iconographia Scotica had been produced, largely thanks to his interest; he had done his share in promoting useful knowledge by his contributions to The Bee; he had founded a Scottish Antiquarian Society and guided it through its early years, and at almost the same time given encouragement to the one at Perth; the Morisons at Perth had received help from him in their attempts to produce high quality printing; his work as a patron of scholars and artists had been extensive; the important task of restoring his family's fortunes had been accomplished.

Although he could contemplate ruefully the failure of some projects, such as the "Glasgow Anecdotes", he could never-

theless feel that his life had been energetic and useful. Had he played a prominent political role he could not have entertained such a multiplicity of pursuits.

The Second Volume of Fugitive Essays

Buchan's intended second volume, entitled "The Fugitive" and "Literary Correspondence of the Earl of Buchan collected from various periodical works"¹ was hardly a new departure. This, in itself, is revealing, for it suggests Buchan had nothing new to communicate. The bulk of the volume was made up of contributions he had made to The Bee over twenty years before. He selected seventy items, dealing with widely divergent topics such as historical anecdotes, imaginary conversations involving Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, the address of an Indian Chief to the Lord Cornwallis, "Verses on Education", and the state of America. Much is of an ephemeral character. Twenty nine other items completed the work, and they include historical documents such as "The Last Legacies of Dame Annabele Murray (Countess of Mar)", a note on Sir Thomas Browne, "Sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. Walter Minto", "A Latin epitaph for David Doig LL.D.", "Verses: On the Earl of Buchan's Birth-Day", and letters to Buchan from men such as Sir David Dalrymple, Horace Walpole, and Thomas Coutts.

The chief interest of such a book would have lain in

1. E.U.L.Mss. La D.K.2.12. (vide pp. 471-475).

the light it threw on the character of its author.

During the last seventeen years of his life Buchan even seems to have lost his interest in corresponding extensively. The flood of letters to Dr. Robert Anderson became a trickle, and the few that exist are but poor examples of the extensive correspondence Buchan carried on with him. Almost the only purposeful correspondence he carried on in the years between 1813 and 1818 was that with James Stevenson Harvie, the miniaturist.

The reasons for his altered attitude are easily found. Chiefly, his age, made him disinclined to fling himself with his former enthusiasm into new schemes. Lady Buchan's health was so frail that he had to spend the winter of 1813 at Dryburgh Abbey, apparently for the first time in the twenty five years he had resided there. She seems to have grown increasingly delicate until her sudden unexpected death on 11 May, 1819. Whenever Buchan mentioned his wife, it was in the most affectionate terms, and her growing weakness must have weighed heavily on him.

Such guests as he entertained at Dryburgh seem to have been either relations or a very few close friends. In the summer of 1813, for example, he invited his grand niece Rachel,¹ and her

1. (d.1850).

husband John James Masquerier¹ who wrote to Buchan on 5 November, 1813, to thank him for his kind interest. Buchan had apparently equipped him with introductory letters likely to assist him in his work. Buchan obviously appreciated his company, for on the letter he noted:

"He is a good Artist and a very clever well informed Gentleman He and his wife paid me two short visits here this summer on a trip to Aberdeen when I recommended to him a new line of portrait painting which I call biographical".

Buchan seems to have had more than just the idea of work similar to that of the Iconographia Scotica in mind, for he went on:

"I would have always some family event or some circumstance of real life to be chosen for the representation on canvas, by which means family pictures if well painted would certainly escape the garrett to which as they are commonly done they are infallibly destined".

His interest in the "Depot" had either flagged, or he had virtually exhausted his stock of suitable manuscripts, for on 25 October, 1813², he wrote to Robert Anderson, mentioning the "scanty" additions he had made to it "of late", giving as a reason his "other occupations". About this time he made an "excursion to Linlithgowshire and Clydesdale"³, apparently for the sake of relaxation, and the preparations would probably have occupied him for some length of time.

There is a desultory air about his activities in 1813,

1. Painter (1778-1855)

2. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 22.4.13, p58.

3. Mentioned in a letter of 28 October, 1813, (E.U.L.Mss.La II 588), to an unidentified correspondent.

a seeming lack of purpose or sustained interest in anything. This is very pronounced in his letter of 1 November, 1813¹, to the Earl of Kinnoull. Why Buchan should have chosen to seek information about the Perth Antiquarian Society after so many years is difficult to understand, unless one concluded time hung heavily for him when he had no outstanding project to contemplate.

It is as if he had become aware of this lack by 1814, for in that year he recaptured for himself some of the old pleasure his efforts at eulogising Thomson had given him. On 22nd September he "dedicated" his Wallace statue. He was so pleased with this event, despite its injudicious practical joke which spoilt the effect, that he sent identical reports of the ceremony to The Gentleman's Magazine², The Caledonian Mercury³, and The Kelso Mail⁴. Savouring the old delights of flamboyant ceremonial perhaps, he held a festival on 15 October. The highlight of this was the crowning of a bust of Robert Burns "at the feet of Wallace's Colossal Statue".

Of just as much moment for him in 1814 was the beginning of a correspondence with James Stevenson Harvie⁵ which was to last until 1819, but it is significant that he himself did not make the first move.

1. vide p. 114.

2. Vol. 84, p. 631.

3. pr. Thursday, 29 September, 1814.

4. pr. Monday, 26 September, 1814.

5. Miniaturist.

The Correspondence with James Stevenson Harvie.

After his unsatisfactory dealings with Pinkerton over the Iconographia Scotica, and the disappointment caused by the poor quality of that work, Buchan was still aware that there was much work to be done in the field of iconography. He had probably given up hope of anything further being done in the matter during his lifetime when James Stevenson Harvie wrote to him on 6 October, 1814¹. Lord Breadalbane² had commissioned him, he informed Buchan, to execute miniatures of all the members of the Royal House of Stuart. This was the first occasion on which Harvie had mentioned Breadalbane's name in connection with this business, and he had done so at his desire.

The letter was highly complimentary:

"Lord Breadalbane in his final ans^r. to me says. 'I should wish in the work in contemplation to be guided a good deal by the opinion & advice of Lord Buchan who has much studied Antiquities of this nature. Mr. Harvie will therefore immediately commence the work being guided by the opinion of Lord Buchan in the selection of the portraits he is to copy that the work may bear the character of the most correct authenticity.'
My Lord this seems to me to be a high compliment to your Lordship but not higher than you justly merit as a Connoisseur----. However I trust I may with firm confidence rely upon your Lordships friendship and most cordial co-operation so far as your advice and opinion may be useful to me & not so much on my Account as on the Account of Lord Breadalbane & in particular on the Account of the Royal & Illustrious House of Stuart for a more

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1. All the James Stevenson Harvie Mss. are in P.M.L. Mss., Mary Stuart Collection.
 2. John Campbell, 4th Earl and 1st Marquis (1762-1834).

venerable & interesting Family never swayed the Sceptre of any Empire and it is particularly desirable as there never has been a complete series assembled in one collection that this important object of Antiquary be carried into effect before any of the old portraits authentic be destroyed by time or otherwise lost by casualty for ever to posterity."

Such a tribute to his disinterestedness and knowledge must have been very agreeable to Buchan after Pinkerton's ingratitude. Even without it, Buchan would obviously have acceded to Breadalbane's request.

Buchan set to work to draw up a list, and it contained thirty one pictures. He had only two portraits himself, those of James I and James IV, and these he readily made available to Harvie. He invited Harvie to stay at Dryburgh Abbey whilst he copied them, for Harvie thanked him in a letter of 25 July, 1815. Buchan was consulted whenever the whereabouts of a necessary portrait was in doubt, and it was in this way that he was able to give the greatest amount of help.

The work proceeded rather slowly, for Harvie was occupied with other commissions. In his letter of 25 July he remarked that he was to paint portraits of George III, the Prince Regent, Wellington, and Nelson for "the decoration of the Town Hall of Greenock". On 21 April, 1816, he mentioned that he was about to begin a commission for Princess Elizabeth, the painting of two members "of the Brunswick family". Buchan was probably annoyed at the interruption of the Stuart series, but

it would have been difficult for Harvie to refuse a royal request. Furthermore, he had an eye to business, for the Princess was toying with the idea of having a "collection of the Brunswick family from the King & Queen of Bohemia to the present time". Buchan could not afford to engage a painter, or he would undoubtedly have promoted the work himself, so he must have governed his feelings.

Breadalbane himself does not seem to have worried over the delay, but he was twenty years younger than Buchan, and by leaving the superintendence of the work to him indicated that his enthusiasm for the scheme was much less. His chief interest lay in the improvement of his large estates, and this he took so seriously that in 1805 "he received the gold medal of the Society of Arts for his success in planting forty-four acres of waste land".¹ Unlike Buchan, he was a very rich man, and he would scarcely have worried about the failure of this scheme through lack of funds. Buchan had seen favourite projects collapse from the scarcity of money, and he may have feared that once again he would be involved in a fiasco.

It was not until 23 April, 1818, that Harvie finally sent Buchan a list of the series which he had completed. It detailed thirty six paintings, with a note of the whereabouts of each painting. On 27 May, 1818, Harvie wrote to say that

1. Anderson's Scottish Nation, vol.I, p.377.

Lord Breadalbane had just returned from the Continent and made further claim on Buchan:

"He desires me to write to your Lordship to have your opinion with regard to the best mode of putting up the collection so as to effectually secure & preserve the pictures."

Allowing for the time required for the execution of the scheme, Buchan must have felt a peculiar satisfaction. This showed itself in the readiness with which he agreed to support Harvie in his desire to paint a "Brunswick series" as envisaged by Princess Elizabeth in 1816. Breadalbane, like Buchan, probably had much less enthusiasm for this idea, but Harvie put forward an argument to Buchan in his letter of 27 May:

"it would be but a just compliment to the Reigning family, would also take from the other Part of the work that Scotchmanlike air of Partiality & rescue it from the sneers of the English".

Since he envisaged only "eight or ten pictures" his reasoning is not very valid, and it was probably his desire to be commissioned for the work which impelled him to seek Buchan's aid.

Pleased with the complete series, Breadalbane was delighted with Buchan's advice about "putting up the collection". Buchan presumably wrote to him, suggesting he finance the "Brunswick series", for on 24 August, 1818, Harvie wrote:

"I had the Honor of laying Lord Breadalbanes collection of Stuarts complete before the Prince Regent at Carleton House in June last;

He was much gratified with the sight, & Lord Breadalbanes intention of adding the House of Hanover was very much approved".

A further letter of 2 March, 1819, from Harvie asked Buchan to do some antiquarian research on the subject of letters from Queen Annabella Drummond to King Richard II. Buchan had promised to enquire when he next went to stay in Edinburgh, where he would have "better opportunities of information" than at Dryburgh. It is doubtful if Buchan ever did carry out his promise. He was very old by now, and planning to spend part of the summer in Sussex. His wife's death, on 11 May, resulted in his total withdrawal for over a year from his normal activities, and in the suspension of his correspondence.

Having resumed a more active life, he considered the value of publishing a book about Alexander Murray¹, with a selection from his manuscripts. Murray was a self-taught philologist who had edited a new edition of Bruce's Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile which was published in 1805 by Archibald Constable². James Bruce³, the author, seems to have been unknown, personally, to Buchan, and it is doubtful if that self-assertive and dictatorial character would have aroused much affection on Buchan's part. His account of his remarkable journey to, and stay in, Abyssinia between 1768 and 1771 was derided by D.^r Johnson, among others, although subsequent

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1. (1775-1813). Minister of Urr, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright (1808-1812); Professor of Oriental Languages in Edinburgh University (1812-1813).
 2. (1774-1827); publisher in Edinburgh.
 3. Famous traveller (1730-1794).

investigation has borne out most of what he said.

Since Murray had worked for the publishing House of Constable, Buchan began corresponding in the summer of 1815 with Edward Constable¹. On 13 May, 1815², he wrote:

"I have a communication with Mr. Herries³ of Spottis on the subject of Professor Murrays MS. of which you were so good as to take a charge & I believe Mr. Herries would be willing along with Dr. Anderson (who is possessed of several papers of the late Professor) to superintend the publication. I have written to the Revd. Principal Baird on this business & hope you are now possessed of the Manuscript of P. Murray that the book may go to the Press quam primum".

He wrote again to Edward Constable, on 15 May, 1815², on the subject, suggesting he attempt to raise an "honourable Subscription for his Philological work", and in a letter of 18 June, 1815², he introduced Herries to Edward Constable. He explained:

"Mr. Herries with whose agreeable company we have been favoured for some days past as the () will deliver this letter to you and have some conversation on the subject of Professor Murrays Mss which ought certainly to be mentioned again to the literary publick & a trial made of feeling its pulse for publication by the printing of a Memoir with a few of his smaller pieces to which should be prefixed an Etching of his portrait which the most proper to exhibit his likeness would be attended with small expence".

The work Buchan envisaged was probably the History of European Languages, which was published in 1823, under the auspices of Sir Henry Moncrieff and the Reverend D.^r Scot of Corstorphine.

1. Bookseller in Edinburgh.
2. L.U.L.Mss. Brotherton Collection.
3. An architect.

It seems, then; that Buchan's wishes were gratified, though not quite as he had envisaged. After this, Buchan devoted no more of his life to any ambitious project other than assisting Harvie.

His letter of 21 March, 1816¹, to Thomas Coutts, is in a subdued vein:

"considering the un-interrupted friendship which has subsisted betwixt us for more than half a century I am desirous you should gratify me with placing your Effigies in the domestic departments of my collection of portraits at Dryburgh Abbey, & considering the comfort you derive from a worthy companion in your old age it would be an additional favour if Mrs. Coutts were placed on the same canvas.

Your kindness to me thro so long a course of time & amidst so many difficulties has often brought into my mind the pleasure I should receive by inscribing on the back of such a picture the place you hold in the affect. regard of my dear Friend yours sincerely

Buchan."

Coutts had replied, asking for the size of the portrait he wanted, for Buchan again wrote him on the subject on 26 April, 1816²,

"(my) collection.... is not one consisting of family portraits but of such individuals as have been eminent in all the various departments of Life in the native country of the Founder of it & particularly of such as have been connected with the worthies that compose the series.

The pictures also are of the closet size & displaced in contiguity with those I allude to in which case yr. portrait adjoining to those of Thomson & Armstrong & Hume would not be liable to objection."

1. N.L.S. Ms. 3391, f.53.

2. Ibid., f.59.

Coutts must have been sensible of Buchan's compliment, a very high one, for Buchan thanked him in a letter of 26 May, 1816¹, for agreeing to have a portrait painted. It is amusing that in the letter of 26 April Buchan should have suggested the painter:

"M^r. Masquerier-44 Green Street Grosvenor Square who married Lady Buchan's niece the daughter of Duncan Forbes Mitchel Sir Andrew yr. old friends heir would execute the picture I would wish for excellently & I recommend him greatly as the Artist for the performance in question".

Perhaps he believed in making the matter a purely family one!

Since Buchan was soon to say his last words on Washington and America, on 22 February, 1817, he must have been agreeably surprised to receive a diploma from the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, dated 12 July, 1816. But by now he was little impressed by such tokens, for he presented it to the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh.

An interesting and delightful picture of Buchan about this time is found in the Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus²:

"He lived very near us, and came in most mornings in his shepherd's plaid, with his long white hair flowing over his shoulders, to give me lessons in behaviour. If he were pleased he would bring out some curiosity from his pockets--- a tooth of Queen Mary's, a bone of James the Fifth--- imaginary relics he set great store by".

1. N.L.S.Ms. 3391, f.61.

2. ed. by Lady Strachey: Memoirs of a Highland Lady, London 1928, p.311.

It was so characteristic that the lessons should have been in "behaviour", but, unfortunately, his eccentricity left a greater impression. One feels that by now his fire was almost burnt out, and that his flickering enthusiasm would show itself in idiosyncratic behaviour.

He went ahead, however, with his plans for the "Address to the Americans", writing near the end of the year to Andrew Bigelow, an American in Edinburgh, to ask for the names and addresses of all American citizens then resident in Edinburgh. Bigelow dutifully supplied him with the desired information in a letter of 1 January, 1817¹.

Slight as the "Address" was, it must have cost him much trouble, for his wife was then in a poor state of health. Rachel Masquerier's letter of 26 February, 1817², indicates Buchan had recently written to her about his wife. On 26 March, 1817³, Buchan wrote to Coutts, mentioning that his wife was "somewhat recovered from a slight paralytic affection on her right side".

Part of this letter has a pathetic note:

"Except the late eminent Earl of Chatham & my own Parents & preceptor you are the only individual in the world to whom I have been beneficially indebted. Yet there is not nor ever was a spark or symptom of Misanthropy in my mind or conduct nor even in my conversation".

1. N.L.S.Ms. 3873, p.272.

2. G.U.L.Mss.

3. N.L.S.Mss. 3391, f.63.

Since Coutts was the only living member of those he mentioned, Buchan must have felt a marked sense of loss, and even of loneliness, for the letter is in an unusual vein.

He was not yet sunk in the apathy which enshrouded his life after his wife's death. Learning that David Constable¹ was planning a Continental Tour, Buchan wrote to him on 25 July, 1817²:

"As I learn from your worthy Father that you are just about to make an excursion for about three months to the Continent by the way of Hamburgh, Berlin, Leipsic, Dresden, Vienna, &c to return by the way of Holland, and being desirous of promoting the design of your journey by means of those who are of my acquaintance in the places thro which you are to pass I have thought it most convenient with this view to send you this general letter of my approbation and good wishes, rather than to particular individuals who may not happen to be resident in the places where you may pass, & I flatter myself that this expression of my esteem and regard for you will prove usefull to you & that the Ministers and Consuls for trade of my country & the men of letters who have been formerly of my correspondence will prove favourable to your views".

This letter is reminiscent of the younger Buchan's correspondence, with its talk of foreign friends. He must have remembered his own disappointed hopes of going on the "Grand Tour", but he refrained from remarking upon them. His mood was cheerful, probably because his wife's health had temporarily improved.

On 6 August, 1817³, he wrote a long letter to Coutts.

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1. (1795-1866); Archibald Constable's son.
 2. N.L.S.MS.1006,f.84.
 3. N.L.S.MS.3391,f.67.

Inspired by the receipt of the picture of Mr. and Mrs. Coutts, he waxed eloquent over his arrangement of it:

"I have ordered the portraits to be hung up in our favourite Parlour here commonly called Lady Buchan's Parlour having been added by her to the house about 25 years ago and looks towards the ruins of the antient Abbey which are very picturesque, & as it may amuse you I shall here mention the various pictures & portraits which it contains".

At considerable length he detailed all the pictures in the "favourite Parlour". The collection he kept in this room was sufficiently remarkable, for portraits of eminent Scotsmen rubbed shoulders with a Leonardo da Vinci, and a Raphael reproduction near a view of Lake Windermere "as seen from Troutbeck". There was even room for a small collection of miniatures "adjoining over the chimney piece"! Presumably Buchan found a pleasure in crowding together what he would have considered old friends now that he was so very old himself. The garrulous cheerfulness of this long letter is explained by the conclusion:

"Lady Buchan who continues considerably better in health than she was formerly unites with me in kind regards to Mrs. Coutts & yr.self".

If his mind was set at ease with regard to his wife, his peace of mind was not to endure long. On 9 October, 1817¹, he wrote to inform Coutts that his younger brother, Henry, had died. Fergusson noted²:

1. N.L.S.Ms.3391,f.71.

2. op.cit.,pp.532-533.

"The Earl of Buchan, in his grief for the loss of his brother, in a manner characteristic of himself, but not the less real, finding his own language inadequate for the expression of his feelings, had recourse to that of Cicero, and exclaimed-

' Mihi quidem frater meus, quanquam nunc ereptus, vivet, tamen, semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius fratris, quae extincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habeo, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis! Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna, aut natura tribuit, nihil habui, quod cum amicitia fratris mei possim comparare'¹."

A further source of sorrow to Buchan was that Henry's widow was left ill-provided for.

Some time before, in August, Buchan had paid for the chain bridge over the Tweed, near Dryburgh Abbey, and had had the mortification of seeing it destroyed by a storm in January, 1818. With a cheerfulness he must have been far from feeling, he paid for its re-building. This was in accordance with his determination not to be overwhelmed by his troubles. In his letter of 28 November, 1817¹, to Coutts he wrote: "to be busy is to be happy". He seems to have been sincere about this, for to Coutts he again wrote on 6 January, 1818²:

"Lady Buchan who I am sorry to say is still very infirm desires to unite with me in kind regards to you & your exemplary Spouse.

Perhaps we may be able next summer to sail as long ago to London to accept of yr. invitation to Holly Lodge".

They never did accept the "invitation", for at the beginning of the next summer Lady Buchan died.

1. N.L.S.Ms. 3391, f. 77.

2. Ibid. f. 82.

Buchan never recovered from the shock of her sudden death, particularly since he had been in England at the time. He lost all heart, and became very withdrawn. For a time he was probably not quite in command of himself, and this would explain, partially, the extraordinary scene described with such relish by Lockhart¹. Buchan, having heard that Sir Walter Scott was dying, virtually forced his way into Scott's house, and was prevented from entering the sick room only by means of force. It transpired that Buchan had come to see Scott "to relieve his mind as to the arrangements of his funeral". He had prepared a "plan.....for the procession", and intended to "pronounce a eulogium over the grave". Lockhart's comment was that Buchan was the "silliest and vainest of busy-bodies".

Buchan had done many things which were open to charges of eccentricity, but he had never gone so far in the search for fame. It is tempting to conclude that his private grief led him into such a ridiculous situation. About this time, but obviously before his wife's death, Lockhart had attended a "rout" where he saw Buchan. He has left a splendid picture of him²:

"His lordship came into the room with a quick and hurried step which one would not have expected from the venerable appearance of his white hairs-

1. Life of Scott, vol.6, pp.90-92.

2, Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk, vol.1. pp.304-305.

the finest white hairs, by the way, I ever saw, and curling in beautiful ringlets all down his shoulders.....I do not remember to have seen a more exquisite old head.....The features are all perfect; but the greatest beauty is in his clear blue eyes, which are chased in his head in a way that might teach something to the best sculptor in the world. Neither is there any want of expression in these fine features.....The person of the old Earl is also very good; his legs, in particular, are well shaped, and wonderfully muscular in their appearance, considering their length of service".

Since he demonstrated remarkable energy in discussing "the new plan for a Grand National Monument in Scotland, in honour of the conclusion of the late war", it is obvious that his mind was as alert as his body was vigorous. This suggests the more strongly that his odd lapse in June, 1819, was the result of a sudden deterioration.

CHAPTER VIIThe Last Phase (1819-1829)

Buchan left Scotland in the summer of 1819 to holiday at Holmbush in Sussex¹. It was the first time for many years that he had been away from Dryburgh Abbey at that season, and he must have regretted his visit for the rest of his life, for on 12 May his wife died in Edinburgh.

On 6 September, the Duke of Kent² wrote to Buchan³, expressing his "most cordial compliments of condolence". The Duke said:

"I am sure you will give me credit for my sincerity, when I state to you how warmly I sympathize with you in this event. Indeed, my dear Lord, the trial I underwent last year, in parting from a very dear connexion, from which I had never for a moment been separated, during the preceding twenty eight years".

Such words might have been written by Buchan himself, save that his marriage had lasted for forty eight years.

On 30 September Buchan wrote to Thomas Coutts⁴:

"I have been moving about in my neighbourhood at Dryburgh Abbey, according to your advice, and by that expedient have been able to avert the sad solitary effect of my late misfortune, which, however, time only can mitigate."

Buchan felt his "misfortune" so keenly that after his wife's death he led a very recluse life, even for him, for over

1. Annals of Dryburgh, p.162.

2. Edward, fourth son of George III. b.1767 d.1820.

3. Royal Library, Windsor.

a year. It was characteristic that he bore his loss with so much fortitude, in appearance at any rate.

In the remainder of his letter to Coutts Buchan described the burial place of his wife, the chapel of St. Modan at Dryburgh Abbey¹. Buchan's postscript was also in character, for he asked Coutts' assistance to procure an appointment abroad for a near neighbour's² son. Even at such a time his natural generosity was not overwhelmed by personal feelings.

Although he shut himself away so much more than usual, he still had many interests. As early as 10 June Charlotte Waldie³ wrote a letter of condolence⁴. She suggested he pen his memoirs rather than leave the task to others. Memoirs were certainly often in Buchan's mind, but he had no desire to be his own apologist. Her suggestion was probably intended as an anodyne, for Buchan had never concealed his views on biography. He held, rightly, that it was difficult to write impartially of one's contemporaries, and that any judgments would improve with the passage of time when animosities and prejudices would have been forgotten. He chose, instead, to correspond as usual, but probably with only a few relatives and friends of long standing.

Rachel Masquerier⁵ wrote to him on 10 November, 1819⁶,

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1. This description was printed in Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents, Edinburgh, 1873, vol.1. p.531.
 2. James Haig of Bemersyde.
 3. Second daughter of George Waldie, Esq., of Hendersyde, near Kelso.
 4. G.U.L. Mss.
 5. d.1850; wife of the painter John James Masquerier (1778-1855).

answering a letter and gift he had sent. Since she described, amongst other gossip of pleasant rambles in Devonshire, a Roman Camp at Dorchester, it is apparent that Buchan's antiquarian interest was still keen.

On 23 November, 1819, Buchan wrote¹ to the Reverend Robert Lundie, minister at Kelso, a cryptic note:

"As I do not wish my Essay on the lives and writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and Thomson the Poet to be in the hands of the prophanum vulgus I request of you to send to Dryburgh Abbey quam primum that copy of the book which you had from Miss Charlotte Waldie the only copy in my Library".

Lundie returned the book, presumably, for it is one of the items mentioned in the Catalogue for the sale of Buchan's library²:

Why Buchan feared for the fate of his book is not clear, although we know what his feelings were when he gave it to the publisher.

Rachel Masquerier wrote to him on 24 January, 1820³, thanking him for his last two "favours". What these were about is unknown, but he seems to have asked her husband to paint the Duke and Duchess of Kent for him. Since the Duke died the day before she wrote this letter, the task was not accomplished. From her husband she sent a "Stone Engraving from a Drawing" he had made.

On 20 February Buchan wrote⁴ to his niece, acknowledging

1. N.L.S. Ms. 1676, f.179.

2. Item 117.A copy of this catalogue is in the N.L.S. (Press Mark 16f.5 [5]).

3. G.U.L.Mss.

4. H.S. Penn.

a letter¹ she had sent him to inform him his brother Thomas was in better health. Buchan showed a great deal of concern for his brother's condition:

"Your letter of the 17th, relieved me from uneasiness on account of my dear Brother's health but I hope you will all of you unite your request to him to have a proper faithful accustomed servant hereafter to attend him both at home & abroad - He knows how pleased I shall be to have him here at the time he proposes".

Buchan's solicitude shows that he was not totally absorbed in self. Probably, also, with the advance of years and the deaths of close friends and relations he felt strongly the need to draw even closer to his one remaining brother. Thomas, of course, died before Buchan, on 17 November, 1823.

On 3 August, 1820, Buchan wrote² to Robert Anderson:

"After a seclusion from the busy world of more than fourteen months I have again opened my doors to a favoured few among which & whom I have the continued satisfaction of naming you.

I hope soon to have the pleasure of a visit from you here & of conducting you to the finished Temple of the Muses".

Another letter³ of 10 August, 1820, to Anderson is in similar vein, and both are reminiscent in tone of Buchan's letters before his wife's death. This second letter contains also a rather curious reference to his illegitimate son David. Buchan now wrote of him as his "Legitimated Son". Buchan's title,

1. n.f.

2. N.L.S. Adv.Ms. 22.4.13, p.68.

3. Ibid. p.70.

4.

of course, descended not to his son, but to his nephew Henry David¹, and it is difficult to understand what Buchan meant by this about a son whom he had always acknowledged. He mentioned his son to Robert Anderson, asking him to show him interesting "parts" of Buchan's correspondence in the "Depot", and to procure for him an introduction to the Advocates Library².

Despite his age and retired way of life, friends still sought kindnesses from him. Archibald Fletcher³ wrote to him on 29 August, 1820⁴, asking him to use his influence for the promotion of a play⁵ by a "Highly esteemed friend". Fletcher had heard that Mrs. Coutts⁶ knew Mr. Elliston, Manager of Drury Lane Theatre in London, and wished Buchan to enlist her influence to have the play produced in London. Buchan probably did what he could, since he never withheld his assistance if he felt he could do any good.

On 2 January, 1821, Buchan sent⁷ Robert Anderson more samples of his private correspondence. He mentioned that Richard

1. Eldest son of Buchan's brother Henry.
2. Anderson's son-in-law, Dr. Irving (1778-1860), was the Library's Keeper.
3. Advocate, (1745-1828).
4. N.L.S.Ms.3873, p.285.
5. Edward, a tragedy.
6. Wife of Thomas Coutts.
7. N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 22.4.13, p.72.

Rush¹ had been inquiring about James Otis². Buchan told Anderson he recalled empowering him "long ago.....to transmit for the use of the Massachusetts Historical Society copies of letters" relating to Otis. Buchan recalled also that he "never had any correspondence with Mr. Otis later than the year 1769". The correspondence had ceased in that year probably because Otis was so severely beaten by revenue men that his sanity was impaired. Either Buchan had a very good system of classifying his correspondents or he was possessed of a memory very unusual, particularly in view of his age at this time. Obviously he and Otis had corresponded on the subject of liberty, individual and political, for when they were exchanging letters Buchan was filled with youthful enthusiasm for overthrowing political corruption.

On 21 January, 1821³, Richard Llwyd⁴ wrote a letter of literary interest to Buchan. Whilst looking through some papers left by a clergyman he discovered a "very curious little Vol entitled "A vindication of the history of Clemency..... by Mathias Larberry". This was the kind of discovery Buchan himself liked to make, and probably the intelligence stimulated his interest which appears to have shown little sign of flagging with age.

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1. (1780-1859). Lawyer and Statesman (son of Benjamin Rush). American Minister to England 1817-1825.
 2. (1725-1783) A defender of popular rights, he became a leader at the Boston Bar.
 3. G.U.L. Mss.
 4. Poet: "The Bard of Snowdon" (1752-1835)

Rachel Masquerier having recommended¹ a friend to him², Buchan kindly introduced him to Robert Anderson³. This friend, wrote Buchan, was making a "little tour in Scotland", and by introducing him to Anderson, Buchan was helping him more than his own retired circumstances could allow. He wrote to Anderson:

"Your doing him the honour of being his Cicerone at Edn. will enable him to examine the Metropolis of our Land of Cakes with advantage, and at the same time to become acquainted with a gentleman worthy of yr. favourable notice & correspondence & whom I am desirous of being admitted to the honours of our literary hospitality.

The fine Season of the Year being now beginning to diminish Mr. Robinson must linger as little as possible - I advise him to give up his plan of the grand Tour of Scotland & limit himself to Mr. Pennants⁴ little Tour going no farther than Taymouth on the Northern & from thence to Inverary returning by Loch Lomond &c and so return to Edn. by Stirling &c".

From this particular interest it can be seen that Buchan took his duties as host very seriously.

Robinson must have been satisfied, for Rachel Masquerier wrote on 13 November, 1821⁵, to thank Buchan for his hospitable reception of her friend. For the rest, her letter is entertaining in a gossiping fashion. Buchan no doubt enjoyed hearing chatter about fashionable watering places where her husband had been for the sake of his health. Certainly he would have nodded approval when she wrote of such places that expenses were moderate and

1. The letter of introduction has not been found.
2. Mr. Robinson.
3. By a letter of 30 August, 1821 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 22.4.13, p. 74).
4. Thomas Pennant of Downing (1726-1798) published A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX. Chester 1771.

society "choice"! Such talk probably recalled happy memories of his own youth when he and his family had resided at Walcot, near Bath.

Buchan's letter of 28 March, 1822¹, to Robert Anderson is grave:

"Considering the great age to which I have attained, & how much I have at all times been connected with Society & particularly with Literature & Science I am desirous that my res gesta a great part of the Documents of which are in your custody should be put gradually in a condition to be hereafter forthcoming to the publick if sought for by my Countrymen. In the meantime I shall continue to transmit to you what remains of my interesting correspondence."

This suggests, almost, that Buchan feared imminent death, or that his life would not last much longer. His worry about the appearance of his "res gesta" in public was well-founded, for it never appeared. The proviso taking into account his Countrymen's wishes shows that by then he was well aware that he was not regarded as a prophet. His thoughts about many subjects, particularly America, were, nevertheless far more acute and longsighted than those of many men.

The rest of the letter dealt with other serious matters. Buchan's old correspondent, Wyvill, had recently died, and Buchan hoped that Anderson would "find Some proper channel for doing justice to the memory of that usefull & excellent Man". The end of this melancholy letter dealt with another sad event:

Adv.
1. N.L.S./Ms. 22.4.13, p.76.

"It is my intention to pay a tribute to the memory of my worthy Friend & Kinsman Thomas Coutts on the eighteenth of September next at Dryburgh Abbey & shall hope to see you here on that occasion".

Buchan's sister, Isabella¹, wrote to him on 12 November, 1822². The tone of her letter is personal and affectionate, but her reminiscing about his deceased wife, and her own poor health would hardly do other than remind him of the sad fact that he was becoming more and more alone as those he knew best were growing fewer in number.

He must, nevertheless, still have taken a keen interest in life, or maintained the appearance of doing so. We see the familiar pattern of his life when we find Rachel Masquerier sending him books he had requested. She mentioned that she had despatched them when she wrote on 25 January, 1823³, and she also talked about painting, another of his long-continuing interests.

Mentally he appears to have been as alert as always, and of his physical condition his son David wrote⁴:

"I know you will be happy to hear Lord Buchan is in as perfect health in 1823 as he was during the former year and all years that I have known him, & that is half a century now.....he laughs at, Old David for not being able to march so firmly as he can at 82".

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1. Countess of Glencairn (d.1824).
 2. N.L.S.Ms. 3873, p.287.
 3. G.U.L.Mss.
 4. In a letter of 3 January, 1823 (L.U.L.Mss.), to Archibald Constable.

Rachel Masquerier's letter of 5 April, 1823¹, congratulated him upon his good health, apart from furnishing him with some remarks about art. On 13 May, 1823, she wrote¹, offering to send him a print of a picture by her husband of "the late Governor Duncan of Bombay". Buchan still clung to his habit of docketing his letters, for on the back of this letter she wrote: "Beaux Arts London". Inevitably, most of her letter discussed an art exhibition she had visited in London.

On 21 June, 1823², Buchan wrote a letter of recommendation to George Chalmers³ on behalf of an acquaintance, a man called Kinghorne. For much of his life Buchan had made a practice of writing such letters, and it is perhaps surprising to find him still troubling himself in this way. His letter shows that he had taken some trouble over Kinghorne's case:

"As I find Mr. Kinghorne proposed in Autumn to sail for Australia with his family it will afford me much satisfaction to promote his success & with that view I have not failed to make known to all my acquaintance in the Australian Company the usefull knowledge & prudence of Mr. Kinghorne & how much I think the interest of the Company would be promoted by his services and final establishment in that important Colony, & I am glad to find that my excellent friend Sir Thomas Brisbane⁴ is of the same opinion."

1. G, U. L. Mss.

2. N. L. S. Ms. 1006, f. 86.

3. Eminent Antiquary (1742-1825).

4. Governor of New South Wales, (1773-1860).

On 3 August, 1823, Rachel Masquerier wrote¹ to express her relief at hearing from him. Some of his neighbours had informed her that he was "unwell from the effects of a cold", but his letter² must have reassured her to some extent. He had probably been very ill, for Rachel endeavoured to persuade him to come for a visit to Sussex in the autumn. Buchan may have felt that the climate would be kinder to him in the south, but the long journey would have been dangerous for a man of his age and impaired health. Perhaps he remembered, also, that on his previous visit to the south of England he had lost a very dear relation. He appears not to have gone. With the death of his remaining brother Thomas on 17 November, 1823, Buchan must have felt that he had very few ties left. Two letters¹ from Rachel Masquerier, dated 11 July, and 14 July, 1824, show that Buchan and she continued to correspond until that year, at least.

Sir Walter Scott dined in company with Buchan on 13 September, 1826³, and wrote of him:

"He, too, is a prince of Bores, but age has tamed him a little, and like the giant Pope in the 'Pilgrim's Progress', he can only sit and grin at Pilgrims as they go past, and is not able to cast a fank over them as formerly. A few quiet puns seem his most formidable infliction nowadays".

Scott was never kind to Buchan, on paper at any rate, but this is very ungenerous. In fairness to Scott, it must be noted that

1. G.U.L.Mss.

2. n.f.

3. Journal.....Vol.I, p.255.

that very day he had suffered a severe emotional upset when a slight acquaintance suggested whom he should marry. Lady Scott had died less than four months previously, and the suggestion of re-marriage was wholly repugnant to Scott. Although Scott felt scant respect for Buchan, he might have remembered that amongst Buchan's friends had been numbered many men of considerable talent who would scarcely have found it profitable or stimulating to maintain as an acquaintance the "prince of Bores". It would also be astonishing to expect a man of eighty four years of age to be a scintillating dinner companion.

Buchan composed an "advertisement" for Peter Buchan's "Antient Ballads", dating it 23 August, 1827¹. That he was able to read the collection and comment, however briefly, upon it suggests that Buchan could scarcely have been in the state of dotage implied by Scott almost a year earlier.

Scott entered a note of Buchan's death in his Journal, on 20 April, 1829². He gave his views on the characters of Buchan and his brothers Henry and Thomas, not sacrificing truth, but presenting them in a very unflattering light. It seems obvious that he allowed prejudice to take the place of impartiality. Scott left, also, an eye-witness account of Buchan's burial in the chapel of St. Modan at Dryburgh Abbey³:

1. A copy of this "advertisement" is in vol.IV (1826-1828) of the Antiquarian Society's Correspondence.

2. Journal.....vol.II,p.272.

3. Journal (25 April, 1829).....vol.II,p.274.

"His body was in the grave with its feet pointing westward. My cousin, Maxpopple, was for taking notice of it, but I assured him that a man who had been wrong in the head all his life would scarce become right-headed after death. I felt something at parting with this old man, though but a trumpery body".

It is rather more than a pity that such words should have been written about Buchan by so distinguished a fellow-countryman. At best the comment was grossly unfair and in execrable taste.

Perhaps characteristically, Buchan's self-chosen epitaph was not brief, and in Latin:

"O amici mei delecti aet quicumque in omni tempore futuro ad hunc Tumulum perveniant. Creditote Deum immortalem sparsisse animos incorpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique ecclestium ordinem contemplantes, unitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantio".

Buchan's Character.

Any attempt to assess Buchan's character must take into account the charge of eccentricity lodged against him for much of his life. After his death it seemed to be fashionable for those who had known him to remark upon his idiosyncratic behaviour, whether they had been his friends or merely contemporaries.

Much of the adverse criticism arose from a mistaken notion of what his ideals were. Perhaps the most hurtful criticism occurred in a poem, The Town Eclogue¹. A section in it was devoted

1. By George William A. Hay Drummond. Edinburgh, 1804.

to reviewing most of the subjects in which he was interested, such as his assistance to struggling authors and scholars, and his connection with the Society of Antiquaries. According to the poet, he was "banished" from the Society by its members, who were "Aw'd by the wit of such a sapient l(ord)". Whilst it was true that the Society did nothing to make him reconsider his resignation from membership, there was a reason very different from that so slyly hinted at¹. Similarly, Buchan's part in the appointment of Professors to the University of Vilna² was deliberately distorted:

"He boasts his forg'd commission from the R(uss)".

The fact that Buchan carried on a very extensive correspondence with savants in many countries did not escape scathing comment:

"Short though I be, colossus-like I stand,
Wave e'er each hemisphere my critic wand;
There future ages shall with rapture see
Imperial Alex, and important ME".

The real force of this attack lay in its apparent adherence to the truth, but the rest of the poem was so scandalous that it is doubtful if many could have taken it very seriously.

The most damaging criticism came from Scott and his son-in-law, Lockhart. Scott, it is fair to say, must bear most of the blame for the unbalanced view of Buchan's character. In a recent book³ Buchan is referred to as one of the "most

1. vide p.101.

2. vide p.289.

3. David Craig: Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1680-1830. London, 1961. p.105.

unintelligent pundits", and is called "self-important". Fergusson dealt with Scott's criticism of Buchan in an intelligent fashion¹. He was convinced that Scott's remarks were deliberately exaggerated, since it was the fashion in his day for men to employ a "bravura style". He cited Scott's remark that his own grandmother was an "awfu' leer". It would be difficult to accuse Fergusson of special pleading, for he referred to the testimony of one of Scott's contemporaries who insisted that Scott had embellished the account of Buchan's preparations for his funeral at Dryburgh Abbey². As Fergusson noted,

"Everybody has read what they (i.e. Scott and Lockhart) have written, while it is equally certain that comparatively few have had opportunity of knowing the opinions of other persons who had better means of forming a correct judgment of Lord Buchan's character".

If a judgment of Buchan's character is based on what Scott wrote, then it is understandable why even in 1961 he is called "unintelligent", and "self-important".

It is impossible, nevertheless, to acquit Buchan of the charge that he did a number of things that were eccentric. In 1808, for example, he drew attention to himself when he showed his disgust with the number of the Edinburgh Review which printed the "Cevallos" Article³. In public view, he gave

1. op.cit., pp.478-480.

2. vide p.372.

3. "Don Pedro Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain"; see John Clive: Scotch Reviewers. London, 1957. pp.110-112

his opinion of the offensive article by kicking his copy into the street where it was to be trodden underfoot. That he considered this action sufficient indication to the world that the article was beneath contempt is proof of his self-confidence.

There were other incidents in his life that showed his indifference to the opinions of others. Fergusson mentioned¹ a "classical reproduction" where Buchan, "in the character of Apollo", "received" nine young ladies representing the Muses. The meeting ended in confusion when a small boy, dressed very scantily as Cupid, joined the company. "The classical scene had taken place, and therewith Lord Buchan was content, even though the world chose to crack its sides with laughter at him".

In his "Journal"² Buchan recorded the following:

"Wishing to advertise Henning the modeller I seized his arm.....and he supported me to the ante room.....I sent Henning back to the rooms where his name was soon whispered all around, & next day he had twenty calls from the virtuosi & the would be fashionables, this is Life, this is Britannia, this is the way to London Town".

Fergusson quoted³ a similar story which indicated Buchan's eccentric vanity, but was inclined to regard it as apocryphal, suggesting that Buchan might have been only partially serious. His appearance at the first anniversary dinner of the Society

1. op.cit., pp.485-486.

2. P.M.L. Mss.

3. op.cit., p.484.

of Antiquaries, dressed completely in garments of Scottish manufacture, even down to buttons and buckles made of jasper from Arthur's Seat, suggests that he interpreted light-heartedly his own injunction to the other members that they attend, "dressed entirely in 'home-made' articles".¹

Buchan probably first found himself accused of odd behaviour between the years 1768 and 1780 when he was leading a private life, intent upon repairing his family's depleted fortune. His agricultural innovations certainly evoked the criticism of his tenants, and if the typical nobleman of his time was really like those described by Caesar in "The Twa Dogs", Buchan could have found little favour in the eyes of his noble contemporaries. The course that Buchan followed in 1768 was the only one open to a man who took his responsibilities seriously. He persisted in his chosen role, despite the obvious temptations of society life. By the time he was sufficiently wealthy to indulge himself, his parsimonious habits were probably too deeply-rooted to be abandoned.

It is important to note that most of the evidence cited as proof of his eccentricity was drawn from what he did, or was supposed to have done, in that part of his life which was spent in retirement, at Dryburgh Abbey. The affair of the "Cevallos Article" took place when he was sixty six years old,

1. Kay, op.cit., vol.2, p.225,n.

and the extravagances of 1812¹ and 1814² occurred long after he had given up his place in society. It can hardly be doubted that long years of seclusion in the country resulted in his losing his sense of proportion, or that the idealistic life he led for almost half of his life blinded him to what was considered conventional.

Apart from his peculiarities, he was eminently kind-hearted, and sympathetic towards those who needed assistance. He seems never to have refused any reasonable plea for help, and dozens of his letters show that he gave valuable introductions to men eminent in all walks of life. Dorothy Wordsworth indicated his generosity as a landlord³. If he was egocentric, he always found time to help others, regardless of rank or ability.

The multiplicity of his interests, and the prolific correspondence he conducted show that he had a tremendous energy. He was never content to be idle, whether he was working as a farmer, an antiquarian, or an author.

Perhaps his best apology is the fact that he earned the respect of many worthy men, in his own country, and abroad.

1. vide p. 335.

2. vide p. 185.

3. vide p. 286.

Abbreviations used in the text

A.S. Mss.	Antiquarian Society Manuscripts: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Queen Street, Edin- burgh, 2.
A.U.L. Mss.	Aberdeen University Library Manuscripts
Baillie's Institution.	Baillie's Institution, 18 Blyth- wood Square, Glasgow, C.2.
Bibliothèque Nationale.	Paris.
E.U.L. Mss. La	Edinburgh University Library Manuscripts, Laing collection.
G.U.L. Mss.	Glasgow University Library Manuscripts (These have not been catalogued).
Hyde Collection	Four Oaks Farm, Somerville, New Jersey.
H.S. Penn. Mss.	The Historical Society of Penn- sylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia 7.
H.H.L. Mss.	Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino 9, California.
L.U.L. Mss.	Leeds University Library Manuscripts.
N.L.S. Mss.	National Library of Scotland Manuscripts.
N.Y. Public Library	New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.
P.L.A.S. Mss.	Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society Manuscripts, Art Gallery, Perth.

P.M.L. Mss.

The Pierpont Morgan Library
33 East Thirty-sixth Street,
New York 16, N.Y.

Yale

The Yale Edition of Horace
Walpole's Correspondence,
Farmington, Connecticut.

Y.U.L. Mss.

Yale University Library
Manuscripts.

APPENDIX ONEList of Buchan's Correspondents, with details of the number and location of their letters.

No previous attempt has been made to ascertain the number of Buchan's correspondents. Any biographical notice was content to remark that he conducted an "extensive" correspondence. In the following list 311 correspondents and 1,027 letters (461 by Buchan; 566 to Buchan) are enumerated.

Sources of biographical information.

The following works were consulted for information regarding Buchan's correspondents.

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- Scott, Hew. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ. (revised edition). 7 vols. Edinburgh, 1915-28; and supplementary volume, Edinburgh 1950.
- Walpole. Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. ed. W.S. Lewis 31 vols. New Haven, Conn. 1937.

In addition to The Dictionary of National Biography, which was the main source of information for British correspondents, the following standard works were used for Buchan's foreign correspondents:

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. Leipzig, 1875.

Nouvelle Biographie Générale. Paris, 1855.

Some assistance came from notes appended by Buchan to letters he had received.

Location of the correspondence.

Whilst Buchan's papers have been widely scattered, the most important collections are to be found in the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Glasgow. The mss. in the University of

Glasgow are important for the autobiographical information Buchan left, in particular, whereas the mss. in Edinburgh comprise most of his surviving correspondence.

In the following list, where the number of letters exceeds five, the dates of the first and last only are given.

1. Adam, Dr. Alexander

Rector of Edinburgh High School. b. 1741 d. 1809.

1 letter to Buchan:

16 August n.d. (N.L.S. Ms.1006, f.78).

2. Adam, Robert

Eminent architect. b. 1728 d. 1792.

1 letter to Buchan:

15 October, 1789 (A.S. Mss.)

1 letter from Buchan:

19 September, 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

3. Adam, William.

Barrister at Law; Lord Chief Commissioner of Jury Court in
Scotland. b. 1751 d. 1839.

1 letter to Buchan:

16 November, 1782. (pr. in Fergusson:
Henry Frskinepp.168-173).

4. Allan, David, of Alloa.

Eminent historical painter. b.1744 d. 1796.

3 letters to Buchan:

4 September, 1780 (E.U.L. Mss. Ia.IV 26)

3 December, 1780 (E.U.L.Mss.Ia.IV 26)

9 August, 1783. (N.L.S.Ms.590. no.1728)

5. Anderson, Dr. James.

Eminent writer. b. 1739 d. 1808.

1 letter to Buchan:

27 September, 1790. (E.U.L. Mss.Ia.II 588)

6. Anderson, Dr. Robert

Editor and Biographer of The British Poets. b. 1751 d. 1830

1 letter to Buchan:

11 October 1814 (G.U.L. Mss).

151 letters from Buchan:

42 letters in N.L.S./^{Adv.}Ms. 22.4.17 (7 n.d.), between 14 December, 1799,
and 27 November, 1822.

40 letters in N.L.S./^{Adv.}Ms. 22.4.13, between 8 April, 1802, and
8 February, 1823.

68 letters in G.U.L. Mss., between 7 October, 1794, and 10 December
1811 (1 letter n.d.)

1 letter in E.U.L. Mss., La.II 588, dated 1 October, 1800.

7. Apamea, Bishop of

Librarian at the Vatican.

1 letter to Buchan:

3 March 1782 (G.U.L. Mss.).

8. Arnot, Hugo, of Balcormo

Historical and antiquarian writer b.1749 d.1786.

1 letter to Buchan:

30 October 1780 (A.S. Mss.)

9. Astle, Thomas.

Antiquary and palaeographer. b.1784 d.1803..

1 letter to Buchan:

23 February 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

10. Baird, George Husband

Principal of Edinburgh University, author. b.1761 d. 1840.

1 letter to Buchan:

5 March 1807 (E.U.L. Mss. La. D.C. 4.102)

11. Balfour, John.

Bookseller in Edinburgh. ca.1745-95.

4 letters to Buchan:

28 December 1780 (E.U.L. Mss. La. II 588)

27 November 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

29 November 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

3 December 1781 (.A.S.Mss.).

2 letters from Buchan:

15 January 1781 (a copy, in A.S. Mss.).

7 January 1782 (A.S. Mss.).

12. Barclay, Rev. Dr. George, of Middleton.

Antiquarian

1 letter to Buchan:

1 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

13. Barclay, Robert, of Ury

Antiquarian

1 letter to Buchan

Adv.

15 December 1784 (a copy in N.L.S./Ms.29.3.14 pp. 101-107)

The original is in A.S. Mss.

1 letter from Buchan:

6 December 1784 (A.S. Mss.) Copy in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14.
pp. 93-97.

14. Barnard, Frederick

Librarian to King George III. b. 1743 d. 1830.

1 letter to Buchan:

16 August 1786 (E.U.L. Mss.La.II 588)

1 letter from Buchan

27 April 1786 (E.U.L. Mss.La. II 588).

15. Beattie, James

Poet and essayist. b.1735 d. 1803

6 letters from Buchan, in A.U.L. Mss., between 1769 and 1790.

16. Bell, James D.D.

Preacher to Glasgow University. b. 1741 d. 1794.

3 letters to Buchan:

10 June 1791 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II 330)

29 June 1791 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II 330)

14 September 1791 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II 330).

17. Bennet ()

Secretary(?) to Lord Abercorn.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 October 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

18. Bernouilli, Jean.

Astronomer. b.1744 d. 1807.

2 letters to Buchan:

22 February 1794 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II 588)

24 May 1794 (G.U.L. Mss.).

19. Beth, F ().

Agriculturalist (?)

2 letters to Buchan:

20 March 1788 (E.U.L. Mss.La. II 588)

2 April 1788 (E.U.L. Mss.La. II 588).

20. Bigelow, Andrew.

American traveller.

2 letters to Buchan:

1 January 1817 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.272)
26 September 1818 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 277-280)

21. Binning, Thomas

Advocate (Lord Binning,?) in training for the post of 'Scottish manager' in 1822: The Lord Advocates of Scotland, by George W.T. Omond, 2 vols. Ed. 1883, pub. David Douglas).

1 letter to Buchan:

26 October 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

22. Birch, Dr. Thomas.

Historian and biographer; Secretary to the Royal Society
(1752-65) b. 1705 d.1766.

1 letter from Buchan:

3 December 1765 (Vol. 6, p. 498, Nichols: Literary Illustrations...)

23. Birrell, C (), of Kinneswood.

The Birrells of Kinneswood were the last parchment makers in Scotland. Their records are: N.L.S. Ms. 2207.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 March 1815 (G.U.L. Mss.)

24. Blair, Dr. Hugh

An eminent divine and cultivator of polite literature; Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh University. b. 1718 d. 1800

1 letter to Buchan:

14 November 1780 (A.S. Mss.)

25. Blantyre, Alexander, 10th Lord d. 1783
 1 letter from Buchan:
 20 April 1781 (a copy A.S. Mss.).
26. Bogle, John
 Miniature painter. b.ca. 1745 d. 1804.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 31 October 1787 (E.U.L. Mss.La.III 379).
27. Bonomi, Ignatius
 Son of Joseph Bonomi.
 3 letters to Buchan in G.U.L. Mss.:
 3 April 1808
 8 August 1808
 n.d. ca. 1808
28. Bonomi, Joseph
 Architect of St. Peters, Rome. b.1739 d. 1808
 1 letter to Buchan;
 26 November 1807 (G.U.L. Mss.)
29. Borthwick, Archibald
 Dalkeith; broadcloth manufacturer.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 22 November 1781 (A.S. Mss.).
30. Boswell, James
 The biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson. b.1740 d. 1795.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 n.d. (1780) (Y.U.L. Mss.)

Boswell, James

4 letters from Buchan: in Y.U.L. Mss:

19 June	1766
4 October	1767
6 November	1780
29 May	1789

31. Boswell, Robert

Writer to the signet. b. 1746 d. 1804.

1 letter to Buchan:

28 November 1780 (A.S. Mss.).

32. Brown, Alexander

Keeper of the Advocates Library.

1 letter to Buchan:

9 July 1782 (N.L.S. Ms.: 2106, f.94)

33. Brown, I. ()

Bookseller (?) in London

1 letter to Buchan:

30 September 1818 (L.U.L. Brotherton Collection).

34. Brown, John

Artist, portrait painter. b. 1752 d. 1787.

1 letter to Buchan:

August 1784 (E.U.L. Mss. La IV 26).

35. Bruce, James

Miscellaneous writer. d. 1806/07

1 letter to Buchan:

20 March 1788 (E.U.L. Mss. La. II 588).

36. Buchan, Agnes.

Wife of Henry David, 10th Earl of Buchan. d.1778.

2 letters to Buchan:

25 November 1762 (G.U.L. Mss.)
30 November 1762 (G.U.L. Mss.)

37. Buchan, Isabella

Daughter of Sir William Blackett of Newcastle on Tyne
(5th Baronet b. 1759 d. 1816).

1 letter to Buchan:

8 March 1763 (G.U.L. Mss.)

38. Buchanan, James

Professor of Oriental Languages (1761-1764) in the
University of Glasgow. b. 1732 d. 1764.

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters dated 22 February, 1758, and 6 June, 1761
in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts...." from Buchan's diaries.

1 letter dated 15 January, 1761 in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

39. Buchanan, Rev. John

Minister in Harris.

1 letter to Buchan:

3 September 1787 (P.L.A.S. Mss.).

40. Burrell, William

Antiquary. b. 1732 d. 1796.

1 letter to Buchan:

11 December 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

41. Burns, Robert

Poet.

b. 1759 d. 1796.

3 letters to Buchan, in: De Lancey Ferguson, The Letters of Robert Burns. Oxford, 1931.

7 February	1787	(vol. 1, pp. 72-74)
29 August	1791	(vol. 2, pp. 85-86)
12 January	1794	(vol. 2, pp. 230-231)

1 letter from Buchan, in Robert Chambers, The Life and Works of Robert Burns. (revised by William Wallace).

4 vols., Edinburgh n.d.

1 February 1787 (vol. 2, pp. 46-47).

42. Bute, John Stuart, 3rd. Earl of

Prime Minister of Great Britain (1762-63) b.1713 d. 1792

3 letters to Buchan, in A.S. Mss:

29 December	1780
1 March	1781
14 April	1781.

43. Butt, John Martin, of Litchfield

Graduated D.D. (Edinburgh) in 1760.

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries:

16 August	1761
7 December	1761

1 letter, dated 1766, in Buchan's Anonymous and Fugitive Essays, pp. 250-254

44. Cadell, William Archibald

Member of the Scottish Bar; antiquarian. b. 1775 d. 1855.

1 letter to Buchan:

17 December 1799 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.121).

45. Callander, John, of Craigforth

Advocate and eminent antiquary. b. in early eighteenth century,
d. 1789.

8 letters to Buchan:

6 in A.S. Mss., between 13 February, 1781, and 20 August 1781.

2 in E.U.L. Mss., La.II 588:

13 February 1781.

12 April 1781.

46. Camelford, Lord

Thomas Pitt. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

b. 1736/37 d. 1793.

1 letter from Buchan:

3 February 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 1707, f.12).

47. Campbell, George

Divine and eminent theological writer. b. 1719 d. 1796.

22 February 1770 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II.588).

48. Campbell, Colonel

A distinguished soldier. d. 1796 (?)

1 letter from Buchan:

18 October 1781 (a copy, in A.S. Mss.)

49. Cardonell, Adam Mansfeldt de.

Antiquary: curator to the Society of Antiquaries (1782-84)

b. (1747) d. 1820 (aged 73). In 1790 he took name of Lawson.

1 letter from Buchan:

16 February 1787 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, ff.1-4).

50. Cardnicke, J. ()

London.

1 letter to Buchan:

31 January 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

51. Chalmers, George

Eminent antiquary and general writer. b. 1742 d. 1825.

2 letters from Buchan:

6 September 1791 (Hyde Collection).

21 June 1823 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f. 86).

52. Chalmers, James

Printer in Aberdeen.

1 letter from Buchan.

6 September 1791 (Hyde Collection).

53. Chalmers, John

Principal of King's College, Aberdeen

d. 1800

2 letters to Buchan:

25 January 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

23 February 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

54. Chapman, George

Eminent teacher and writer on education. b. 1723 d. 1806

1 letter to Buchan:

9 August 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

55. Chapman, Dr. Nathaniel

Graduate of The University of Pennsylvania.

1 letter to Buchan:

2 March 1802 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.72).

56. Clapperton, Dr. Robert

Antiquarian.

1 letter to Buchan:

30 October 1788 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.9)

57. Clarence, Duke of

Prince William Henry, son of George III, later King William IV.

b. 1765 d. 1830.

1 letter to Buchan:

n.d. 1816 (Windsor Royal Library).

58. Clark, John

Gaelic scholar; Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. b ? d. 1807.

1 letter to Buchan:

18 October 1789 (N.L.S. Ms. 1002, f.60).

59. Clavering, Sir (?) Thomas

Baronet, Co. Durham d. 1794.

1 letter to Buchan:

23 December 1783 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 233).

60. Clerk. John of Eldin

Inventor of improvements in naval tactics. d. 1812.

1 letter to Buchan:

27 November 1760 (A.S. Mss.)

61. Colbert, Bishop of Rodez.

Bishop and Deputy to the States General b. 1736 d. ca. 1808
Third son of George Colbert of Castlehill, Co. of Inverness.
2 letters to Buchan:

21 December 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873 p. 355)

7 May 1792 (An inquiry into the..letters.. Peiresc).

62. Colbert, Mr.

Uncle of Bishop Colbert.

1 letter to Buchan:

3 September 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

63. Constable, Archibald

Publisher, in Edinburgh b.1774 d.1827.

4 letters from Buchan:

3 letters from Buchan in L.U.L. Mss., Brotherton Collection:

3 April 1815.

25 July 1817.

n.d.(1817)

1 letter dated 7 March, 1816 in Archibald Constable and his
Literary Correspondents vol. I pp.522-23.

64. Constable, David

Son of Archibald Constable. b.1795 d. 1866.

1 letter from Buchan:

25 July 1817 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.84)

65. Constable, Edward

Bookseller in Edinburgh

4 letters from Buchan, in L.U.L. Mss., Brotherton Collection:

13 May 1815
 15 May 1815
 18 June 1815
 7 March 1816.

66. Cooper, Richard

Painter and engraver. b. 1740 (?) d. 1814 (?).

2 letters to Buchan:

4 January 1767 (E.U.L. Mss., La. IV 26)
 17 March 1806 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.68)

67. Copland, William of Colliston

Advocate.

1 letter to Buchan:

1 May 1782 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 205).

68. Copley, John Singleton

Historical painter. b. 1737 d. 1815.

1 letter from Buchan:

n.d. (1787) (E.U.L. Mss. La.III. 379, f.124).

69. Cordiner, Rev. Charles

Minister of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Banff. b.1746(?)d.1794.

1 letter to Buchan:

10 December 1784 (E.U.L. Mss. La.II 588).

70. Cotter, Thomas

Not identified.

1 letter to Buchan

11 July 1780 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.199)

71. Crosbie, Andrew, of Holm

Celebrated Advocate. b. ? d. 1785.

1 letter to Buchan:

28 April 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 221).

72. Coutts, Thomas

Banker in the Strand, London. b. 1735 d. 1822.

2 letters to Buchan:

16 April 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

28 January 1792 (E.U.L. Mss.La.II 330).

37 letters from Buchan:

1 in L.U.L. Mss. Brotherton Collection dated 30 September, 1819

36 in N.L.S. Ms. 3391, between 28 September, 1790, and
19 February, 1819.

73. Coutts, Mrs.

— Wife of Thomas Coutts.

1 letter from Buchan:

13 November 1817 (N.L.S. Ms. 3391, f.73).

74. Cruickshank, William

Appointed Rector of the High School of the Canongate in 1770,
His daughter, Janet, was the "Rosebud" of Burns' poem. d. 1795.

1 letter to Buchan:

23 July 1781 (Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester).

75. Cullen, Lord

Francis Cullen. An eminent judge. b. ? d. 1810.

1 letter (in part) to Buchan:

1 February 1796 (?) (Fergusson: Henry Erskine.....p. 360)

76. Cummyng, James

Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; Recorder of the Cape
Club; Secretary of Canongate Lodge No. 2. d.1793.

24 letters to Buchan:

14 letters in A.S. Mss., between 31 January, 1781, and
10 July 1781.

9 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 3873 (pp.186-219) between 22 August
1780, and 4 December 1788.

1 letter in E.U.L. Mss. La.II 588.

49 letters from Buchan:

47 letters in A.S. Mss., between 25 October, 1780 and 29 June,
1786.

1 letter in N.L.S. Ms. 3134, no. 31, dated 18 May, 1780.

1 letter in E.U.L. Mss. La. II 81, dated 8 October, 1784.

77. Cunningham, William

Antiquarian (in Langshaw).

1 letter to Buchan:

19 April 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

78. Da Costa, Emanuel

Librarian to the Royal Society: Member of the Botanic Society in Florence. d. ca. 1788.

4 letters from Buchan, in: Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 6.

December	1765. (p.498)
December	1765 (p.498)
14 June	1766. (p.498)
22 October	1766 (p.499)

79. Dacre, Thomas, Lord

Lawyer, admitted Lincolns Inn 1733/4. b.1717 d. 1786.

2 letters to Buchan in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts...." from Buchan's diaries:

8 August	1784
20 September	1784

80. Dalrymple, Sir David

Lord Hailes. Scottish Judge and antiquary. b.1726 d.1792.

15 letters to Buchan:

11 letters, between 8 August, 1766, and 3 September, 1790, in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

1 undated letter in N.L.S. Ms. 588.

2 letters dated 9 September, 1791, and 17 March, 1799, in the Hyde Collection.

1 letter dated 16 March, 1782, in P.L.A.S. Mss.

3 letters from Buchan:

2 letters in Newhailes Mss., nos. 596-597.

1 letter (a copy) dated 6 February, 1781, in A.S. Mss.

81. Dalrymple, Sir John, of Cranstoun.

Eminent lawyer and miscellaneous writer. b.1726 d. 1810

2 letters to Buchan:

10 December 1778 (N.L.S. Ms. 5873, pp.193-195)

19 May 1782 (G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..."
from Buchan's diaries. The
original is in E.U.L. Mss.,
La. II 586).

82. Damer, Anne Seymour

Sculptress.

b.1749 d. 1828

1 letter from Buchan:

24 April 1802. (P.M.L. Mss.)

83. Davidson, John, of Halltree

Writer to the Signet; antiquary; Crown Agent.

d. 1797.

1 letter from Buchan:

8 October 1782 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

84. Dempster, George, of Dunnichen.

Eminent agriculturalist; M.P. for Fife and Forfar
district of burghs in 1762. b. 1732 d. 1818.

4 letters to Buchan:

3 letters in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

16 December 1786

10 October 1790

7 April 1793.

1 letter dated 17 June, 1787, in N.L.S. Ms. 5873, p. 223.

1 letter from Buchan:

12 October 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III 379, f.131).

85. De Marr, C () G().
Nuremberg.
1 letter to Buchan:
24 May 1793 (G.U.L. Mss.)
86. Denovan, Campbell
Publisher of the Edinburgh Evening Post.
1 letter to Buchan:
13 February 1783 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).
87. Desnizky, Symeon
Russian student.
1 letter to Buchan:
27 June 1763 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.39)
88. Dewar, Elizabeth
Daughter of Robert Foulis (1707-1776; printer); she married Robert Dewar in 1776.
7 letters to Buchan, in Baillie's Institution, Free Public Reference Library, Glasgow, between 14 April, 1806 and 23 April, 1808.
89. Dick, Sir Alexander, of Prestonfield
Eminent physician. b.1703 d. 1785.
1 letter to Buchan:
7 December 1780 (A.S. Mss.)
90. Dickson, James
Advocate in Edinburgh.
1 letter to Buchan.
30 September 1788 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.89).

91. Doig, Dr. David

Teacher and learned philologist. b. 1719 d. 1800.

1 letter to Buchan:

30 June 1781 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588. There is a copy in A.S.Mss.)

92. Donald, Rev. ().

Minister of Kilmori Lorn by Inverary.

1 letter to Buchan;

26 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

93. Donaldson, William

Painter

1 letter from Buchan:

20 August 1811 (N.L.S. Ms. 3998, ff.28-29)

94. Douglas, Archibald of Douglas

First Baron Douglas of Douglas. b.1748 d. 1827.

1 letter to Buchan:

31 March 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

95. Douglas, David

Cousin of Adam Smith.

1 letter to Buchan:

23 January 1792 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

96. Ducarel, Dr. Andrew Coltee D.C.L.

Antiquary. b.1713 d. 1785.

3 letters to Buchan:

27 February

1781 (A.S.Mss.)

5 May

1781 (A.S. Mss.)

20 July

1784 (G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..."
from Buchan's diaries).

97. Duff, Rev. Alexander

Minister of the parish of Tibbermuir. b.ca.1733 d. 1785 (?)

1 letter to Buchan:

18 January 1783 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.231).

98. Dundas, Henry, Lord Melvill.

Eminent statesman; Lord President of the Court of Session.

b. 1741 d. 1811.

1 letter from Buchan:

8 October 1782 (N.L.S. Ms. 2617, f. 52).

99. Dundas, Sir Lawrence of Upleatham, Co. York.

Commissary General; Contractor to the Army (1748-59) b. ? d.1781.

2 letters to Buchan:

20 January 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

29 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

100. Dundas, Sir Thomas, of Aske

Only son of Sir Lawrence Dundas; created Baron Dundas of Aske, Co. York in 1794; M.P. for Richmond (1763-68) and for Co. Stirling (1768-94) b.1741 d.1820.

1 letter to Buchan;

25 October 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

1 letter from Buchan:

30 October 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III.379).

101. Ebeling, Professor Christoph Daniel
 Librarian in Hamburg. b. 1741. d. 1817.
 2 letters to Buchan, in G.U.L. Mss.:
 1 July 1795.
 10 August 1801.
102. Edwards, George
 Naturalist. b. 1694 d. 1773.
 1 letter to Buchan, in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..." from
 Buchan's diaries:
 20 July 1761.
103. Erskine, Lady Anne Agnes
 Buchan's elder sister. b. 1739 d. 1805.
 2 letters to Buchan:
 1780 (Fergusson, Henry Erskine, pp.176-179)
 6 July 1784 (G.U.L. Mss.)
104. Erskine, Monsignor Charles
 Created Cardinal in 1803, by Pope Pius VII. b. 1743 d. 1811.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 1 May 1790 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588; printed in
Henry Erskine, pp.481-483)
105. Erskine, David
 Buchan's son; Professor at the Royal Military Academy,
 Sandhurst; knighted by William IV soon after his
 succession to the throne. b.1771 d. 1838
 1 letter to Buchan:
 25 April 1814 (N.L.S. Ms.1006, f. 75).
106. Erskine, Henry
 Buchan's younger brother; distinguished Advocate (Lord
 Advocate in 1783 and 1806-07); Dean of the Faculty
 of Advocates (1785) b. 1746 d. 1817.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 5 December 1808 (N.L.S. Ms. 3998, f.62)
 2 letters from Buchan, in Fergusson: Henry Erskine:
 5 February 1784 (p.254)
 1806 (p.453)

107. Erskine, James Francis, of Mar.
Colonel in the army. d.1806 (aet. 63)
1 letter to Buchan:
12 August 1802 (P.M.L. Mss.)
108. Erskine, Mrs.
Buchan's niece
1 letter from Buchan:
20 February 1820 (H.S. Penn.)
109. Erskine, John
Learned Divine. b.1721 d. 1803.
1 letter to Buchan:
11 March 1788 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).
110. Erskine, Thomas
Buchan's youngest brother. Distinguished pleader; Attorney-general to the Prince of Wales; appointed Chancellor to the Prince of Wales in 1802; raised to the peerage and the woolsack in 1806.
b. 1750 d. 1823.
10 letters to Buchan:
8 letters in Fergusson: Henry Erskine, between 11 August, 1762; and 1813.
1 letter dated 19 November, 1774, in G.U.L. Mss.
1 letter dated 1789 in Thomas Constable: Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents.
1 letter from Buchan:
3 November 1817 (L.U.L. Brotherton Collection).
111. Ewart, Joseph
Diplomatist.
1 letter to Buchan:
24 November 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.52).

112. Fairfax, Lord, of Cameron
 Robert, 7th Lord. d.1793.
 1 letter from Buchan:
 26 March 1782 (H.S. Penn.)
113. Fairfax, Lord, of Cameron
 Bryan, 8th Lord b. 1737 d. 1802
 1 letter to Buchan:
 18 January 1800 (Buchan's Address to the Americans.....1811)
114. Fife, Earl of
 James Duff, 2nd Earl. d. 1809.
 2 letters to Buchan, in A.S. Mss:
 7 April 1781:
 25 June 1781:
115. Findlay, Robert
 Professor of Theology in Glasgow University (1782-1814)
 b. 1721 d. 1814
 1 letter to Buchan:
 28 January 1808 (E.U.L. Mss. D.C. 4 101-3)
116. Fitzmaurice, Thomas
 Son of the Earl of Shelburne. b.1742 d. 1793.
 3 letters to Buchan:
 2 letters in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries:
 20 June 1761.
 7 December 1761. (in collaboration with Butt).
 1 letter dated 10 January 1763, in The Bee, vol. 18 pp. 75-76.
117. Fletcher, Archibald
 Advocate: "Father of Burgh Reform". b.1745 d. 1828
 2 letters to Buchan:
 7 October 1808 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873 p. 265)
 29 August 1820 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.285).
118. Fletcher, Sir Henry
 Politician. b. 1727 d. 1807.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 29 April 1790 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

119. Fletcher, Margaret
Widow of Robert Fletcher; sister of Lady Scott of Ancrum; daughter of Mr. Graham of Gartmore.
1 letter to Buchan:
19 February 1817 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 273).
120. Forbes, Margaret
Daughter of Duncan Forbes-James Thomson's (author of The Seasons) first friend in London-President of the Court of Session.
1 letter to Buchan:
14 June 1791 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 330).
121. Fordyce, James
Minister at Brechin, Ailoe, etc. b.1720 d. 1796.
1 letter to Buchan:
28 August 1784 (H.S. Penn.)
122. Forrest, James
Clerk to the S.P.C.K.
1 letter to Buchan:
8 December 1780 (A.S. Mss.)
123. Foulis, Andrew
Printer; nephew of Andrew Foulis (d.1775) b. ? d. 1829.
1 letter to Buchan:
30 March 1809 (E.U.L. Mss. La IV 26)
124. Foulis, Sir James of Colinton, 5th Baronet
b. 1714 d. 1791
Antiquary.
11 letters to Buchan:
6 letters, between 27 November, 1780, and 10 November 1781, in A.S. Mss.
3 letters, dated 15 November, 1781, 1783 and 31 December, 1789, in E.U.L. Mss. La D.K. 2.12.
2 letters, one undated, one of 1787 (in part) in The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays.
125. Foulis, Sir James, of Colinton, 6th Baronet
Son of the 5th Baronet. d. 1825
1 letter to Buchan:
20 December 1810 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.281).

126. Franklin, Benjamin

Author, scientist, inventor. b. 1706 d. 1790

1 letter to Buchan, dated 17 March, 1783, in: The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 64, p. 587127. Fraser, William, of Fraserfield.Buchan noted: "Mr. Fraser was a Man of learning and Taste".
d. 1788.

1 letter to Buchan:

31 December

1778 (N.L.S. Ms. 3813, f.15)

128. Gardenston, Lord
Francis Garden. Distinguished Scottish judge.
b. 1721 d. 1793.
1 letter to Buchan:
24 June 1781 (A.S. Mss.)
129. Geddes, John
Buchan noted: "Bishop Titular in partibus of Dunkeld".
b. 1735 d. 1799.
3 letters to Buchan:
2 November 1788 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p.225)
13 November 1788 (N.L.S. Adv.Ms.29.3.14, f.123).
4 December 1788 (N.L.S. Adv.Ms. 29.3.14, f.127)
130. George III,
Gt. Britain (1760-1820) b. 1738 d. 1820.
5 letters from Buchan:
3 letters in the Royal Library, Windsor:
10 November 1787.
1 January 1802.
5 April 1807.
2 letters in E.U.L. Mss., La II 588:
1 May 1786
19 May 1786 (Photostat copy)
131. Gilmour, M. () L().
Kelso.
1 letter to Buchan:
15 July 1799 (Yale)
132. Gillies, Dr. John
Eminent historian; historiographer. b. 1747 d. 1836.
1 letter to Buchan:
25 February 1793 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)
133. Gillies, Robert Pearce
Autobiographer. b. 1788 d. 1858
2 letters from Buchan, in Gillies:Memoirs of A Literary Veteran,
pp. 342-343, dated 14 March, 1812, and 28 March, 1812.

134. Gleig, George
 Bishop of Brechin. b. 1753 d. 1840.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 21 June 1800 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 255).
135. Glencairn, Countess Dowager of
 Lady Isabella Erskine, 2nd daughter of Henry David, 10th Earl
 of Buchan. d. 1824.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 12 November 1822 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 287).
136. Gordon, Duchess of
 Jane, 2nd daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith in
 Wigtownshire; wife of Alexander, 4th, Duke of Gordon.
 b. 1748 d. 1812.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 22 May 1803 (Henry Erskine p.409)
137. Gough, Richard
 Antiquary. b. 1735 d. 1809.
 2 letters to Buchan, printed in John Nichols' Illustrations of
 the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 6;
 ca. 1785-86 (pp. 512-513)
 22 October 1787. (p.518)
 6 letters from Buchan, between 9 August, 1782, and 20 October 1787,
 printed in John Nichols' Illustrations of the Literary History
 of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 6 (pp. 500, 514, 515, 517-518, 518)
138. Graham, Marquis of
 James Graham; succeeded his father, William, as 3rd Duke of
 Montrose in 1790. b. 1755 d. 1836.
 1 letter from Buchan:
 20 April 1781 (A copy, in A.S. Mss.)
139. Grant, Sir James
 Distinguished patriot. b.1738 d. 1811
 1 letter from Buchan:
 12 November 1782 (A copy, in A.S. Mss.)

140. Gregory, Dr. George
 Divine and man of letters. b.1754 d. 1808.
 8 letters to Buchan:
 7 letters in G.U.L. Mss.; 5 are undated, and the 2 others are dated 6 December, 1796, and 1 March, 1806.
 1 letter dated 19 December, 1803, is printed in Fergusson: Henry Erskine..... pp. 501-502 (in part).
 3 letters from Buchan:
 2 letters dated 30 March, 1794, and 22 April, 1794, are in G.U.L. Mss.
 1 letter dated 25 October, 1793, in N.L.S. Ms. 5873, p. 243.
141. Gregory, Dr. John
 Distinguished physician. b. 1724 d. 1773.
 1 letter to Buchan, undated, in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.
142. Guthrie, Dr. Matthew
 Traveller; Physician to Catherine the Great of Russia; author of Noctes Rosicae.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 28 January 1795 (N.L.S. Ms. 1708, f. 88).
143. Guthrie, William
 Political, historical and miscellaneous writer; author of the History of England, History of Scotland, General History of the World, etc. b. 1700 d. 1770.
 1 letter to Buchan:
 12 September 1767 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

Hailes, Lord, see Sir David Dalrymple

144. Halket, Elizabeth

Eldest daughter of Sir John Halket of Pitferran (1720-1793). She married Count Lally Tollendal.

1 letter to Buchan, in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries:

9 May 1783

1 letter from Buchan, in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries:

29 April 1783.

145. Hall, Sir James

Chemist. b. 1761 d. 1832.

1 letter to Buchan, in The Scots Magazine, vol. 71, pp.806-807;

16 November 1809.

146. Hamilton, Lady Anne

Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Caroline; daughter of Archibald, 9th Duke of Hamilton b. 1766 d. 1846.

6 letters from Buchan, between 9 April, 1802 and 1 January 1805 (one letter undated), in P.M.L. Mss.

147. Hamilton, Gilbert

Merchant in Glasgow.

1 letter to Buchan:

21 December 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

148. Hamilton, Robert

Mathematician and political economist. b. 1743 d. 1829.

1 letter to Buchan:

4 January 1782 (A.S. Mss.)

149. Hamilton, William

Historical painter. b. 1750 d. 1801.

1 letter to Buchan:

31 October 1786 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

150. Hardwicke, Earl of
Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl. A Teller of the Exchequer; Trustee of
the B.M., F.R.S., F.S.A. b. 1720 d. 1790.
1 letter to Buchan:
29 July 1761 (A.S. Mss.)
151. Harvie, James Stevenson
Miniaturist; exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1811.
7 letters to Buchan, in P.M.L. Mss., between
6 October, 1814 and 24 August 1818.
152. Hay, Robert of Drummelzier
Not identified.
1 letter from Buchan:
10 March 1794 (N.L.S. Ms. 1048, f. 35)
153. Henderson, Sir John of Fordell
Advocate; M.P. for Fife (1779-80). b. 1762 d. 1817.
1 letter to Buchan:
2 April 1807 (G.U.L. Mss.)
154. Henning, John
Modeller and sculptor. b. 1771 d. 1851.
1 letter to Buchan:
9 May 1802 (Hyde Collection).
155. Hepburn, Sir George Buchan
1st Bart., Baron of the Exchequer.
1 letter to Buchan:
18 December 1781 (A.S. Mss.).

156. Herbert, Isaac

Bookseller and antiquarian; art publisher.

2 letters to Buchan:

28 May 1796 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.64).

5 January 1797 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.66).

Home, Henry, see Lord Kames.

157. Home, Patrick

M.P. for Berwickshire.

1 letter to Buchan:

13 December 1789 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.56)

158. Humphrey, Ozias

Royal artist; portrait painter. b.1742 d.1810

1 letter to Buchan:

15 February 1808 (L.U.L. Mss. Brotherton Collection).

159. Hunter, Dr. John, F.R.S.

Physiologist and surgeon. b. 1728 d. 1793.

1 letter to Buchan:

18 December 1777 (a copy in the ms. (Signet Library, 106:55)
"Discourse on the Antiquity of Man").

160. Hunter, Dr. William.

Anatomist and obstetrician. b. 1718 d. 1783.

1 letter to Buchan:

6 February 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

161. Hutton, Dr. Charles

Eminent English mathematician. b. 1737 d. 1823.

1 letters to Buchan:

MS. Buchan 1807
 April 1807 (H.S. Penn.)

2 letters from Buchan:

26 January 1786 (N.L.S. Ms. 967, f. 291).
 7 April 1789 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.31).

162. Hutton, George Henry

Archaeologist and antiquary, eminent military officer;

son of Charles Hutton. d. 1827

15 letters to Buchan, between 26 September 1788, and 25
 February 1790, in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, ff.5-71).

163. Jamieson, Dr. John

Eminent antiquarian, philologist and lexicographer.
b. 1759 d. 1838.

2 letters to Buchan:

30 December 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 1002, f.123)

6 June 1793 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.75).

164. Jefferson, Thomas

Third President of the United States. b.1743 d. 1826

1 letter to Buchan, dated 10 July, 1803, in: Andrew A. Lipscomb, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, 1903. vol. 10, pp.399-401.

165. Jerdon, Archibald, of Bonjedward

Kelso.

1 letter to Buchan:

20 September 1814 (N.L.S. Ms.1676, p. 229).

166. Jerningham, Edward

Poet and dramatist b. 1727 d. 1812.

1 letter from Buchan:

5 June 1784 (H.H.L. Mss.)

167. Johnes, Thomas

Translator of Froissart. b. 1748 d. 1816.

1 letter from Buchan:

24 March 1806 (G.U.L. Mss.)

168. Johnston, Rev. Mr. ().

Minister of the Scots Kirk at Copenhagen.

2 letters from Buchan, in E.U.L. Mss. La III 379:

21 June 1784 (f.118)

29 November 1784 (f.113)

169. Kames, Lord

Henry Home. Lawyer and metaphysician. b.1696 d. 1782.

4 letters to Buchan:

2 letters dated 14 November 1780 and 8 February 1781 in A.S. Mss.

1 letter dated 26 June 1764, in G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries.

1 letter dated February 1781 printed in Anonymous and Fugitive Essays, p. 203

1 letter from Buchan:

6 February 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

170. Keith, George

Antiquarian

1 letter to Buchan:

7 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

171. Kennewie, William

Merchant (?) b.1718 d. 1793.

1 letter to Buchan:

22 August 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

172. Kent, Duke of

Prince Edward; 4th son of George III. b. 1767 d. 1820

6 letters to Buchan:

4 printed in Fergusson: Henry Erskine.....

26 February	1811 (p.496)
13 August	1811 (p.497)
27 November	1811 (p.498)
27 November	1819 (p.499).

1 letter dated 5 December 1811, in N.L.S. Ms. 592, n. 1984

1 letter dated 6 September, 1819, in the Royal Library, Windsor.

173. Ker, James Innes

Became Duke and Earl of Roxburghe in 1812; in his youth he was
an army officer. b.ca.1738 d. 1823.

1 letter to Buchan:

22 June 1810 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 283).

174. Kerr, Robert, of Ayton

Miscellaneous writer. b. 1755 d. 1813.

1 letter to Buchan:

28 February 1794 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f. 57).

1 letter from Buchan:

8 December 1788 (A.S. Mss.)

175. Kerr, William

Secretary-General, Post Office Edinburgh.

1 letter from Buchan:

15 July 1814 (N.L.S. Ms. 2245, f. 6A)

176. Kinnoull, Earl of

Thomas, 9th Earl. b. 1710 d. 1787.

1 letter to Buchan:

27 December 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

177. Kinnoull, Earl of

Thomas Robert, 11th Earl. b. 1785 d. 1866.

1 letter to Buchan:

November 1813 (P.L.A.S.)

1 letter from Buchan:

1 November 1813 (P.L.A.S.).

178. Kintore, Earl of

Anthony Adrian (Falconer, afterwards Keith-Falconer), 5th Earl

d. 1804.

1 letter from Buchan:

20 April 1781 (A.S. Mss., in Cummyng's hand).

179. Knox, John

"Bookseller in the Strand; Political arithmetician and surveyor
of the Scots fisheries" (Buchan's note).

5 letters to Buchan:

2 letters dated 29 September, 1781 and 4 February 1790 are
in E.U.L. Mss., La II 588.

1 letter dated 2 August 1781 is in A.S. Mss.

2 letters in N.L.S.:

25 March 1783 (Ms. 1006, f. 48)

26 May 1783 (Ms. 3278, f. 43)

There is a copy of the letter of 29 September 1781, in A.S. Mss.

180. Knox, Rev. John

Became Minister of Slamannan on 27 October 1764.

1 letter to Buchan dated 28 January 1779, in the Report on
the Laing Mss..... Edinburgh, 1925, pp. 500-501.

181. Laing, David

Scottish Antiquary; Editor of old Scots ballads, &c.; Librarian
of the Signet Library. b. 1793 d. 1878.

3 letters from Buchan, in E.U.L. Mss. La IV;

5 September 1820.

12 September 1820

15 October 1822.

182. Laing, Malcolm

Lawyer and Constitutional historian. b. 1762 d. 1818

1 letter to Buchan:

30 January 1800 (N.L.S. Ms. 968, f. 75).

183. Langlands, Dr. Robert

Physician (graduated Edinburgh in 1750).

1 letter to Buchan:

31 August 1789 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.55).

184. Langley, Benjamin.

Under Secretary of State.

2 letters to Buchan, in A.S. Mss:

9 August 1781.

8 January 1782

185. Lauderdale, Earl of

James, 7th Earl, Lord of Police for Scotland. b.1718 d. 1789.

1 letter to Buchan:

31 March 1781 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, ff.90-91)

1 letter from Buchan, dated 30 April, 1782, printed in the
Caledonian Mercury, 29 July 1782.

186. Lear, Tobias

Private secretary to George Washington (1785-92). b.1762 d.1816.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 May 1794 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

187. Leicester, Earl of

George, Lord Ferrers. Master of the Mint (1790-94): Joint

Postmaster General (1794-99). b. 1753 d. 1811.

1 letter from Buchan:

7 November 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III. 379, f. 125).

188. Letsom, Dr. John Coakley

Natural historian. b. 1744 d. 1800.

1 letter from Buchan:

31 March 1792 (Hyde Collection).

189. Lever, Sir Ashton

Collector of the Leverian Museum. b. 1729 d. 1788.

1 letter to Buchan:

29 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

190. Lind, Dr. James

Physician.

1 letter from Buchan:

22 April 1813 (N.L.S. Ms. 1676, f. 65)

191. Liston, Sir Robert

Diplomatist. b. 1742 d. 1836.

1 letter to Buchan:

19 January 1782 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, ff.92-93).

192. Little, William Charles

"Advocate for Burgh Reform" (Buchan's Note).

1 letter to Buchan:

19 April 1782 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.46)

193. Loch, George

Antiquarian.

1 letter to Buchan:

17 April 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

194. Llwyd, Richard

Poet: "Bard of Snowdon". b. 1752 d. 1835.

1 letter to Buchan:

21 January 1821 (G.U.L. Mss.)

195. Logan, Rev. John

Eminent poet and preacher. b. 1748 d. 1788.

1 letter to Buchan:

27 May 1783 (G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries).

196. Lort, Rev. Michael

Antiquary. b. 1725 d. 1790.

1 letter from Buchan:

5 July 1771 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

197. Love, Dr. John

Eminent divine. b. 1756 d. 1825.

1 letter to Buchan:

6 March 1810 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.70).

198. Loveday, John

Antiquarian and writer to The Gentleman's Magazine.

b. 1711 d. 1789.

3 letters to Buchan, in G.U.L. Mss.:

27 January	1785
25 April	1785.
4 July	1793.

199. Low, George

Minister in Orkney; an ingenious naturalist. b. 1747 d. 1795.

1 letter to Buchan:

21 January 1788 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

200. Lumsden, Hugh

Advocate.

1 letter to Buchan, in Sir David Erskine: Annals of Dryburgh
pp. 162-164;

17 June 1807.

201. Lundie, Rev. Robert

Minister at Kelso. b. 1774 d. 1832

5 letters from Buchan between 17 November, 1812, and 23
November, 1819, in N.L.S. Ms. 1676. (These are typescript
copies made from originals now in N.L.S. Acc. 2377).

202. Macaulay, Catherine

Celebrated authoress. b. 1731 d. 1791,

2 letters to Buchan:

1 letter dated 22 July 1771, in E.U.L. Mss., La II 588.

1 letter dated 20 September 1774, in Pierpont Morgan Library Mss.

203. MacDonald, Sir James of Sleat

"The Scottish Marcellus". b. 1741 d. 1766.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 July 1761 (G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts ..." from Buchan's diaries).

204. Mackay, Rev. Thomas

Minister of Lairg. b. 1717 d. 1803.

1 letter to Buchan:

28 January 1780 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.41).

205. Mackenzie, Francis Humberston

Lord Seaforth. b. 1754 d. 1815.

1 letter to Buchan:

14 May 1783 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f. 50).

206. Mackenzie, Hon. James Stewart

Lord Privy Seal of Scotland. b. 1718 d. 1800.

1 letter to Buchan:

11 June 1781 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f. 43).

207. Mackinley, Dr. Robert

Buchan wrote on letter in La II 588, "He was long an army surgeon during the War in N. America which terminated 1763".

3 letters to Buchan:

Mackinley, Dr. Robert

- 1 letter dated 24 December 1787, in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588..
 2 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 1006;
 17 November 1783 (f.51)
 3 January 1795 (f.62)

208. Maclaurin, Colin

Advocate, grandson of Colin Maclaurin (1698-1746), the eminent mathematician.

2 letters to Buchan:

5 March 1804 (N.L.S. Ms. 3278, f.45)
 23 March 1811 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 192).

4 letters from Buchan, in N.L.S. Ms. 2609:

9 March 1804 (f.41).
 25 March 1804 (f.42).
 25 April 1804 (f.44).
 9 June 1804 (f.46).

209. Macpherson, David

Eminent historical writer and compiler; editor of Wintoun's

Chronicle. b.1747 d. 1816.

2 letters to Buchan:

7 March 1793 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).
 1 November 1794 (N.L.S. Ms. 337).

210. Mansfield, Earl of

William Murray. Chancellor of the Exchequer b.1704/5 d. 1784.

1 letter to Buchan:

29 August 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

211. Marshall, Claud

Lawyer; Dean of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow (1804-1812).

Marshall, Claud

1 letter to Buchan:

6 May 1761 (N.L.S. Ms. 3278, f.42).

There is a copy of this letter in the G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries.

212. Mary, Princess

Duchess of Gloucester. b. 1766 d. 1857.

1 letter to Buchan, dated 25 February 1811, printed in Fergusson:
Henry Erskine p. 495

1 letter from Buchan dated 2 February 1811, printed in Fergusson:
Henry Erskine.....p.494

213. Masquerier, John James

Painter. b. 1778 d. 1855.

1 letter to Buchan:

5 November 1813 (G.U.L. Mss.)

214. Masquerier, Rachel

Wife of J.J. Masquerier: Buchan's niece. d. 1850.

12 letters to Buchan, between 26 February 1817 and
14 July 1824, in G.U.L. Mss.

215. McMahon, Sir John

Keeper of the Privy Purse to the Prince Regent
b. 1754 d. 1817.

1 letter from Buchan:

5 November 1804 (Royal Library, Windsor).

216. McOmie, John

Secretary of Perth Academy; Rector of Inverness Academy.
d. 1819.

1 letter to Buchan:

30 November 1785 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

217. McCormick, Joseph

Principal of United College, St. Andrews (1781-99).

1 letter to Buchan, in the Library Bulletin of the University of St. Andrews, 1912-13, vol. 5, pp. 148-149;

14 June 1786.

1 letter from Buchan, in the Library Bulletin of the University of St. Andrews, vol. 5, p. 148:

4 June 1786.

218. McQueen, Rev. John

Minister of Applecross.

b. 1750 d. 1831.

1 letter from Buchan

28 June 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III, 379, f. 121).

219. Meare, James

American author.

1 letter to Buchan:

24 June 1810 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 269).

220. Melmoth, William

English literateur.

b. 1710 d. 1799.

2 letters to Buchan:

1766 (G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts...." from Buchan's diaries.

15 August 1795 (H.S. Penn).

221. Melvill, Robert

Eminent military officer and antiquarian.

b. 1723 d. 1809.

3 letters to Buchan:

Melville, Robert

2 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 3873:

9 February 1789 (p.235).
24 March 1795 (p.251).

1 letter dated 7 December 1786, in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588,

1 letter from Buchan:

7 November 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III. 379, f. 128).

222. McFarlan, Rev. John

Minister, almoner. b.? d. 1789.

1 letter to Buchan:

2 May 1785 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.53).

223. Millar, John

Professor of Law in Glasgow University. b. 1735 d. 1801.

1 letter to Buchan:

8 November 1783 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

224. Milles, Jeremiah

Dean of Exeter and President of the London Antiquarian Society.

b. 1714 d. 1784.

2 letters to Buchan in A.S. Mss.:

10 February 1781
8 March 1781.

225. Minto, Walter

Mathematician. b. 1756 d. 1796.

6 letters to Buchan, between 22 October, 1785, and 28 October, 1787.
in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

226. Mitchill, Dr. Samuel Latham

Professor of Chemistry in the University of New York. b. 1764
d. 1831.

2 letters to Buchan:

30 August 1801 (E.U.L. Mss. La D.K.2.12)
26 October 1815 (pr. in Transactions of the Society of the
Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 2, pp.59-64)

227. Montrose, Duke of

William, 2nd Duke. b. 1723 d. 1790.

1 letter to Buchan:

19 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

228. Moultrie, William

Governor of Carolina.

1 letter to Buchan:

14 March 1794 (H.S. Penn.)

229. Mountstuart, Lord

Became 4th Earl of Bute in 1792. b. 1744 d. 1814.

1 letter to Buchan:

19 September 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

230. Murray, John

Bookseller in London. b. 1745 d. 1793.

1 letter to Buchan:

11 November 1791 (a copy in E.U.L. Mss., La II 330).

231. Napier, John of Craigannet

Buchan noted on the letter of 5 January 1784: "A strenuous Supporter of Borough Reform in Scotland and a Descendant of Logarithmic Napier".

1 letter to Buchan:

5 January 1784 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, ff. 98-99).

232. Nichols, John

Printer and antiquary. b. 1744/5 d. 1826.

22 letters from Buchan:

1 letter dated 11 October 1794, Literary Illustrations ..., vol. 5, p. 402.

1 letter not dated in The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 84, ii.

1 letter dated 12 July 1794, in The Gent. Mag., vol. 64, ii.

1 letter dated 18 December 1794, in The Gent Mag. vol. 65, i.

1 letter not dated, in The Gent Mag. vol. 67, i.

17 letters, between 8 July 1782 and 1793 (?) in John Nichols' Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 6 (pp. 499, 499, 500, 500-501, 501-503, 503-505, 505-508, 508; 508-509, 509-510, 510-511, 512, 515-517, 517, 519, 519-520).

235. Nisbet, Dr. Charles

First President of Dickinson College, Penn. U.S.A. b. 1736 d. 1804.

2 letters from Buchan, in H.S. Penn. Mss.:

19 September	1786.
4 December	1788.

234. Ogilvie, Rev. J. () of Midmar

Poet, F.R.S. Edinburgh. b. 1733 d. 1814.

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in G.U.L. Mss., "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries:

14 December 1791

24 November 1791

1 letter dated 21 December 1785 in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

235. Ogilvie, William

Professor of Humanity in King's College, Aberdeen. b. 1736 d. 1819.

2 letters to Buchan:

25 January 1764 (G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts..." from Buchan's

14 January 1792 (Yale), diaries).

236. Oliviera, J. () T ().

Not identified.

1 letter to Buchan:

13 October 1824 (G.U.L. Mss.)

237. Park, Thomas

Antiquarian and bibliographer; originally an engraver.
b. 1759 d. 1834.

2 letters from Buchan:

13 December	1801 (Yale)
18 May	1802 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

238. Park, Robert

Antiquarian.

1 letter to Buchan:

24 July	1781 (A.S. Mss.)
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239. Paton, George

Eminent antiquary. b. 1721 d. 1807.

5 letters to Buchan:

7 November	1780 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, f.89)
8 February	1781 (A.S. Mss.)
10 March	1783 (N.L.S. Ms. 3648, f.123)
19 December	1785 (N.L.S. Ms. 1709, f.2)
2 June	1786 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

17 letters from Buchan, 2 n.d., between 28 June, 1780 and 12 March, 1804, in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.5.8.

240. Pennant, Thomas of Downing

Traveller and Naturalist. b. 1726 d. 1798.

1 letter to Buchan:

23 February	1781 (A.S. Mss.)
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241. Penneck, Rev. Richard

F.R.S. d. 1768.

1 letter to Buchan:

18 June	1767 (E.U.L. Mss. La D.K. 2.12)
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242. Pinkerton, John

Eminent antiquary and author. b. 1758 d. 1826

37 letters to Buchan:

31 letters in Dawson Turner: The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton between 24 November, 1785 and 1 December 1797.

4 letters in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588:

19 December	1791.
20 February	1792
11 March	1792.
29 January	1793.

2 letters in N.L.S.:

2 February	1788 (Ms. 2956, f.103).
20 May	1788 (Ms.1036, f.110) .

11 letters from Buchan:

6 letters in The Literary Correspondence between 23 October, 1789, and 19 July, 1799.

3 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 1709:

5 May	1791 (f.40).
11 December	1794 (ff.49-50).
18 May	1796 (f.63).

2 letters in Yale:

15 January	1795.
29 July	1799.

243. Pitt, William the elder

Lord Chatham; orator and statesman. b. 1708 d. 1778.

1 letter to Buchan:

26 June	1766 (G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts..." from Buchan's diaries).
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1 letter from Buchan, dated 19 June, 1766 pr. in The Correspondence of Lord Chatham, ed. William Stanhope Taylor, and Captain John Henry Pringle. London, 1838.

244. Pitt, William the younger

Politician. b. 1759 d. 1806.

1 letter from Buchan:

7 March 1786 (Hyde Collection).

245. Playfair, Dr. James

Principal of St. Andrews University d.1793

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 1707:

7 December 1786 (f.86)
19 December 1787 (f.87)..

1 letter dated 18 January, 1787 in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

246. Poulteny, William

M.P. b. ? d. 1783.

1 letter from Buchan:

17 July 1781 (H.H.L. Mss.)

247. Priestley, Joseph

Chemist; "the father of pneumatic chemistry".
b. 1733 d. 1804

1 letter from Buchan:

n.d. (1791/92) (Commonplace book, G.U.L. Mss.)

248. Pringle, Sir John

A distinguished physician and cultivator of science.
b. 1707 d. 1782.

2 letters to Buchan:

29 September 1777 (part of a letter, in "The Antiquity
of Man).

10 March 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

249. Reid, James

Edinburgh.

1 letter to Buchan:

29 March 1809 (N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14, f.131).

250. Richardson, William

Professor of Humanity in Glasgow University. b. 1743 d. 1814.

1 letter to Buchan:

12 March 1804 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

251. Robertson, ()

Not identified.

1 letter to Buchan:

10 July 1782 (N.L.S. Ms. 3648, f.120)

252. Robison, John

Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University.

b. 1739 d. 1805.

1 letter to Buchan:

8 April 1794 (G.U.L. Mss.)

253. Ross, George of Cromarty

Antiquarian.

1 letter to Buchan:

1 September 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

254. Ross, Thomas

Buchan noted on the letter of 10 January 1792 "he was appointed an Army Surgeon during the Revolutionary War of 1793.... in Flanders".

1 letter to Buchan:

10 January 1792 (G.U.L. Mss.)

255. Ross, Walter

Writer to the Signet. b. 1738 d. 1789.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 October 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La IV 26).

256. Rush, Benjamin

Professor of Chemistry, Philadelphia. b. 1745 d. 1813.

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in N.Y. Public Library:

6 October 1801.

22 October 1806.

1 letter dated 30 September 1801 in N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 259.

257. Ruthven, John

Printer (in Merchant Street) in Edinburgh; in 1773 in Tolbooth
Parish; perhaps a journeyman.

1 letter to Buchan:

12 June 1812 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

258. Saint-Vincens, Fauris de

Abbé de St. Vincent of Aix in Provence.

1 letter to Buchan:

5 October 1792 (pr. in An inquiry into the letters of..... Peiresc).

1 letter from Buchan:

15 April 1802 (Bibliothèque Nationale).

259. Saltoun, Lord

Alexander Fraser, 6th Lord Saltoun of the Fraser line, and 15th from the first creation. Advocate (admitted to the Faculty in 1780).
b. 1758 d. 1793.

2 letters to Buchan:

19 March 1788 (N.L.S. Ms. 1707, ff.94-95)

21 April 1788 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)

260. Scott, Rev. James

Minister of the Middle Church of Perth; founder of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth (in 1784), and the Perth Missionary Society (in 1796). b. 1733 d. 1818.

4 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588:

31 March 1785.

2 June 1788.

1 letter, 1785, in P.L.A.S. Mss.

1 letter, dated 16 October, 1794, in N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.59.

4 letters from Buchan in P.L.A.S. Mss:

10 February 1785.

12 June 1786.

22 June 1788.

3 September 1805.

261. Scott, Robert Eden

Professor of Moral Philosophy (1800-1811) at King's College,
Aberdeen. b.1770 d. 1811.

1 letter from Buchan:

22 November 1807 (N.L.S. Ms. 1810, f.67)

262. Selkirk, Earl of

Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, 4th Earl. He succeeded to the title
in 1744, when he assumed the name "Douglas" in place of "Hamilton".

b. 1722 d. 1799.

1 letter to Buchan:

15 September 1788 (N.L.S. Ms. 3239, pp.9-10)

263. Shairp, Thomas

"Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland; of the family of
Shairp of Houston in Linlithgowshire" (Buchan's note) d. 1785.

2 letters to Buchan, in N.L.S. Ms. 3873.

30 June 1777 (p.181).
6 July 1777 (p.187)

264. Shelburne, Earl of

William Petty. Secretary of State. b. 1737 d. 1805

1 letter from Buchan, in The Scots Magazine, vol. 44, p. 444;

30 April 1782.

265. Sidmouth, Lord

Henry Addington, Lord Privy Seal. b. 1757, d. 1844.

1 letter to Buchan:

25 June 1813 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, ff.142-143)

266. Skene, George

Professor of Natural History in Marischal College, Aberdeen.

2 letters to Buchan:

29 January 1781 (A.S. Mss.)
30 September 1797 (N.L.S. Ms. 3873, p. 253).

267. Smellie, William

Printer; eminent naturalist and useful miscellaneous writer.

b. 1740 d. 1795.

1 letter to Buchan:

20 September 1781 (in Cummyng's hand, A.S. Mss.)

1 letter from Buchan:

n.d. 1780 (A.S. Mss.)

268. Spottiswoode, John

Antiquarian; author

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 2106, f. 101;

21 April 1786.

26 January 1795.

There is a copy of the letter of 21 April, 1786 in E.U.L. Mss.,
La II 588.

1 letter dated 16 September, 1788, in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14,
f.135.

1 letter from Buchan:

22 February 1787 (N.L.S. Ms. 2933, f. 184).

269. Stephens, Alexander.

Biographer. b. 1757 d. 1821.

10 letters to Buchan, between 2 March, 1800, and 13 September, 1812,
in G.U.L. Mss.

270. Steuart, David

Merchant and banker in Edinburgh; Lord Provost of Edinburgh
(1780-82) d. 1824.

2 letters to Buchan in A.S. Mss.:

10 September	1781
14 November	1781

271. Steuart, Elizabeth

Buchan's aunt (sister of his mother; daughter of Sir James
Steuart of Goodtrees). d. 1803.

1 letter from Buchan, dated 31 December, 1791 in Fergusson:
Henry Erskine....., pp. 388-389.

272. Steuart, Francis

Lady Francis Steuart Denham, née Wemyss; she married Sir James
S. Denham in 1743. b. 1722 d. 1789.

1 letter to Buchan:

15 September	1783 (N.L.S. Ms. 2956, f.96)
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273. Strange, Sir Robert

Engraver. b. 1721 d. 1792.

1 letter from Buchan:

30 October	1787 (E.U.L. Ms. La III. 379, p. 127)
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274. Stormont, Lord

David (Murray), Viscount Stormont, became 2nd Earl of Mansfield
in 1793. b. 1727 d. 1796.

3 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in A.S. Mss.:	
14 March	1781
23 August	1781.

1 letter dated 29 December, 1790, in N.L.S. Ms. 580, no. 387.

275. Stuart, Andrew of Torrance and Castlemilk

Lawyer. d. 1801.

1 letter to Buchan:

9 December 1794 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

276. Stuart, Daniel

Journalist. b.1766 d. 1846

1 letter from Buchan:

17 May 1794 (Yale)

277. Stuart, George

Emeritus Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh University.

b. 1714 d. 1793.

5 letters to Buchan in E.U.L. Mss.:

4 letters in La D.C.1.24:

20 August 1782.

4 December 1782.

14 April 1783.

13 April 1786.

1 letter dated 8 June, 1790, in La II 588.

278. Stuart, Gilbert

Eminent historical essayist. b. 1742 d. 1786.

10 letters to Buchan:

6 letters between 31 October, 1780, and 26 August, 1783, in E.U.L. Mss. La D.C.1.24.

1 letter dated 28 November, 1782, in Wyvill: Political Papers.. vol. 4, p 200.

1 letter dated 25 July, 1775, in N.E.S. Ms. 967, f.221

1 letter dated 20 October, 1783, in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588.

1 letter dated 5 February, 1784, in H.S. Fenn.

Stuart, Gilbert

There is a copy of the letter of 31 October 1780 in A.S. Mss. .

1 letter from Buchan:

18 April 1783 (E.U.L. Mss. La D.C.1.24)

279. Sutherland, A. () H ()
London.

1 letter to Buchan:

8 January 1803 (N.L.S. Ms. 948, no. 62)

280. Swinton, John of Swinton

Advocate (admitted 20 December 1743). Afterwards Lord Swinton
d. 1799.

2 letters to Buchan in A.S. Mss.:

7 November 1780

27 November 1781.

281. Swinton, Rev. John

Oxford.

1 letter from Buchan:

6 February 1781 (a copy, A.S. Mss.)

282. Syme, John

Writer to the Signet; perhaps John Syme of Barncailzie, d. 1790.

or John Syme of Cartmore, d. 1821.

1 letter to Buchan:

7 January 1782 (A.S. Mss.)

283. Tassie, William

Modeller. b. 1777 d. 1860.

2 letters to Buchan:

19 March 1805 (E.U.L. Mss. La IV 26)
8 June 1808 (G.U.L. Mss.)284. Thomson, GeorgeEditor of a Collection of Scottish Songs and Airs (1799-1818)

b. 1757 d. 1851.

1 letter to Buchan:

29 October 1813 (N.L.S. Ms. 1006, f.74)

285. Thomson, William

Professor of Anatomy in Oxford University. d. 1803.

1 letter from Buchan:

27 June 1782 (E.U.L. Mss. La III 352).

286. Thomson, Dr. William

An industrious miscellaneous writer. b. 1746 d. 1817.

2 letters to Buchan:

14 November 1786 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588)
11 March 1792 (St. A.U.L. Ms. DA 811.T5)287. Thorkelin, Grímur Jónsson

Secretary of the Royal Society of Danish Antiquaries.

b.ca. 1750 d. 1829.

2 letters to Buchan:

1 November 1791 (G.U.L. Mss. "Extracts.." from Buchan's diaries).
21 April 1812 (N.L.S. Ms. 3278, ff.48-52. There is an incomplete version of this in E.U.L. Mss. La III 379).11 letters from Buchan, between 12 June 1783 and 15^d December 1811.

(2 undated), in E.U.L. Mss. La III 379.

Tytler, Dr. Henry William, M.D.

1 letter from Buchan:

24 June

1797 (H.H.L. Mss.)

293. Tytler, William

Historian and antiquarian.

b. 1711 d. 1792.

1 letter to Buchan:

8 May

1783 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

294. Vallancey, Colonel Charles

Army Officer and antiquarian. b. 1721 d. 1812.

2 letters to Buchan:

3 July 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

9 December 1806 (P.L.A.S.)

295. Waldie, Charlotte

Second daughter of George Waldie, Esq., of Hendersyde. In 1822 she married Stephen Eaton of Kelton Hall.

1 letter to Buchan:

10 June 1819 (G.U.L. Mss.)

296. Walker, Dr. John of Moffat

Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh University. b. 1730
d. 1803.

2 letters to Buchan:

12 April 1766 (N.L.S. Ms. 588, no. I386)
14 September 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

297. Wallis, Thomas

Not identified.

1 letter to Buchan:

22 August 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

298. Walpole, Horace

4th Earl of Orford. Author, antiquarian, collector, connoisseur.

b. 1717 d. 1797.

17 letters to Buchan:

16 letters, between ca. November 1778, and 29 November 1792,
pr. in W.S. Lewis: Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,
vol. 15.

1 letter (an excerpt, in Buchan's hand), dated 2 June, 1782,
in G.U.L. Mss.

299. Washington, George

First President of the U.S.A. b. 1732 d. 1799.

8 letters to Buchan, between 30 June, 1790 and 15th May, 1798
in John C. Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington from
the Original Manuscript Sources. Washington, 1940.
(vols. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36).

Washington, George

2 letters from Buchan, in H.S. Penn. Mss:

28 June	1791.
15 September	1791.

300. Weir, Ch(arles) Hope

(of Craighall). Antiquarian (?) b. 1709 d. 1791.

1 letter to Buchan:

1 January	1782 (A.S. Mss.)
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301. West, Benjamin

Historical painter. b. 1738 d. 1820.

1 letter to Buchan:

22 January	1819 (in Thomas Constable: <u>(Archibald Constable, and his Literary Correspondents)</u> Edinburgh, 1873.
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302. Wilkes, JohnPolitician; author of no. 45 of the North Briton

b. 1727 d. 1797.

2 letters to Buchan:

16 May	1770 (N.L.S. Ms. 3813, f.13)
29 March	1784 (A.S. Mss.)

303. Williams, John

Mineral Surveyor. d. 1795.

4 letters to Buchan:

2 letters in A.S. Mss.:	
23 April	1781.
17 July	1783.

2 letters in N.L.S. Ms. 996:	
18 February	1790.
19 March	1790.

304. Wilson, Alexander

Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow University (1760-84); typefounder

b. 1714 d. 1786.

1 letter to Buchan:

21 July 1777 (N.L.S./^{Adv.}Ms. 29.3.14, f.173)

305. Wilson, Patrick

Son of Alexander Wilson. Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow University (1784-99)

2 letters to Buchan; in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14;

3 August 1777 (f.181).
n.d. (f.175).

306. Witherspoon, John

Divine and theological writer. b. 1722 d. 1792.

1 letter to Buchan:

24 May 1788 (H.S. Penn.)

307. Wodrow, Rev. James.

Minister of Stevenston. b. 1729 d. 1810.

4 letters to Buchan, in Baillie's Institution; Ms.B.32225:

May (?)	1808 (?) (ff.47-50).
5 May	1808 (ff.57-58).
9 May	1808 (ff.59-60).
28 May	1808 (ff.51-54).

1 letter from Buchan in Baillie's Institution; Ms.B.32225:

9 May 1808 (ff.61-62)

308. Wood, John

Eminent antiquary, genealogist and biographer d.1838

5 letters to Buchan:

Wood, John

3 letters in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 29.3.14 (ff.111-117):

29 October 1799.

2 December 1799.

16 December 1799.

2 letters in E.U.L. Mss. La II 588:

5 February 1802 -

17 March 1802.

3 letters from Buchan, in N.L.S. Ms. 2251, ff.103-108:

17 April 1809 -

30 May 1809 -

22 April 1810.

309. Wright, Peter, M.D.,

Physician in Glasgow.

1 letter to Buchan

16 May 1781 (A.S. Mss.)

310. Wyvill, Rev. Dr. Christopher

A rector in Essex, in 1779; he published many works advocating toleration and parliamentary reform.

b. 1740 d. 1822.

2 letters from Buchan, in: Wyvill, Political papers chiefly respecting the attempt of the County of York and other districts commenced in 1779.... to effect a reformation of the parliament of Gt. Britain.

6 vols., York, 1794-1802. vol. 4

2 December 1782 (p.523)

12 December 1782 (p.525)

311. York, Duke of

Frederick Augustus, second son of George III. b. 1763 d. 1827

1 letter from Buchan:

25 September

1813 (Royal Library, Windsor).

LETTERS TO AND FROM UNSPECIFIED CORRESPONDENTS.

Buchan to	18 June, 1787 (E.U.L. Mss. La III 379, f.130).
Buchan to	17 April, 1788 (N.L.S. Ms. 4, f.73).
Buchan to	18 May, 1788 (Hyde Collection).
"Civis" to Buchan	(n.d., ca 1791-93: N.L.S. Ms. 3278, f.44).
..... to Buchan	29 July, 1798 (G.U.L. Mss.).
Buchan to	n.d. (ca 1802?). (G.U.L. Mss.).
Buchan to	26 March, 1804 (G.U.L. Mss.).
Buchan to	1 July, 1808 (E.U.L. ^M ss. La II 588).
Buchan to	26 August, 1810 (N.L.S. Ms. 3998, f.27).
Buchan to	28 October, 1813 (E.U.L. Mss. La II 588).

APPENDIX TWOA list of Buchan's printed works.

No full list of everything Buchan published has been compiled. The following is divided into two sections:

1. Books and pamphlets.
2. Periodical contributions.

1. Books and pamphlets

1778 Discourse, Delivered by the Right Honourable The Earl of Buchan, at a Meeting for the purpose of Promoting the Institution of a Society for the Investigation of the History of Scotland, and its Antiquities. November 14 1778. Edinburgh, 1778.

A copy in the National Library of Scotland.

1780 Speech of the Earl of Buchan intended to have been delivered at the meeting of the peers of Scotland, for the general election of their representative, October 17, 1780, in which His Lordship proposes a plan for the better regulation of the peerage of Scotland. To which are added some papers in illustration of the subject. Edinburgh, 1780.

A copy in the National Library of Scotland.

1782 Letter from the Earl of Buchan to his Brother the Hon. Thomas Erskine, Counsellor at Law; on the subject of

Education. Edinburgh, 1782

A copy in the Perth Art Galleries.

- 1786 Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Army in
Scotland, During the Sixth Campaign of Agricola,
with a Plan and Description of the Camp at Rae Dykes.

London, 1786.

A copy in Edinburgh University Library.

- 1787 An account of the life, writings, and inventions
of John Napier of Merchiston. Perth, 1787.

A copy in St. Andrews University Library.

- 1792 Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher
of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson: Biographical,
Critical and Political, With some Pieces of
Thomson's never before published. London, 1792.

A copy in St. Andrews University Library.

- 1792 An inquiry into the existing letters of, and documents
relating to N.S. Fabri de Peiresc.

Kelso, 1792.

A copy in the National Library of Scotland.

- 1793 Letters on the Impolicy of A Standing Army, in Time of
Peace. And on the unconstitutional and illegal Measure
of Barracks; with a Postscript, Illustrative of the Real
Constitutional Mode of Defence for This Island
containing also a Short Review of the Effects which are

produced by a Standing Army, on the Morality,
Population and Labour.

London. 1793.

A copy in Harvard University Library.

1811 The Earl of Buchan's Address to the Americans at
Edinburgh, on Washington's Birth-Day, February 22d. 1811.
Edinburgh, 1811.

A copy in Edinburgh University Library.

1811 The Irish Chiefs, by an Irish Gentleman.
Edinburgh, 1811.

A copy in the National Library of Scotland.

1912 The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan,
Collected from various periodical works.
Edinburgh, 1812.

A copy in Glasgow University Library.

2. Buchan's contributions to The Bee, other than those reprinted in his Anonymous and Fugitive Essays.
 Buchan intended the following contributions to be printed in a second volume of Anonymous and Fugitive Essays. The volume did not appear, although Buchan prepared a list of contents. This list is in E.U.L. Mss. La D.K. 2.12.

Volume Two
 pp.317-319

A letter, dated 27 April, 1791, to the editor, accompanying verses addressed by Buchan to Robert Burns, and a copy of a letter, dated 7 February, 1787, which he received from Burns.

Volume Three
 p. 16

Gleanings of Biography.

pp.17-21

On the Utility of Law Suits.

pp.61-62

On Command of Temper.

pp.67-68

To George Dempster.

p. 68

Epitaph for Napier of Merchiston.

pp.96-101

On America.

p. 106.

To Sir John Sinclair.

pp.133-135

Inventions by Napier of Merchiston.

p.141

Fable of the two Ears of Corn.

pp.163-167

A letter to the editor, about Adam Smith.

pp.214-216

Hints to the Learned.

- Volume Four,
pp. 54-56.
- pp.166-166. On Female Education.
- pp. 180-181 Account of Dryburgh Abbey and
Albanicus to his friend Hortus.
- p. 182. To Maeonides on my Birth Day, 1782.
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- Vol. V. Sketches of some eminent Generals, humorous, p. 127.
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Remarks by Lord Hailes(3 contributions), pp. 31, 123, 366.
Biographical sketch of James Shert, p. 87.
Epitaph of Miss Eleonora Swinburn, p. 120.
- Vol. VI. Discourse to the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh, p. 355.
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2. Periodicals.
3. Printed references to Buchan.

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These two accounts of Buchan were sympathetic, but leaned heavily on the obituary notice that appeared in The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 99, ii, pp.75-78.

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